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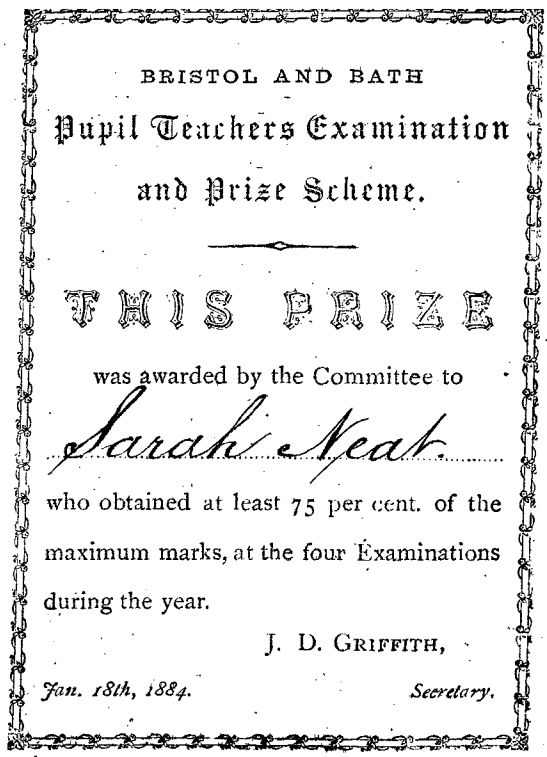
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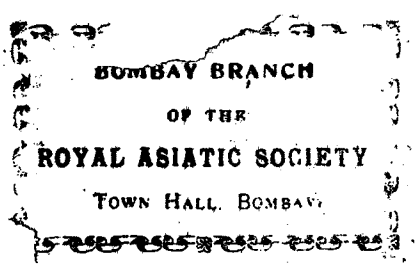

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NOTE.

For Chapters XII., XIII., and XXXIV. of this Volume, the Author is indebted to Mr. Lloyd C. Sanders, B.A., of Christ Church College, Oxford.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Julius Cæsar Refusing the Crown offered by Antony . . . . . *Frontispiece*

[It was usual, at the Festival of the Lupercalia, held on the 15th of February in honour of the god Pan, for the youths to run about the streets nearly naked, lashing with leathern thongs all whom they met. In this unseemly fashion, Marc Antony, then a middle-aged man, presented himself before Julius Cæsar for the purpose described at p. 347.]

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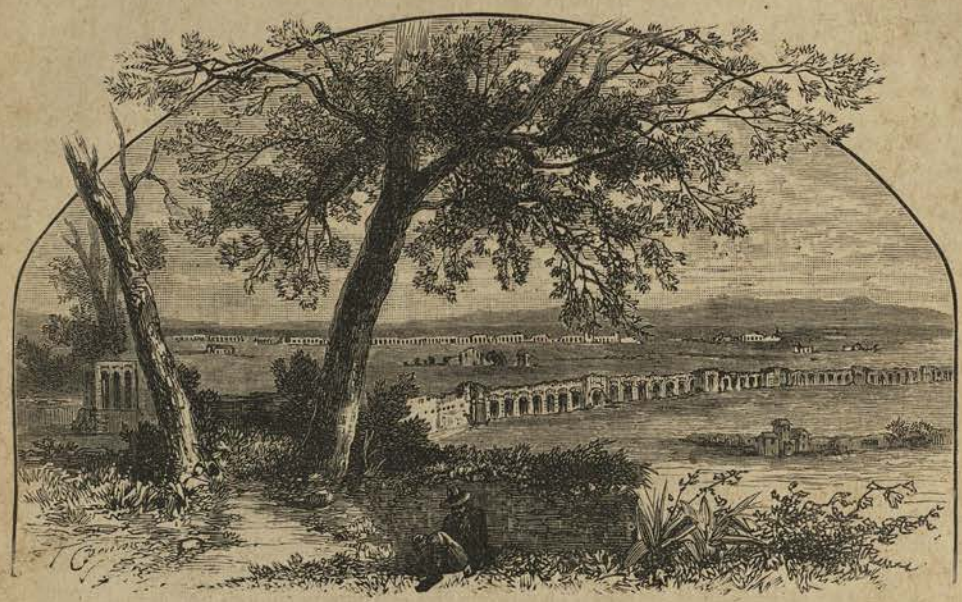
ERRATA.

Page 43, second line of chapter-head, *for* "Plebeians" *read* "Patricians."
„ 422, col. 1, line 4, *for* "Strabo's Tower" *read* "Strato's Tower."
„ 528, col. 2, ninth line from the bottom, *for* "Guadi" *read* "Quadi."

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED UNIVERSAL HISTORY.



THE CAMPAGNA.

Roman History.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ITALY.

Early and Later Boundaries of Italy—Origin of the Name—The Five Races Occupying the Country in Ancient Times—Origin of the Etruscans—Character of the Etruscan Language—Extensive Power of the People in Early Ages—Nature of the Government—Military and Naval Forces—Subjugation of Etruria by Rome, and Decay of the Race—The Etruscan Religion—Social Character of the People—Etruscan Art—Architecture as practised in Etruria—Subterranean Tombs—Latium, Campania, Lucania, Umbria, Picenum, and the Territory of the Sabines—Site of Rome: the Campagna—Course and General Character of the Tiber—State of Rome in Ancient and Modern Times—Causes of the Malarious Atmosphere—Appellation of the "Eternal City"—The Secret and Mysterious Name—Derivation of "Rome."

Italy - one compact whole - with definite natural boundaries.

WESTWARD of Greece, and reaching in a northerly direction to much higher latitudes, extends the peninsula of Italy—a long, narrow territory, the upper part of which is enclosed by the semicircular sweep of the Alps, while the lower extremity strikes down far into the Mediterranean. The eastern boundary of this peninsula is the Adriatic, opening southwards into the Ionian Sea; while to the west lies that part of the Mediterranean which was known to the Romans as the Mare Tyrrhenum. The greatest length of Italy, from the Alps to Cape Spartivento, is 720 miles; its greatest width—which is in the Continental portion of the country—does not exceed 330 miles; while the ordinary width is about a hundred. It will be seen, therefore, that the size of this famous land is not very

great as compared with some other countries; but its situation, soil, physical features, and climate, are such as to offer the finest opportunities to a vigorous and capable race. Such a race, moreover, was in ancient times well guarded against frequent and desolating attacks by the sea on three sides, and the Alps on the fourth. The name "Italia" did not, indeed, apply in early ages to more than the southern part of the peninsula, together with the island of Sicily; yet the country, from its southern shores to its northern rampart of mountains, had always a distinct geographical character, which seemed to mark it out for ultimate union. The wider application of the name dates from the conquest of some of the independent States by the Romans, about 264 B.C.; but even then it did not extend beyond the northern extremity of the Apennines, in the vicinity of Genoa. In the reign of Augustus, Italy was made to include the whole region as far as the Alps; and such have been its boundaries ever since. Going back to more ancient days, we find the north of Italy divided into the three countries of Liguria, Upper Etruria, and Venetia; but, subsequently, large parts of Liguria and Upper Etruria were occupied by Gallic immigrants, and thenceforward acquired the name of Gallia Cisalpina.

The derivation of the name Italy is obscure. Some deduce it from Italus, a fabulous king of the country, who came from Arcadia, and received divine honours after his death; others from *italus*, a bull-calf, cattle being numerous in that land. A Phœnician derivation has also been suggested. Doubtless the country was called after the people inhabiting the more southern parts; but this fact does not at all help us to the origin of the name. The Itali, the Siceli, and the Siculi, appear to have been cognate races, and the names themselves are variations of one common root. Such parts of the peninsula as were known to the Greeks were sometimes called by them Hesperia, from their westerly situation in respect of Hellas; and the region also received, in poetical composition, the title of Saturnia, because it was the fabled realm of Saturn when, after his expulsion from heaven, he reigned on earth, and began the Golden Age. Taking the whole of what we now understand by Italy, the races forming the population were five in number—namely, the Ligurians, the Venetians, the Etruscans, the Italians proper, and the Iapygians. Of these, the first may possibly have been of Celtic or Iberian origin, the second of Illyrian; but, whatever their pedigree, their influence was slight, and they did not spread beyond the remote northern districts with which they are associated, though the Ligurians were long known as hardy, active, and warlike mountaineers. The Etruscans, on the other hand, were a very important race; indeed, there was a period when it seemed doubtful whether they would not subdue the Romans, and become the dominant people of Italy. It is much to be regretted that we do not know more of this interesting nationality; but the discoveries of modern times have revealed a good deal which was formerly hidden in darkness. The geographical situation of the Etruscans—the name of whose country was Etruria—lay for the most part on the western side of Italy, to the north of Rome; and, as we have said, their possessions once included that portion of the continent which was afterwards known as Gallia Cisalpina. The Italians proper, who occupied almost the whole of Central Italy, were subdivided into four principal families—the Umbrians, Sabines, Oscans, and Latins; to the last of which the Romans belonged in the main, though with some admixture. For the original seat of the Iapygians we must look to that south-eastern extremity of the Italian peninsula which forms the heel of the boot to which Italy has from time immemorial been compared. The Iapygians, who seem to have been among the earliest settlers in the country now claiming our attention, were a race of Greek affinity, though not actual Hellenes. They probably belonged to the great Pelasgian stock, and, spreading north and west over the larger part of southern Italy, prepared the way for the Grecian settlements of a later date.

In very ancient times, the most important people of Italy were undoubtedly the Etrurians. At one period, their sway extended from the Alps to Mount Vesuvius; afterwards they were confined between Liguria on the north and Latium on the south. By the Latins they were called Tusci or Etrusci; by the Greeks, Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni. They called themselves Ras, Rasena, or Rasenna; and this name shows how completely they were distinct from either Greeks or Romans. Their origin is an unsolved mystery, and has of course given rise to many conjectures. By some it has been supposed that they were Turanians, and therefore allied to the Lapps and Finns of the North, the Esthonians of the Baltic, and the Basques of Spain. But this does not seem very probable; for it is generally acknowledged that all the populations of Italy in the historic ages belonged to the Indo-European or Aryan race. Nevertheless, the Etruscans had a peculiar and distinctive character. Dionysius, the Halicarnassian historian, maintains that the Etrurians were an aboriginal or indigenous race, wholly dissimilar in manners, religion, and language from

any other people. According to a tradition preserved by Herodotus, the Etruscans were descended from a tribe of Lydians, who, forced to emigrate by the pressure of a grievous famine, left their country under the leadership of a prince named Tyrrhenus, or Tyrsenus, and settled in the central parts of Italy, after vanquishing its earlier inhabitants, the Umbri, or Siculi.* It is possible that the Mæonians, a primitive race of Lydia, who were conquered by the Lydians proper, may have crossed the seas to north-western Italy. But this account is not generally accepted by modern writers, and Niebuhr is of opinion that the Etruscans were a mixed people, formed by the union of a Pelasgian race with a tribe of northern invaders from the mountains of Rhætia, constituting part of the modern Tyrol and Switzerland. These latter were the Rasenna, who, subjecting rather than expelling the Pelasgians, became the dominant class. Of all the many theories with reference to the Etruscans and their origin, this seems the most probable; especially as Livy has recorded that the Rhætian language closely resembled the Etruscan, and as others have traced a likeness between names of places in Rhætia and in Etruria. It would seem, however, that there was an Umbrian as well as a Pelasgian and Rasennic element in the people of Etruria; for, as the Rasenna conquered the Pelasgians, so the Pelasgians, in a still earlier age, had subjected the Umbrians. Thus, the Etruscans—to adopt the view most in accordance with facts—were compounded of three races, which in time coalesced into one nationality.

Several examples of the Etruscan tongue still remain on ancient monuments; but the efforts to decipher them have not been very successful. The language, however, contained some elements akin to Greek (probably, therefore, Pelasgian), and others that had an affinity with the Umbrian speech; while the bulk of the popular diction was quite distinct from both. This seems to support the speculation that the origin of the people was threefold; but it would appear that the language was mainly that of the predominant race, the Rasenna. The Rasennic element was analogous with the dialect once prevalent in the Rhætian Alps, and still existing there in a slight degree; and, in the opinion of some German philologers, this Rasennic or Rhætic tongue was related to the Gothic and Scandinavian languages. It may be, therefore, that the Rasennic Etruscans were an offshoot of the Teutonic family; but, howsoever this may have been, the compound race was unquestionably a very remarkable people. Several ages before the founding of Rome, the Etruscans were spread over Northern Italy, and southwards as far as the Arno. At that time, their settlements reached eastwards to the Adriatic, though their power lay chiefly in the opposite direction. The port of Adria, from which the Adriatic derived its name, was first created by them, unless, as some suppose, it was a still older Umbrian town. Other settlements on the same eastern sea enabled the Etruscans to carry on commercial operations with the nations beyond; while, to the west, their Greek appellation of Tyrrheni gave a distinctive name to the adjacent part of the Mediterranean. In the plain of the Po they had twelve cities, all of which, with two exceptions, were afterwards destroyed by the Gauls. When their possessions in this northern region were thus snatched away, the Etruscans extended their power southwards even beyond the Tiber, and indeed to the vicinity of Naples. In Campania, they are said to have founded, as elsewhere, a confederacy of twelve cities, of which Capua (called by them Vulturnum) was certainly one, while the list may perhaps have included what were subsequently known as Pompeii and Herculaneum. Nevertheless, the Etruscans do not appear to have dispossessed the Latin race from the southern bank of the Tiber, and their dominion in Campania continued but a short time. It was always that of an alien power, and they were driven out in the fourth century of Rome.

The chief seat of Etruscan greatness was on the western side of the peninsula, in territory which to a considerable extent corresponded with the present Tuscany, though its dimensions were larger. This was Etruria Proper, or Etruria Media, and the country between the Arno and the Tiber was divided into twelve principal States, having their representative cities. The internal affairs of each commonwealth were entirely independent of the rest; but the whole formed a confederation, the bonds of which, however, were extremely loose. Vestiges of these cities yet remain, though in some cases they are but slight, while in others the remains of ancient buildings are large and massive. The government of the various communities was aristocratical, and the rural populations, who were probably descended from the conquered Pelasgians and Umbrians, lived in a state of serfdom. In each city there were two orders—the hereditary patricians, or senators, and the commonalty; but the latter, though occupying a much better position than the miserable cultivators of the land, enjoyed little or no political influence. The ruling families formed a sort of patriarchal priesthood in

* Herodotus, Book I., chap. 94.

the several commonwealths, and in each elected from among themselves a species of king, or chieftain, who sometimes retained his dignity for life, but who was never permitted to exercise much power over the rest of the senators. This principal officer was called the Lucumo, or Lauchme; and it would seem that some of the Lucumos endeavoured, but ineffectually, to make the post hereditary. The predominance of the aristocracy in Etruria continued throughout the whole history of that federation. The commonalty of the cities do not appear to have made any attempt to share the privileges of the favoured class; but revolts among the slaves were not unknown.

During the period when the rule of the Etruscans was confined to Etruria Media, the confederacy met once a year in the national sanctuary of Voltumna, for the election of a chief pontiff over the whole nation, and for the transaction of religious business generally. No supreme magistrate for the whole of the Etruscan communities was ever appointed, even in time of war, so far as our knowledge goes; and it frequently happened that grave and onerous struggles with foreign enemies —as, for instance, some of those with Rome—were carried on by single States. Jealousy of centralised power is one of the most ordinary sins of aristocratic government: in Etruria it was carried to an extent which ultimately proved fatal to the nation. Yet for a time the military strength of the Etruscans was great, though perhaps rather by virtue of their mercenary troops than from any martial genius of their own. Their navy also was excellent and effective; but it has been remarked as a singular fact that they have left no trace whatever of their influence beyond the seas. They were evidently a reserved and haughty race, either incapable or undesirous of moulding others. Nevertheless, their naval power was formidable for a long while. The Grecian colonies in the south of Italy and in Sicily were harassed by their pirates, and they joined with the Carthaginians in treaties of commerce, of navigation, and of marine warfare. Indeed, Etruria and Carthage shared the commerce of the western half of the Mediterranean, until Hiero of Syracuse, provoked by the frequent pillage of Greek cities, broke the naval power of Etruria in a great sea-fight in 474 B.C. As a nation, the Etruscans were finally subjected by Rome in 280 B.C., though isolated cities still held out for a time; but all such matters will fall into their due places as we pursue the fortunes of the Imperial city. Several of the Etrurian towns were then destroyed, and the lands given to military colonists; much of the country became waste and desolate; the language died out among the people, and was preserved only by the priests; and in the fourth century of our era the ancient speech of Etruria disappeared entirely from the earth.

The Etruscans were a people deeply imbued with religious ideas, and several details of their theological system have come down to us. In some respects, that system had an affinity with the ancient religion of Persia, for the Etruscans believed in two main principles—one good, and the other evil—each of which had its respective genii. The unending struggle of these deities is frequently represented in Etruscan paintings and sculptures, and, as a rule, it may be said that the religious conceptions of the people were gloomy rather than cheerful. The Etruscans dealt much in auguries, attached a mystical significance to particular numbers (such as twelve), and were stringent in the observance of a ritual which was very elaborate and impressive. The theology of the race bore some resemblance to that of the Greeks, but much more to the system afterwards adopted by the Romans. From their Etrurian neighbours the Romans derived the arts of augury and divination, as well as a great variety of minor deities, such as the Penates, or household gods, and the Lares, or spirits of deified men. Twelve great divinities—six male, and six female—formed the upper hierarchy of the Etruscan religion; yet these were not the highest of all, for above them were the Dii Involuti, or Shrouded Gods, who did not reveal themselves to mankind, but whose power was so awful and mysterious that even the great gods were subject to them. The idea involved in these shadowy and inexorable beings was doubtless that same idea of supreme and unescapable Fate which may be regarded as the ultimate fact in the theology of the Hellenes; and the Etrurians had also a female deity of Fate, called Lasa, or Mean, who is represented in paintings winged, and with a hammer in her hand. The chief of the twelve Etruscan gods was Tina, or Tinia, whom the Romans identified with Jupiter. Cupra was Juno; and Menvra, Minerva. To nine of the great gods was attributed the power of hurling the thunderbolts, while several inferior divinities presided over the elements, the various phenomena of the earth, and the usual occupations of men. The lower world was governed by Mantus and Mania, the equivalents of Pluto and Proserpine; and, as with the Greeks, Charon was the messenger of death. From some monumental sculptures still existing, it would appear that at one time, if not at all periods of their history, the Etruscans were in the habit of offering human sacrifices; indeed, whatever they

believed to be right, they carried out with a rigid determination, very characteristic of their intense and concentrated nature. The ceremonials of their worship, which were extremely minute and precise, were preserved in twelve sacred books, the production of which was ascribed to a king named Tages, the son of one of the good genii, who, though endowed with the wisdom of age, appeared in the form of a youth, and died as soon as he had dictated the contents of the holy volumes. These books were in later times studied with the highest veneration by the Romans, who often sent their sons to Etruria to be instructed in the sacred lore of that country. The modern world, unfortunately, possesses no remains of Etruscan literature; but it is known that the works of Etrurian authors were numerous and important, and that they included not merely religious writings, but histories and poems. If any of these productions still existed, we should have the means of forming a much clearer conception of ancient Etruria than is now possible; but all such works appear to have been swept away in the great deluge of foreign conquest which flowed over the country, and extinguished the separate existence of the race.

Notwithstanding the severe character of their religion, the social habits of the Etruscans were jovial, and they are said to have been addicted to excessive feasting, and to various sensual indulgences. They did not, however, permit these pleasures to divert them from the graver pursuits of life. There can be no doubt that, at a period much earlier than the beginning of Rome, they enjoyed a high degree of civilization, and that at all times they were famous in the mechanical and constructive arts. As agriculturists, they had made considerable progress at an early age, and were particularly skilful in draining marshes, and adapting them to the purposes of cultivation. The ordinary handicrafts were practised by the Etrurians with success, and they excelled in the fashioning of weapons, of implements and vessels in the principal metals, and of domestic utensils. Terra-cotta was turned by them to many useful and ornamental purposes; but it is tolerably certain that the celebrated vases, which have been found in immense numbers in the tombs of Etruria, are of Greek production, not of native manufacture. The subjects painted on them are not merely Greek in style, but consist of figures derived from the Greek religion, and are often accompanied by inscriptions in the Hellenic language and characters. They may possibly have been made in Etruria by Greek artificers, or, on the other hand, they may have been imported from Grecian cities; but in any case they were apparently not due to Etruscan genius. Yet the people of Etruria were certainly possessed of artistic capabilities. They made statues and *bassi-rilievi*, and their bronze figures of the gods were magnificent, not only for size, but for beauty of workmanship. Two thousand bronze statues are said to have been set up in the city of Volsinii alone, and, of their smaller works, large numbers exist to the present day in the various museums of Europe. Even the Greeks, no less than the Romans, placed high value on their bronze candelabra and mirrors, their gold craters and cups; and it was to them that the Latin race was indebted for much artistic instruction, and for many actual works of a noble and impressive character. The iron mines of Elba were laid open by the Etruscans in a very distant age, and, as the interior of their own country furnished them with abundance of copper, a massive bronze coinage became common in that part of Italy. Some degree of foreign influence is generally observable in the arts of the Etruscans. That influence was at first either Egyptian or Babylonian; afterwards it was Greek, but Greek of the archaic style, rather than of the later period, when Hellenic sculpture had attained its greatest freedom and its highest glory.

The architecture of the Etruscans was massive and imposing, and is especially remarkable for the frequent introduction of the arch, the use of which was probably derived by the Romans from these people, though it is now well known that the principle of the arch was familiar both to the Assyrians and the Egyptians. The order of architecture commonly called Tuscan, and of which the Romans made considerable use, is regarded as a modification of the Doric; but its name would seem to imply that it existed in Etruria. Of ancient Etruscan structures we have very few remains, and those consist almost entirely of city-walls, sewers, vaults, and subterranean tombs. The temples of Etruria have been entirely destroyed, unless, indeed, a few foundations may be occasionally traced; but it is on record that the public and private edifices of this country were characterized by great magnificence, and it is believed that the *atrium* of the Roman houses was borrowed from Etruscan towns. The walls of the cities were built in the style known as Cyclopean, of which specimens are to be seen in various parts of Greece, and also in Italy. These walls consist of irregular blocks, rudely squared, and laid in horizontal courses, without any kind of mortar or cement. This was the earliest form of construction; but the Etruscans afterwards advanced in the practice of

architecture, which at length assumed in their hands many forms of usefulness and beauty. The construction of sewers was carried out with unusual success. The Cloaca Maxima at Rome was a work of this nature generally attributed to the Etruscans, and here, as elsewhere, the arch was employed with excellent effect.

The cemeteries of Etruria are among the most extraordinary remains of antiquity. Many of these are hollowed out of the solid rock, to sepulchres themselves.* The wall-paintings on the tombs are for the most part rude, archaic, and inaccurate in design, as well as fantastical in colouring. An Egyptian style is noticeable in the earlier works, while the Æginetan manner prevails in the later. In scientific acquirements the Etruscans were not remarkable, though they had some astronomical knowledge, and their arrangements with regard to the divisions of the year, their scale of numerals, and their system of

ETRUSCAN VASES.

which, in the best instances, an architectural superstructure has been added. Where the rock was too brittle to be worked, the tomb was constructed with masonry, above which loose stones and earth were heaped up in the form of a tumulus. The shape of the interior chambers is either round or square; the ceiling is frequently sculptured so as to imitate the beams of a house, while the walls are panelled, and painted with mythic or festive scenes. One of the chief modern authorities on ancient Etruria states that, in these cities of the dead, benches and stools surround the chambers, weapons and other objects are suspended from the walls, and arm-chairs, with footstools attached, are scattered about: all, however, hewn from the living rock, and therefore as lasting as the weights and measures, were adopted by the Romans. In personal appearance they were short, brawny, and corpulent, with large heads and thick arms, and were therefore strongly distinguished both from the Greeks, and from the more genuine Italians.

South of Etruria was Latium—a low plain, roughened towards the north by spurs from the Apennines, and in other parts by the Volscian and Alban ranges. Still further to the south was Campania, beyond which lay Lucania, which conducts us into that part of ancient Italy which was not strictly Italian, but mainly Hellenic. On the eastern side of the peninsula were Umbria, which

* Dennis's Cities and Cemeteries of the Etruscans. 1848.

MAP OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL ITALY.

Typo Etching Co., del. et sc.

was separated from Etruria by the Apennines and the river Tiber; Picenum, a mountainous district lying among the branches of the Apennines; and the territory of the Sabine races, which had many distinct political divisions. The Latin nation formed a confederacy of thirty cities, of which Alba Longa (the Long White City) was originally the principal. The Romans, as we have said, were a Latin race; yet the position of Rome towards the Latin stock is very doubtful. The great city which afterwards became predominant over the Western world did not form one of the thirty Latin towns to which allusion has just been made. In early times, it stood outside the confederacy; but, as the Latin towns were in the habit of establishing settlements in the neighbouring lands, it seems not improbable that Rome was in the first instance a colony from Alba Longa. A list of the Alban kings is in existence, but it is believed to be a forgery: at any rate, it casts no light upon the early history of Rome, and we must be content to regard the origin of that most interesting city as a fact entirely obscured from modern knowledge.

The site chosen for the building of Rome was that long expanse of undulating ground, lying on the banks of the Tiber, to which the name of the Campagna has been given. The Seven Hills of which we hear so much are projections of the table-land as it advances towards the river; and, after the enlargement of the city walls by Aurelian, these projections were considerably more than seven. The Campagna extends along the central portion of the western shore of Italy for about ninety miles, with an average breadth of twenty-seven miles. On the right, looking towards the south, are the waters of the Mediterranean; on the left rises the lower chain of the Apennines, beyond which stretches the main ridge of those mountains, which divide Italy into two nearly equal parts. Travellers who visit the Campagna di Roma at the present day behold a wide extent of open country, partly marsh-land, partly pasture, partly cultivated ground, which in the hot days of summer is yellow or grey with the universal aridity, but which in winter and the early spring presents a scene of exquisite beauty, green with the rich grasses of a fertile earth, and brilliant with the wild flowers which are natural to that region. At whatever period of the year he may visit it, the explorer sees much more than the productions of the soil, or the changeful effects of atmosphere. In the immediate vicinity of Rome, he sees the wrecks and ruins of that Imperial system which had there its seat and centre. Remains of magnificent buildings, shattered towers, broken arches, the crumbling temples of forsaken gods, and the gigantic aqueducts which carried water to the great city, start out of the marshes or the unenclosed fields, like the bones of a departed greatness. In some places, the luxuriant vegetation of a southern clime has taken these relics back into the embrace of Nature; in others, they rise bare and forlorn above the pitiless waste. There is no such impressive scene elsewhere: no scene at once so grand, so mournful, so full of varied interest, so pregnant with profound morals, so dowered with weight and continuity of life. It has been well remarked that, in comparison with Rome, all other cities are provincial. No other locality is so uniformly and permanently great; so great both in the ancient world and in the modern; so great in arms, in intellect, and in far-reaching authority; so great in power and in wickedness; so great in multitudinous influences which have shaped the course of human affairs, and which, let us hope, have been more often good than evil. The history of Rome is for many ages the history of all that portion of the world which mainly excites the interest of intelligent and thoughtful men.

The prevailing character of the Campagna at the present day—the combination of rich vegetation with malarious fens—did not in early times belong to this tract of country. Before the establishment of Rome, and indeed long after, the ground was highly cultivated, divided into farms that were like gardens, and studded with independent cities, full of a thriving and energetic population. The Campagna, in fact, corresponds, to a great extent, with the boundaries of ancient Latium; and Latium was one of the most flourishing parts of the Italian peninsula. The desolation of the land, except in the vicinity of Rome, is owing to the long and sanguinary contests of the great city with the other Latin towns. Many of those towns resisted the power of Rome with the utmost obstinacy, and, when conquered, were destroyed. The country was frequently devastated for selfish purposes, and the Roman patricians were in the habit of abandoning their vast estates to the management of slaves, who, as usually is the case with servile labourers, adopted the most wasteful and imperfect methods of cultivation. But the condition of the Campagna close to Rome is of course due to the decay of that mighty bulk which once overshadowed half the world, and finally succumbed to the attacks of barbarism.

Part of the Campagna is watered by the river Tiber, which, rising near Tifernum, in the Apennines, pursues a course of about two hundred miles, until, after passing through Rome, it falls

into the sea at Ostia. From Ostia, the Tiber was in ancient times navigable for the largest ships up to Rome, whence the navigation was continued in boats as far as the confluence of the Nar. The current of the principal river is strong and rapid, and the turbid character of its waters has obtained for it the title of "the Yellow Tiber." Being in its origin a mountain stream, it is distinguished by rapid eddies, and frequently breaks out in floods, which in the course of ages have, by alluvial deposits, raised the valleys between the hills from fifteen to twenty feet, and in some places even more, so that the eminences are now much less considerable than they were in earlier days. Ancient Rome was often flooded by this unmanageable river, and it was not until the building of the Cloaca Maxima that the valleys between the hills were drained, and that some at least of those hills ceased to be islands. The amount of earth brought down by the stream is so large that to this cause alone has been attributed the formation of an island in the Tiber opposite the Capitol. A good deal of the ground about Rome was marsh-land, and the city has at no time been remarkable for the highest salubrity. An exception, however, must be made in favour of the hills which have already been indicated, and which the Romans dignified by the name of mountains. Although of low elevation, they had in truth something of a mountainous aspect, for their sides were steep and rocky—much more so in ancient times than at the present day, when the precipices have been greatly modified in their character by building, and the slow effect of ages. These hills were the most healthy parts of Rome and its vicinity, and the city itself was in a better sanitary state than the surrounding country. The fact was due in a great measure to the admirable system of drainage carried out from an early period, and to the plentiful supply of water, which was brought into the city from distant parts. The condition of Rome was greatly improved after the conflagration in Nero's time, when the Imperial capital was rebuilt on better principles. But, after the fall of the Empire, Porto, Ostia, Ardea, and other neighbouring towns, were abandoned, in consequence of the malaria by which they were desolated. In the best ages of Rome, the greater part of the population was collected about the southern hills; at a later period, a movement took place towards the northern plains, and this was decidedly prejudicial to the health of the people. It is a remarkable fact that the salubrity of Rome was in proportion to its populousness. When the numbers of the citizens decreased, the malaria grew worse; and the same thing has been observed in modern times. The poisonous mist is evolved by intense heat from the marshy soil of the Campagna. But walls stop the advance of these vapours; the pavements of the streets, and the foundations of houses, prevent their emanation; and they are dispelled by fire, and by the accumulated warmth of densely-thronged localities.

One of the names by which Rome is often designated is "the Eternal City." This appellation existed in very ancient times, and was derived from a fable as to the origin of Rome, which was said to have been built under the immediate direction of the gods, who promised it unending power and glory. But there was another name for Rome, which was kept a profound secret from all strangers, and was surrounded by some mysterious awe, not to be distinctly explained. Some account of the matter, however, is given by Macrobius, who states that the Romans, when they besieged a city, used solemnly to call out the tutelary gods of the place, either because they thought it could not otherwise be taken, or because they regarded it as impious to hold the gods in captivity. "On this account," adds Macrobius, "the Romans themselves have willed that both the deity under whose protection Rome is, and also the Latin name of the city, remain secret and undivulged. This name of the city is unknown even to the most learned [of other lands]; the Romans being on their guard against mentioning it, lest they themselves should suffer what they had often put in practice against their enemies." Pliny also speaks of its being forbidden, by the secret ceremonies of religion, to mention the other name of Rome. What this other name was is unrevealed to modern times; but it has been conjectured that Pallas, or Minerva, was the tutelary deity of Rome, and that on this account the Latin name of the city was Pallantium. In the sanctuary of Vesta was preserved the Palladium, or sacred pledge of Roman dominion. This was a statue of Pallas, representing the goddess with a spear in her right hand, and in her left a distaff and spindle. It was supposed to have fallen from heaven during the building of the citadel of Ilium, and the popular belief of the Romans was that it was conveyed to Italy by Æneas. The nucleus of Rome was undoubtedly on the hill called Mons Palatinus, which is said to be a corruption of Palatium, and that of Pallantium, though other derivations have been offered. From various passages in ancient writers, it would seem that the Roman Palladium was in truth the statue of Pallas. Lucan uses the expression, "Pallas, seen by no one of men, the memorable pledge in the

secret shrine;" and the same poet, in speaking of the chief Vestal, says that to her alone it is permitted to behold "the Trojan Minerva." The Palladium is always connected with fire-worship, and the belief would therefore appear to have had some Oriental origin.* The derivation of the name Rome has been connected with many fabulous stories; but it cannot be said that any satisfactory account has yet been given. Plutarch, in the introduction to his life of Romulus, alleges that Rome was founded by the Pelasgi, who named it by a word importing strength. It has even been suggested that the name is derivable from the Hebrew word *Rûm*, signifying "height, elevation;" while some suppose it to be Etruscan, and others Oscan. But in truth all these matters depend upon the merest conjecture, and we must take the name as we find it, without any further effort to penetrate into a mystery which the greatest erudition is incapable of solving.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN MONARCHY.

Sources of Early Roman History—Their Doubtful Character—Æneas and the Trojans—Legend of Romulus and Remus—Evander the Arcadian—The Beginning of Rome—The Rape of the Sabines—Struggles of the Romans with the Surrounding Populations—Rapid Growth of Rome—Death of Romulus—Nature of the Roman Institutions, Political, Military, and Social—The National Religion—The Sibyl and the Sacred Books—Numa Pompilius and his Edicts—Reign of Tullus Hostilius—The Horatii and Curiatii—Conquest of Alba, and Removal of the Population to Rome—Character of Tullus Hostilius—Great Achievements of Ancus Martius—Small Extent of Roman Territory—Respect paid to Alba as an Ancient Seat of Religion—Position of the Subjugated Latins—Election of Tarquinius Priscus to the Kingship—His Encouragement of the Etruscan Tribe in Rome—The Plebeians, and their Relation to the rest of the Community—Efforts of Tarquin to Improve their State—Tarquin and the Augur—War with the Sabines—Erection of the Capitol—The Cloaca Maxima, the Forum, and the Circus Maximus—Insignia of Royalty—Murder of Tarquinius Priscus, and Accession of Servius Tullius—Political and Social Reforms—Supremacy of Rome over the Latin Confederation—Contemplated Changes in the State—Murder of Servius Tullius.

It is seldom that the early history of a great people is involved in such perplexing obscurity as that of the Romans. The poetical legends are many; but little authentic information has been preserved. Much of what was formerly accepted as genuine has been resolved into fable by the touch of modern criticism, and the beginning of Rome is an affair rather of speculation than of positive knowledge. Ever since the French writer, Louis de Beaufort, questioned the accuracy of the commonly-received accounts, in a work published at Utrecht in 1738—and, to some extent, even from an earlier period—the credibility of primitive Roman history has been a subject for sceptical comment. In more recent times, Niebuhr, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and others, have brought all their scholarship and ingenuity to bear on these vexed questions, and the result has been the creation of a general feeling of doubt as to whether we can depend on much that is related of the early Romans. Nevertheless, the historical value of those relations (omitting, of course, what is obviously mythical) has found some able champions, and it cannot be said that any positive conclusion has yet been reached. But the value of the Roman legends, considered as history, is seriously affected by the fact that when the Gauls plundered and burnt the great city of the Tiber, in 390 B.C.—three hundred and sixty-three years after the date usually given for the foundation of Rome—nearly all the public records were destroyed. The oldest annals were compiled more than a century and a half after this catastrophe; and it is therefore difficult to see how those annals could have been based on anything more substantial than popular rumour. This want of native materials is very slightly supplemented by the Greeks. Rome is not mentioned by any Greek writer before Aristotle; and even then the Hellenes tell us but little of a people whom they regarded as barbarians, unworthy of any deep curiosity.

The belief of the Romans themselves was that they were descended from the Trojans who escaped from Ilium under the guidance of Æneas. These settlers found the country in possession of an aboriginal race, the king of whom at that time was named Latinus. This monarch treated the newcomers hospitably, and gave their chief his daughter

* Anthon's Lempriere, Art. "Roma."

Lavinia in marriage. Æneas then built a city, which he called, after his wife, Lavinium; but he had to fight for his possessions with Turnus, the chief of the Rutulians, to whom Lavinia had been betrothed. By the help of Evander the Arcadian, and of the Etruscans, Æneas prevailed over his enemies, and slew Turnus in single combat. Three years later, during another war, Æneas disappeared in the river Numicius, and it was said that the gods had taken him to themselves. He was afterwards worshipped as the Jupiter of the country, and in later ages was regarded by the Romans as the father of their race. His successor was Ascanius, otherwise called Iulus (a son by his first wife, the daughter of Priam), who ultimately removed the seat of government to the ridge of a hill some miles south-east of Rome, where he built a city, subsequently known as Alba Longa, the capital of Latium, and a kind of religious centre for all the Latin tribes. The posterity of Æneas by Lavinia was continued through a long line of sovereigns, kings of Alba, all of whom bore the surname of Silvius. The Romans, it should be observed, had usually three names: the *prænomen*, or personal name; the *nomen*, or name proper; and the *cognomen*, or surname, which was the name of the family.

Following the line of the Alban kings (whose historical existence, however, is more than doubtful), we come to an usurper called Amulius, who forcibly excluded his elder brother Numitor from the throne, and devoted the only daughter of that prince to perpetual virginity as a Vestal. But by the god Mars she became mother of the twins Romulus and Remus, and, in accordance with the law which ordained a terrible punishment for all who thus broke their vows, was condemned by Amulius to be buried alive. He likewise ordered that the twins should be thrown into the Tiber, which had at that time overflowed its bounds; but the shallow pool into which they happened to fall shrank back, and left them safe under a wild fig-tree, where they were first suckled by a she-wolf, and afterwards fed by a woodpecker. When grown to boyhood, they were found by one of the herdsmen of Amulius, who brought them up with his own children in a humble cottage on Mount Palatine. On the slopes of that hill they watched the flocks committed to their care; but the herdsmen of Amulius were at issue with those of Numitor, and the latter, seizing one day on Remus, carried him before their master. Shortly afterwards, Romulus arrived to ransom his brother, and, from inquiries set on foot by Numitor, whose suspicions had been aroused by the appearance of the youths, it came out that they were the sons of his daughter, the offending Vestal. Bent on revenging their wrongs, the royal twins attacked Amulius at Alba, killed him, and restored their grandfather to the throne. They did not care, however, to remain in the city of their ancestors, but resolved to build another near the spot where they had been saved from death. Whether this city was to be founded on Mount Palatine, as Romulus wished, or on Mount Aventine, as Remus desired, was a question which divided the brothers, and they prayed the gods for a sign. They were to watch for a whole day on their respective hills, and he who saw a flight of birds at sunrise of the second day should be the founder of the city. Remus was the first to be thus favoured: he saw six vultures on his left. Soon afterwards, Romulus beheld twelve vultures hovering over Mount Palatine, and conceived that this was the more significant omen. The other claimed priority, and a quarrel ensued, which ended in Romulus killing Remus, either by a chance blow in a fray, or out of revenge for Remus having contemptuously leapt over the slender furrow which Romulus had marked out for his walls. At any rate, the result of the contention was that Romulus built his city on the Palatine hill, which thus became the nucleus of Rome. This event is generally referred to the year 753 B.C., though some slightly varying dates have also been given. Assuming 753 to be the correct year, it was equivalent to 3961 of the Julian Period,* or 3251 of the creation of the world. With reference to Greek history, it was the fourth year of the Sixth Olympiad, or 431 years after the Trojan War.

Such was the legend in which the Romans described the origin of their city. But there was a still older tradition, which ascribed the foundation of Rome to Evander, an Arcadian king, who, being obliged to quit his country, fled to Italy sixty years before the Trojan War, and was directed by his mother, the prophetic nymph Carmenta, to build a city at the foot of the Palatine hill. The mythical nature of this story is sufficiently shown by the fact that the name of the prophetess, Carmenta, or, more properly, Casmenta, is analogous with the name of the Latin Muses, Camenæ, or Casmenæ. According to some

* The Julian Period is a term of years introduced by Joseph Justus Scaliger, about 1583, to avoid the ambiguity attendant on determining any date antecedent to the Christian epoch. It is reckoned as having begun 4713 years before our age, and is superior to the mundane era, because the creation of the world has been differently calculated by different nationalities. The title of "the Julian Period" is derived from its author's father, Julius Cæsar Scaliger.

of the Greek historians, Æneas himself was the founder of Rome; according to others, the honour was due to a son of Ulysses and Circe. But the Romans themselves inclined to the story of Romulus and Remus, though its fabulous character in the main (even supposing it to possess some slight foundation of historic truth) is obvious. The legend is said to have been first embodied in the form of history by Quintus Fabius Pictor, an early Roman author, who wrote about 200 B.C. It had doubtless been popular before then, and it has now become so indissolubly associated with the history of Rome that it would be improper to omit it.

The narrative goes on to state that Romulus completed his city, and, in order to supply it with

RUINS OF A ROMAN AQUEDUCT.

inhabitants, set apart a place as a sanctuary or refuge for murderers, debtors, runaway slaves, and other outlaws, who had fled from their own communities. In this way he brought together a large number of men; but women were still wanting. The fathers in the neighbouring cities would not allow their daughters to marry such a set of adventurers, and Romulus was therefore driven to employ force, mingled with artifice. It was usual, even at that early period, for the people of Rome to celebrate games in honour of the god Consus, who presided over counsels. To these games Romulus invited the people of the Sabine territory, and of the neighbouring Latin towns, and, while their attention was drawn away, a number of Roman youths rushed in, and forcibly bore off the Sabine maidens. The Rape of the Sabines is a subject often treated in pictorial art; but the incident has no strict historical basis. Nevertheless, nothing is more probable in a rough, unsettled community, such as that of Rome in its infancy; and it is well known that in several parts of the world, even to this day, wives are either actually abducted by force, or taken with the simulation of a flight and pursuit. The Romans, it is added, were not allowed to retain their wives without fighting for them. They were attacked by several tribes in succession, and had great trouble in maintaining themselves. On one of these occasions, Romulus slew the opposing chieftain with his own hand, and offered up his arms as a trophy. In later days, trophies won by a Roman commander from the chief general of the adversary were called *spolia opima* (great or principal spoils); but such instances were extremely rare. Another war arising out of the abduction of the Sabine women was distinguished by an incident which brought the struggle to a close in a very dramatic way. The Romans and the Sabines of Cures were engaged in a deadly conflict, when the wives of the former rushed between the combatants, and besought them to compose their animosities. The result was an understanding, by which the Romans and the Sabines became united as one people; but the latter seem to have had the best of the arrangement, and the largest part of the territory. Romulus now assumed the Sabine name of Quirinus, and all the Roman citizens were called Quirites, or Spearmen—a purely Sabine title.

While the contest between the Romans and the Sabines was proceeding, the Etruscans made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Rome, and, under the command of their Lucumo, or chieftain, aided Romulus against his enemies. The followers of this warrior were accordingly admitted as a distinct tribe, called Luceres. Thus there were three tribes: the Ramnes, or countrymen of Romulus; the Tities, or Sabines, the followers of Titus; and the Luceres, or Etruscans. The Palatine Hill continued to be occupied by Romulus;

the Quirinal was assigned to the Sabines; the Cælian Hill was left in possession of the Etruscans, who had settled there; and the Saturnian Hill (afterwards the Capitoline) became the citadel of the whole community. By this arrangement, four out of the seven Roman hills were included within the walls of the new city, and the place began to acquire importance among the neighbouring commonwealths. That Rome was originally an Alban colony is very probable; but it must by this time have attained a position of complete independence. Although its people were for the most part of Latin origin, it appears to have had no connection with the Latin League, and a new community was formed in that part of the Italian peninsula by the union of several tribes, the greater number of whom were doubtless rather intimately related to one another. For some little while, the Romans and the Sabines had separate kings; but it was not long before the Sabine monarch was killed by the Latins while sacrificing at Lavinium, and Romulus then assumed the sole government of the city and its possessions. He is said to have reigned thirty-seven years, and to have been carried to heaven by his father, Mars, during a fearful storm, when the darkness was so thick that no man could see his neighbour. In later ages this wild story was discredited, and people affirmed that Romulus had been murdered by some of the nobles, who invented the miraculous incident as a cloak for their iniquity.

Whether Romulus was a wholly fictitious character, or a real person whose actions have been greatly exaggerated by popular legend, it is certain that the Romans attributed to him the early institutions of their State. Those institutions lasted for a considerable period, and had doubtless many elements that were calculated to foster the growth of a vigorous and independent community. The government was a limited monarchy; but the principal office was elective, not hereditary. When the king died, there was an interregnum, during which the direction of affairs was assumed by the Senate, or Council, each of whose ten chief men exercised the royal authority in turn for five days, until the new king was elected. This election lay with the Senate, but the choice was afterwards submitted to the people for their confirmation. The Senate consisted of hereditary nobles, originally one hundred in number, though this was soon afterwards doubled, and subsequently increased to three hundred. The Senators bore the title of *Patres*

MONUMENT OF THE HORATII AND CURIATII.

(Fathers), and appear to have been the heads of the *Gentes* (Houses or Clans), ten of which originally composed each *Curia*, or tenth part of each of the three tribes. All the males of full age belonging to the class of Burgesses had the right of attending the Assembly, or Comitia Curiata, where they voted in distinct divisions. In some respects, the powers of the Senate were greater than those of the Assembly, for the latter could only vote, whereas the former could both vote and discuss. Yet no law could be changed without the consent of both bodies. To the Assembly also belonged the function of determining on peace or war, and it had the privilege of hearing appeals against any sentence of the king or of a judge, and of deciding the matter in accordance with what it considered right. Even the Imperium, or power of life and death during war, could be exercised by the king only after it had been conferred on him by a vote of the Assembly. The term Populus Romanus—the Roman People—was applied merely to those who enjoyed political rights, and who were in truth a comparatively small number. These citizens, or Burgesses, were called Patrons in relation to their dependants, who were entitled Clients. The Patrons were expected to defend their subordinates from wrong or oppression on the part of others, and the Clients were bound to do service to their Patrons. The position of the Clients was in truth very similar to that of a great lord's retainers in the Middle Ages. They cultivated the lands of their masters, or engaged in trade under their protection; but, although personally free, they possessed no political rights. Still lower in the social scale was a body of slaves, whose condition did not differ from that of the same miserable class in other countries. For military purposes, each tribe was bound to furnish a thousand men on foot, and a hundred men on horseback; and, as the number of the tribes was three (Roman, Sabine, and Etruscan), the army of the united Burgesses in the early ages consisted of 3,000 foot and 300 horse, which body was called the Legion. The system of government was in the main aristocratical and military; but it was not without a popular element, which in time was extended and strengthened, as the people became more and more conscious of their power.

The union of the Sabines with the Latin race to which Romulus belonged seems to have had a marked effect upon the national religion. The hierarchy was doubled in consequence of this union, and sometimes the deities themselves were worshipped under two names, in consequence of the double origin of the later race. The god Quirinus was probably the Sabine Mars, and had a separate establishment of priests. Juno, it has been conjectured, was possibly the Sabine equivalent of the Latin Diana, though in time these deities came to be regarded as distinct. The religion of the Romans was indeed partly Sabine, partly Etruscan, in its origin, though of course it had Greek affinities as well. To what extent it was also Latin cannot be distinctly ascertained. Among its leading features were the obligations to worship each of the State gods with sacrifices at particular periods of the year; to keep certain festivals; to make daily offerings to the Lares of the household (which was the special office of the *Pater Familias*); to perform vows, and make occasional thank-offerings; and to abstain from business on inauspicious days. It was also the practice of the Romans, on critical or important occasions, to consult the Sibylline Books, with respect to which a very remarkable story was related. The Sibyls were certain women, supposed to be supernaturally inspired, who existed in different parts of the world; but one of the most celebrated was the Cumæan Sibyl, dwelling at Cumæ, a very ancient Greek city of Campania, not far from Neapolis, or Naples. There was likewise a Sibyl of Cumæ in Æolia; but the prophetess of Central Italy was the more famous. This woman received from Apollo the gift of immense longevity, but without a corresponding perpetuity of youth. Long afterwards, a strange woman (either one of the Sibyls, or an inspired messenger) entered the palace of Tarquin II. (the last of the Roman kings, whose reign we shall have to describe further on), and exhibited to him nine volumes, which she offered to sell at an enormous price. The king refused to purchase them, and she immediately disappeared, but soon afterwards came again with six volumes, having burned the other three. For these six volumes she demanded the same price as for the previous nine; but Tarquin still refused to buy them, and she burned three more. The last three were now offered without any abatement in the terms; and Tarquin, considering that there must be something extraordinary in the circumstance, consulted the augurs, who told him he had done very ill in declining such a priceless treasure. He therefore purchased all the volumes that were left; and the Sibyl then vanished from sight, and has never since appeared in the world.

These mysterious writings were known as the Sibylline Verses. Two priests, called Duumviri Sacrorum (to whom were subsequently added many others), were appointed to take charge of the volumes, which were consulted only when the State

appeared to be in serious danger, and then with the greatest solemnity and reverence. The Sibylline Verses are said to have been burnt several times, but to have been restored in the shape of fragmentary verses collected in different parts of Greece, which were consulted as late as the middle of the sixth Christian century. In the early ages of our era, it was believed that these verses contained prophecies of the Messiah; but it is now generally held that any expressions of this nature were interpolated by Christian writers. A collection of Sibylline Verses has been published in modern times: its authenticity, however, is doubtful, and it is improbable that any of the original writings survive, unless in so corrupt a form as to be devoid of value. A perfect manufacture of these prophetic utterances seems to have been carried on in the ancient world, and private persons had their special collections, all of which professed to be genuine. The Emperor Augustus caused more than two thousand of such books to be committed to the flames; yet in the reign of Tiberius it was again found necessary to weed out all so-called Sibylline Verses which were considered spurious. The authenticity of the remainder is equally open to question.

After the death of Romulus (which is assigned to the year 716 B.C.), the Senate retained the administration of affairs for a whole year, until the Burgesses, growing tired of the interregnum, demanded the appointment of a new king. The Senate therefore chose a Sabine, named Numa Pompilius, for this office. Numa already enjoyed a high reputation for justice, wisdom, and holiness; and the happy nature of his reign corresponded with the noble qualities which he had exhibited in a private station. He was afterwards said to have learned wisdom from Pythagoras; but the mythical legend respecting him is, that he married the nymph Egeria, whom he used to meet at a fountain in the heart of her sacred grove. The character of this reign was distinctively religious; for, taught by his wife Egeria, Numa entered into direct communication with Jupiter, from whom he obtained various signs of peculiar favour to the Roman people. In the sight of a large public assembly, the god, veiling himself in the splendour of lightning, sent down from heaven the Ancilé, or sacred shield of Mars, to preserve which from theft Numa caused eleven others to be made, so exactly similar that no man could detect the difference. Numa also erected a temple to Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, on whose altar flamed the sacred and ever-burning fire brought from her temple at Alba; for Vesta was essentially a Latin goddess. He also built in the middle of the Forum the porch or covered passage of Janus, the god of day, who presided over the opening and conclusion of all matters. The folding doors at the two ends of this passage were shut in time of peace, and open in time of war; and, according to the legend, they were closed during the whole reign of Numa Pompilius, which lasted forty-three years—a circumstance which occurred very seldom during the period of authentic history. The religious institutions of Rome were ascribed to Numa, and in particular he established a College of Pontiffs, at the head of whom was the Pontifex Maximus. The duties of these pontiffs were to direct the ceremonies of religion, to regulate the calendar (which was important in its relation to the periodical festivals), and to determine the system of weights and measures. To Numa also is attributed the appointment of the Heralds, whose office it was to perform the solemn rites belonging to the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace. It was he, likewise, who fixed the boundaries of fields and estates by landmarks sacred to the god Terminus, and who divided the territory of Rome outside the city into districts. It is said that Numa forbade the sacrifice of any living thing, and directed that the offerings to the gods should consist wholly of corn and the other fruits of the earth. He is also stated to have forbidden the worship of images, and it is alleged that, in consequence of this prohibition, no statues were seen in the temples or sanctuaries of Rome for upwards of a hundred and sixty years after his time. When he died (in 673 B.C.), he was buried on Mount Janiculum, together with the books of his laws, which, four hundred years after his death, were accidentally discovered, but immediately afterwards destroyed by order of the Senate, as they were found to contain nothing new or interesting. The character of Numa Pompilius is so beautiful and worthy of reverence that one is disposed to wish it had a greater foundation of historic truth than appears to be the case. On the whole, Numa must be regarded as a myth; yet the institutions ascribed to him must have had some author, and we are at any rate unable to associate them with any other person.

Before the complete amalgamation of the Latin and Sabine races, the two furnished kings alternately to the united commonwealth. Thus, Romulus was Latin, Numa was Sabine; and Numa was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, who was Latin again. Tullus was a warlike king, whose chief exploit was the conquest of the Albans The quarrel arose out of some disagreement

with respect to the border lands, and Tullus, marching into the territory of the Albans, prepared to give battle. It was then proposed by the Alban commander that the issue should be determined by a small body of champions chosen from each army. On the side of the Romans were three brothers, named the Horatii; on that of the Albans three other brothers, named the Curiatii. These two sets of warriors fought until all the Curiatii were badly wounded, and two of the Horatii lay dead, while the third was untouched. The surviving Horatius drew on his opponents by a pretended flight, and, when they were divided by a sufficient distance, turned round, and slew them one by one. The Romans were therefore held to be victorious, and the war came to an end. But Horatius was afterwards reproached by his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii; and, being angered at her grief, he stabbed her to the heart, exclaiming, "So perish the Roman maiden who shall weep for her country's enemy!" For this act, Horatius was tried, and condemned to be hanged; but he appealed to the people, and was pardoned on account of the services he had rendered to the State. His father declared that the sister had been justly slain, and that, had the contrary been the case, he would have exercised the right which every Roman father possessed, and have killed his son with his own hand. Still, the shedding of blood required some atonement; and the heads of the Horatian Gens continued for many ages to offer sacrifices at their own expense, in expiation of the evil that had been done.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii had ended in the discomfiture of the Albans; but those people did not readily accept the result they had courted, and their ruler, Mettus Fufetius, took advantage of a war in which Tullus was shortly afterwards engaged with the people of Veii and Fidenæ (both Etruscan communities, though the latter were within the Sabine territory), and refused to render him that assistance which by the recent terms of peace he was bound to furnish. When the Romans were hard pressed by their enemies, Mettus stood aloof upon a hill, and did not lead his forces to the spot until the victory had been nearly achieved. Tullus concealed his anger for the moment, but invited all the Albans to a public ceremonial next day. On arriving without weapons, they were surrounded by the Roman Legion, and Tullus ordered Mettus to be bound by the arms and legs to two four-horsed chariots, by which he was torn in pieces. The others were spared; but Alba was soon afterwards dismantled, and its citizens were forced to migrate into Rome, where they were treated with great consideration and honour, for Tullus did not forget that Rome was reputed to be an Alban colony. Thus strengthened, both in the population of his city and the composition of his army, Tullus made war on the Sabines, and, after adorning Rome with several important buildings, died in 641 B.C., when he had reigned thirty-two years. He had been neglectful of the gods, and popular tradition attributed his death to lightning from heaven, sent down by Jupiter, whom he had endeavoured to evoke upon the Aventine. It is also related that, a little before his death, Rome was afflicted by a plague, and that the king himself fell into a lingering disorder. Yet he was not unmindful of supernatural powers when placed under circumstances of danger; for, on being nearly overcome by the people of Veii and Fidenæ, he vowed temples, in case of victory, to Pallor and Pavor (Paleness and Panic Fear); and he established the games of the Saturnalia and Opalia in honour of the god Saturn and the goddess Ops, in consequence of assistance rendered him during his struggle with the Sabines.

As successor to Tullus Hostilius, the Burgesses elected the Sabine, Ancus Martius, a son of Numa's daughter, from whom they expected the same peaceful government, the same piety, and the same justice, as they had experienced from his ancestor. Ancus Martius proved himself a much superior ruler to Tullus Hostilius; but he was addicted to warlike enterprises, and, having been provoked into hostility by the Latins, seized several of their towns, and removed into Rome many thousands of their inhabitants, whom he settled on Mount Aventine, and in the valley lying between that hill and the Palatine. He also extended his conquests beyond the Tiber, and along the course of the river as far as its junction with the sea. From the Etruscans of Veii he took some places of importance, and he built the port of Ostia, by which Rome obtained a position on the Mediterranean. He is likewise credited with having fortified the suburb of Janiculum, and united it to Rome by the Pons Sublicius, or Bridge of Piles. Both Ancus Martius and his predecessor are really historical personages, though we may not be able to accept everything that is related of them. They were the leaders of a people beginning to acquire consistence and definite organization, and it was during their reigns that the distinctive character of Rome, as a great conquering Power, destined to swallow up one community after another, became unmistakably manifest. Yet even at this time the extent of the Roman territory was singularly small. Veii, and Fidenæ, which it had taken

Tullus Hostilius so much pains to conquer, were only a few miles distant, and Alba Longa, the parent State of Rome, which had been reduced by the same monarch, was also close at hand. The conquests of Tullus Hostilius and of Ancus Martius were slight enough, considered with regard to their superficial extent: their value lay in the fact that the Roman sovereigns were thus enabled to add largely to the population of their city, to acquire a reputation for successful valour, and to obtain a recognized standing among the Latin races. The people were desirous of being acknowledged as the leaders of that Latin federation to which, in the earliest days of their civic existence, they did not belong, but with which they had a natural affinity, as being Latins themselves, and probably the descendants of an Alban stock. Alba was the chief seat of the Latin religion; and when Numa Pompilius established the worship of Vesta at Rome, it was from Alba that he brought the sacred fire. Again, when Tullus Hostilius ordered the destruction of Alba, he directed that the temples on the Alban Mount should be spared; and the ancient Latin worship was performed there by the Romans themselves down to the end of the Republic. Alba continued to enjoy a species of religious supremacy in the midst of her ruins; but her destruction as a secular Power was made the basis of a claim on the part of Rome to succeed to the presidency over the thirty Latin communities which had previously been exercised by the Long White City. This claim seems to have been allowed, as doubtless there were no means of resisting it; yet the operations of Ancus Martius show that the Latin communities struggled for some time against complete subjection. When the inferior Latin cities were entirely subdued, their inhabitants, on being removed to Rome, were treated with far less consideration than those of Alba. The Albans received the full advantages of Roman citizens, and Tullus Hostilius honoured them by fixing his residence in their midst. But the people of the other Latin cities were denied the privileges of Roman Patricians; that is to say, they had no share in the government of the State, though they were not reduced to slavery. They occupied a medium position between the citizen and the foreigner—a position afterwards described as "the Latin Right."

Ancus Martius died in 617 B.C., after a reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, a citizen of Tarquinii, in Etruria. It is said that the father of this person was a Greek nobleman of Corinth named Demaratus, and Tarquinius himself had been a Lucumo, or chief, in the city of his birth. He was married to an Etruscan woman named Tanaquil, and, being ambitious, and unable to obtain as much power at home as he desired, owing to his foreign descent, removed to the city of the Tiber, where, as we have seen, some Etruscans had already settled. A fortunate omen greeted the strangers as they reached Mount Janiculum, and Tarquinius (who received his Latin names from the people of Rome) was in time appointed by Ancus Martius as the guardian of his children. When that monarch died, his two sons were still boys, and, as the principle of hereditary succession seems to have been in some degree acknowledged by the choice of Ancus Martius as the grandson of Numa, it might have been expected that the eldest of these boys would have received the sceptre, under the guidance of a regency. Nevertheless, Tarquinius Priscus so recommended himself to the people that he was elected to the sovereignty. This honour he probably owed in some degree to the votes of the Etruscans settled on the Cælian Hill, and he may also have found supporters among the Albans. At any rate, he obtained the supreme office, and one of the uses to which he applied his power was to exalt the Etruscan tribe to a position of greater importance than they had previously occupied. He added a hundred members to the Senate, and it is likely that they belonged to the Etruscan body. He increased the number of Vestal Virgins to six, and it is believed that the two additions were from the nationality with which Tarquin was himself connected. He also doubled the number of the Knights (Equites, or Horsemen), but whether from the same source may be doubtful.

His desire was to create three new tribes out of the ranks of the Plebeians, who were not, as the name is now understood to imply, an ignoble class (for their families were often ancient and distinguished), but who, being descended from conquered races, and therefore inferior in one sense to the three tribes established by Romulus, were not entrusted with political functions. These families, consequently, formed no part of the Populus Romanus—the Roman People, in the exclusive and privileged sense of that term. The Plebeians, or Plebs, were in fact the unenfranchised masses of the population; but it was not until the latter days of the Republic that the word acquired an invidious meaning, as signifying persons of low birth and vulgar manners. Many had acquired riches—the ordinary practice of those to whom all other forms of power are denied; and Tarquinius Priscus had the penetration and good feeling to see that these

men could not be kept perpetually in a state of subjection, and might even become a danger to the commonwealth, if continuously oppressed. As a foreigner himself, he did not share the Roman feeling of exclusive predominance; and he therefore proposed to make three new tribes, with all the privileges attaching to the tribal state, out of the Plebeian body. This suggestion was of course encountered by that feeling of jealousy which is natural to privileged classes. The tribes of Etrurian origin did not oppose the intention of the king; but the Roman and Sabine tribes were bitterly antagonistic. An augur named Attus Navius, who belonged to the Sabine tribe, forbade the project in the name of the gods; but the king laughed at him, and, in order to test his supernatural gifts, bade him say whether the thing he (Tarquin) had then in his mind might be done. After consulting the gods by augury, Attus Navius replied that it might; to which the king rejoined, "I was thinking that thou shouldst cut this whetstone in two with this razor." The augur took the razor, and divided the whetstone; whereupon Tarquin promised that he would no longer disobey the gods. It is added that he abandoned the scheme on which his mind had been fixed; but in truth he only modified it, by attaching certain of the Plebeians to the old tribes in a subordinate relation, somewhat less privileged than the older Patricians, yet much more favoured than had been their lot till then. The majority of the Plebeians, however, still remained in their inferior position.

THE MOUTH OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

Having strengthened his power by these measures, Tarquin attacked and destroyed the wealthy city of Apiolæ, and recovered a number of other Latin towns which had apparently regained their independence after the death of Ancus Martius. He then entered the Apennines, and made war upon the Æqui—a people dwelling in the upper valley of the Anio, and distinguished for great ferocity. No previous Roman king had penetrated so far from the capital, and Tarquin had to pay dearly for his enterprise. While he was absent, the Sabines crossed the Anio, and, committing great ravages as they proceeded, advanced to the very walls of Rome. This inroad recalled Tarquin to his dominions, and the Sabines were driven back; but they returned the following year, when they entered the Roman territory by a bridge of boats over the Anio, a little above its confluence with the Tiber. Before they could reach the capital, however, they were vehemently attacked by Tarquin, who destroyed the Sabine bridge by blazing rafts. The fords of the river above the hostile camp had been previously occupied by the Romans, and the slaughter was so great that only a few of the Sabines escaped into the mountains. The arms of others were borne down the Tiber, and the spoil which was collected on the field of battle was burnt as an offering to Vulcan. Flushed with success, Tarquin next advanced into the Sabine territory, where he took Collatia, an old Latin town near the Anio, and bestowed it on his nephew, who was accordingly known as Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. While engaged in the Sabine campaign, Tarquin vowed to build on the Saturnian Hill a great triune temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. He did not live to do more than prepare the ground for this structure; but, as the workmen were digging for the foundations, they disinterred a human head. Of course the augurs were required to explain the meaning of so strange

TARQUINIUS AND THE SIBYL.

a prodigy, and they declared it was an omen that that spot should become the head of the whole world. For this reason, the new temple was entitled the Capitol, and the name was extended to all the sacred buildings on the hill formerly called the Saturnian, but afterwards the Capitoline.

Like other conquering monarchs, Tarquin was an extensive builder, and added many useful or magnificent works to his metropolis. The most celebrated of these was the Cloaca Maxima, or Great Sewer, which drained the marshy valleys in the neighbourhood of Rome. The construction of this remarkable work proves that it was of Etruscan origin; for it takes the form of a tunnel, or continuous arch—a method of building familiar to the Etrurians, but which was not at that time generally known to European nations. The massiveness of the structure, and its admirable execution, have excited the astonishment of successive generations, and are still worthy of study. The Cloaca Maxima exists to the present day in absolute preservation, and is as well able to perform its office as when first executed in the days of Tarquinius Priscus. Its mouth opens into the Tiber, a little below the Insula Tiberina, near Mount Palatinus. Subsequently, the tunnel was carried beyond its original length, and connected with an immense system of sewers which ramified under the whole of Rome. The arches of

these sewers were so high that, according to Procopius, a man on horseback might ride through them, a wain loaded with hay might pass along their channels, and vessels might sail in them. In the early days of the Empire, the celebrated Ædile, Agrippa, navigated the sewers in a boat; so that the statement of Procopius may not be so exaggerated as it seems. Public officers were appointed to keep these drains in repair, and in a proper sanitary condition. They were among the most solid and the most lasting works of ancient Rome, and it is only in recent times that modern nations have sought to emulate their greatness.

The valleys in the neighbourhood of the Palatine having been changed from marshland into dry ground by the drainage of the Cloaca Maxima, Tarquin proceeded to the erection of several edifices which would have been impossible in that particular spot, had the fenny nature of the soil continued. The Forum, or open space between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills where the assemblies of the people were held, was enclosed by rows of shops, and the centre was occupied by a temple to Saturn. In the opposite direction, Tarquin erected the Circus Maximus, for the exhibition of games which are said to have been introduced from Etruria. The shape of this circus was oblong, and it was provided with rows of seats rising one above another, of which the lowest were of stone, and the highest of wood. The Senators and Knights were provided with separate places, and thirty sections were set apart for the thirty Curiæ. The number of persons whom the edifice was capable of holding has been variously estimated at from 150,000 to 380,000; but, in any case, the statement must refer to an age long after that of Tarquin. The contests consisted of chariot-racing and boxing, and the persons engaged in the sports were hired Etruscans, not native Romans. It is said that Tarquin derived the means for these great constructions from the booty of Apiolæ; it is at any rate obvious that he must have had considerable command of wealth. This monarch has been described as the founder of the architectural glories for which Rome was afterwards distinguished. He certainly adorned his capital with works which the rude citizens of his day could not have executed, and there can be little doubt that he employed the artistic taste and mechanical skill of the Etruscans, who were at that time a people of advanced civilization. Previous to the era of the first Tarquin, the Roman kings indulged in but little display. The authority of the monarchs was chiefly symbolized by the fasces, or axes bound up with bundles of rods, which were borne before the king by twelve officers called Lictors. Even these emblems are alleged by Dionysius to have been introduced by Tarquin; but it seems more likely that they were coeval with the very commencement of the monarchy. The more ornamental surroundings, however, were apparently of Etruscan origin, and Tarquin is said to have naturalized at Rome the Etruscan insignia of royalty—viz., a golden crown, an ivory chair, a sceptre topped with an eagle, a crimson robe studded with gold, and a variegated crimson cloak.

The life of Tarquinius Priscus came to a violent end in 579 B.C. He was murdered by the sons of Ancus Martius, who feared that the old king would be succeeded on the throne by a friend of his named Servius Tullius, unless, by precipitating the sovereign's death, they could get the arrangement of affairs into their own power. The mortal blow was not dealt by themselves, but by the hand of a peasant whom they hired for the purpose, and who, pretending a quarrel with another, went before the king for judgment. While one of them was addressing the monarch, the other struck him on the head with an axe; but the object of the assassination was entirely defeated, as Servius Tullius, encouraged by Queen Tanaquil, took immediate possession of the throne. The origin of the new ruler was surrounded by obscurity. Some affirmed that he was the son of a Latin woman taken at Corniculum, and held in a state of slavery; others said he was an Etruscan named Mastarna, who, having settled at Rome, had assumed a Latin name. The name of Servius, however, certainly points to a very inferior position, not greatly differing from slavery. Yet this particular Servius attracted the favourable regard both of Tarquin and his wife, was in time ennobled, and ultimately became warden of the city. After the murder of Tarquin, Tanaquil ordered the palace-gates to be shut, and announced that the king was merely wounded, and that, pending his recovery, he had committed the government to Servius Tullius. The ambitious favourite at once proceeded to the exercise of sovereign authority. He showed himself to the people clad in the regal garments, and preceded by the lictors. He condemned the murderers of the late king to death; but the Martii had already secured themselves by flight. Having thus accustomed the citizens to regard him as a monarch *de facto*, he assumed the royal office as a matter of right; but to what extent he received a popular sanction to this proceeding is surrounded by considerable doubt.

Shortly after his accession, war broke out with the Etruscans, and, on the conclusion of a favourable peace, the new monarch addressed himself to a

reform of the constitution. We have seen that Tarquin had already conferred some privileges on the Plebeians; but much remained to be done ere that body could be placed on a footing of reasonable equality with the Patricians. Servius perceived that the safety of the State required a more liberal treatment of the former, and he therefore determined to admit all ranks of freemen to the franchise. Without destroying the older institutions of the city, he added to them in a way which greatly enhanced the power of the democracy. The citizens were divided into classes, according to the amount of their property; and these were subdivided into a larger or smaller number of "centuries," according to the aggregate value of the property possessed by the class. Each of the "centuries," whatever the number of persons composing it, had a single vote, and there was even an arrangement by which those who possessed no property received a certain degree of representation. These political reforms were accompanied by considerable changes in the social state. The whole Roman population was divided into Thirty Tribes, four of which were within the city, while twenty-six belonged to the country districts. Each tribe was provided with a stronghold upon a hill, as a place of refuge in time of war, and at the head of every tribe was a magistrate, called Tribunus. The army was drawn in due proportion from the several tribes, who furnished a direct tax for war-expenses. The internal affairs of the country districts were probably managed by the provincial tribes, and they had the right of meeting for the discussion of local measures, and for the appointment of local officers. The constitution of the army was on the same principle as that of the political state: viz., that the position of a man in the military ranks should depend upon the amount of property which he possessed. Servius is said to have also made an allotment of land out of the public domain to needy Plebeians. This land was probably on the northern bank of the Tiber, and, if so, doubtless consisted of tracts which had been ceded by the Etruscans after their defeat at the beginning of the reign.

Rome was considerably extended during the reign of Servius Tullius, and the city was surrounded by him with a single continuous line of wall, which sufficed to enclose the capital down to the time of Aurelian. Whether it was the sixth king of Rome who procured from most of the Latin towns an acknowledgment of Roman supremacy, as the head of the entire Latin Confederation, is a question which has been much discussed; but, since the position was held at the close of the Monarchy, it is not improbable that it may have been due to Servius. Before the end of his reign, this ruler designed certain measures which he hoped would ensure the stability of his institutions. It was his intention to abdicate, but, before doing so, to preside at the popular election of two magistrates, who were to be appointed to their office for not more than a year, and who before the close of that year should hold an assembly for the choice of their successors. It would thus appear that Servius contemplated the transformation of the Monarchy into a Republic; but the privileged classes, disliking the prospect of such a change, broke out into revolt, murdered the king in the Senate-house, and gave the crown to a second Tarquin, son of the former king of that name. The popular tradition is to the effect that Lucius Tarquinius conspired with his wife Tullia, a daughter of Servius, to assassinate the old king; that Servius was slain by their agents at the foot of the Esquiline Hill, in a road which was thenceforth called the Wicked Street; that Tullia, passing that way in her chariot, refused to alter her course, but drove over the body, which splashed her garments and her wheels with blood; and that some time after, when she entered the temple of Fortune, the statue of her father covered its eyes with a supernatural expression of abhorrence—on which account, a veil was thrown over the head. How much of this legend may be true it is impossible to say; but the whole story is full of a tragic intensity and picturesqueness, very appropriate to the early days of a military State like Rome. Servius Tullius died in 535 B.C., after a reign of forty-four years.

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus—Treacherous Seizure of the Latin City of Gabii—Erection of Grand Buildings at Rome—Discontent of the People—Lucius Junius Brutus, and his Pretended Idiocy—The Legend of Lucretia—Revolution at Rome, and Abolition of the Monarchy—Real Historical Character of Tarquin II.—Measures of Junius Brutus for Creating a Different Form of Government—Establishment of an Aristocratical Republic—Character of the New Constitution—Conspiracy for the Restoration of Tarquin—Execution of Two Sons of Brutus—Roman Sentiment of Devotion to the State—Banishment of all the Tarquins—Valerius Publicola and his Measures—Defence of the Sublician Bridge by Horatius Cocles—Mutius Scævola in the Camp of Lars Porsenna—The Romans worsted by the Etruscans—Institution of the Dictatorship—Battle of Lake Regillus—Popular Legend of Castor and Pollux—Slight Recovery of Roman Power—Aristocratical Innovations in the Constitution—Barbarity of the Law affecting Debtors—Disaffection of the Commonalty—Appointment of Tribunes of the Plebs—Treaty with the Latins—The Story of Coriolanus—First Agrarian Law—Arraignment of Spurius Cassius—Patriotism of the Fabian Gens—Conflicts between the Patricians and Plebeians—Dictatorship of Cincinnatus—Wars with the Æquians and Volscians—Pestilence at Rome.

WHETHER the second Tarquin was or was not concerned in the murder by which the life of Servius Tullius was brought to a close, it is certain that he attained to power by acting as the agent of those discontented nobles who hated the old king, and plotted his overthrow. But, having established himself upon the throne, he gave little satisfaction to any of the Roman people; that is to say, if we are to accept the least favourable account—viz., the narrative in Livy. The commonalty were offended by his abrogation of those democratic measures which had distinguished the late reign, and the Patricians feared that they would be crushed by the despotism which it soon became evident the new monarch was resolved on creating. It was not long before he acquired the name of Tarquinius Superbus—Tarquin the Proud; from which we may guess the feelings with which he was regarded by his subjects. Another cause of unpopularity may be found in his readiness to lean on external alliances. He courted both the Etruscans and the Latins, for the latter still retained a species of independence, though forced to recognize the supremacy of Rome. His daughter was given in marriage to the most powerful of the Latin chiefs, Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum; and Tarquin, having obtained from forty-seven associated cities of Latium an acknowledgment of his headship, built a temple to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount. The city of Gabii, however, refused to make submission; upon which, Sextus, the king's youngest son, gained admittance into the town by pretending that he was a fugitive from his father's tyranny, and then abused his opportunities to betray the position. This incident is surrounded by circumstances which have a character rather poetic than real; but the treaty made between the Romans and the Gabines, after the surrender of the city, was preserved in subsequent ages in the temple of the god of oaths, and is said to have been written on the hide of a bull strained on a wooden shield.

Having now at his command all the military resources of the Latin cities, Tarquin made war upon the Volscians, conquered the city of Suessa Pomœtia, and afterwards defeated the Sabines, who, taking advantage of the king's absence, had invaded Roman territory. In other respects, also, his affairs were attended by good fortune, and, feeling secure in the throne, he turned his thoughts to the erection of great public works at the capital. It is said that with this view he employed forced labour to a considerable extent, and placed his own people under the orders of Etruscan architects. The Romans murmured at their toils, and at the heavy cost of erecting so many stately buildings; but Tarquin transported the malcontents to colonies which he had founded in conquered territory to the east and south of Rome. As yet, his authority was unshaken, and the public edifices proceeded in spite of all opposition. Omens of an encouraging nature were vouchsafed to the king and to the Roman State; but an evil destiny was in store for the former, and the latter was about to undergo a change of a very important character, the ultimate consequences of which must at first have seemed doubtful. The agent to bring about these events was a son of Tarquin's sister, who had married a noble and wealthy Roman named Marcus Junius. After the death of that person, Tarquin murdered the elder of the two sons, and appropriated the family inheritance. The younger son, Lucius Junius, had the wit to feign idiocy as a means of protecting himself against the jealous violence of his sovereign. He was in truth a watchful and astute observer of affairs, and his private wrongs

gave him abundant reason for desiring to effect the overthrow of the king, and the abolition of the monarchical form of government. His assumption of mental incompetence, however, was so well maintained that he was very generally called Brutus, as being brutish or irrational.

One day, while the king's army was besieging Ardea, Tarquinius Collatinus, a kinsman of the usurper, spoke with incautious enthusiasm of the beauty, virtue, and discreet conduct of his wife, Lucretia. He even proposed that he and the friends whom he was addressing—the sons of Tarquin, and Lucius Junius Brutus—should at once take horse, return unexpectedly to their homes, and see how their respective wives were engaged. At Rome, the wives of the king's sons were discovered feasting at a grand banquet which they had given to some other ladies. The friends then rode on to Collatia, the city of Collatinus, which they reached at night, and where they saw Lucretia and her maidens busily carding wool, and spinning, by the light of a lamp. The beauty of Lucretia awoke a guilty passion in the breast of Sextus; and some time after he introduced himself into the lady's house in the absence of her husband, and inflicted on his confiding hostess the greatest wrong and indignity which a woman can be made to suffer. Sextus having returned to the camp, Lucretia sent for her husband and her father, related to them her affliction, and, declaring that she would not survive the shame of such an outrage, slew herself with a knife which she had concealed beneath the pillow of her bed. The father and the husband stood transfixed with horror; but Junius Brutus drew the weapon from the body, and, suddenly throwing off his appearance of simplicity, swore by the blood of Lucretia that he would pursue the house of Tarquin to destruction, and bring the Roman monarchy to an end. The corpse of Lucretia was carried out into the market-place, and the fiery harangues of Brutus, emphasised by the exhibition of the bloody knife, soon roused the people of Collatia to rebellion. Thence the movement spread to Rome, and the Curiæ, hastily convened, passed a vote depriving Tarquin of the crown, and banishing him and his family for ever.

Such is the celebrated legend of Lucretia—a legend which has been made the subject of more inflated declamation than almost any other in classical history or tradition. Its reality is doubted by the later school of historical critics, and it may possibly have been (at least partly) the invention, in some later age, of those aristocratic republicans whose ancestors had first made and then unmade the power of Tarquin. The despotism of the last Roman king has probably been exaggerated. He may, indeed, have abrogated the popular measures of Servius Tullius; but the chief weight of his tyranny fell on the nobles who had selfishly conspired against their former sovereign. The public works he executed are more likely to have satisfied the commonalty, by providing them with remunerative employment, than to have involved the hardship of forced labour; and the drafting of the people into colonies at no great distance from the mother State was apparently a politic and useful measure. The Patricians, however, were treated with unsparing rigour—an oppression the more difficult to be borne, as Tarquin had been placed on the throne expressly by those very classes, who of course expected him to do their bidding. It is no unusual circumstance for an usurper to distrust and hate the men who have helped him to power, and who may at any moment shatter their own idol. Such was the case with Tarquinius Superbus. He caused charges to be brought against the nobles, and judged them himself, without any right of appeal; and the punishment in such cases was death or exile. Supposing the story of Lucretia to possess any degree of truth (and it has probably some), it is conceivable that the offence of Sextus may have precipitated the revolution; but, if so, it was for no very sufficient reason. The crime was not committed by the king, and no attempt was made to ascertain whether Tarquin would punish his son for the abominable fact with which his memory is charged. In losing Tarquin, the Romans lost a capable administrator. He built the Capitoline temple, the branch sewers which drained into the Cloaca Maxima, and some other works; and at the time of his expulsion he was negotiating a commercial treaty with Carthage, the terms of which show that his power was regarded by the African Republic with respect.

The year which brought the reign of Tarquin to a close has been variously stated as 510, 509, and 508 B.C.; but in truth the whole chronology of the Roman kingdom is confused and uncertain. Its duration has been reckoned at 243 and 240 years; which gives to the several reigns an average length of about thirty-five years. This is improbably long, and, as both Romulus and Numa are apparently poetical inventions, the reigns of the other five kings could not have covered so large a space of time as was formerly supposed. There is no reason, however, for doubting that, about the close of the sixth century B.C., an important political revolution really took place in the Roman State, and that the Monarchy was changed into a Republic. This transformation having been completed,

Brutus set out for Ardea, in order to gain over the army besieging that town. Tarquin had already received intelligence of what had been effected, and at once started for Rome at the head of a picked body of troops. Brutus, however, happening to turn out of the main road, reached the army without encountering the king, and soon converted the soldiers to his own views. The sons of Tarquin were compelled to fly; peace was made with the Ardeans; and the invaders marched back to Rome. The fortunes of Tarquin were at an end, and, on

LUCRETIA AMONG HER MAIDENS.

finding the gates of his capital shut against him, he fled to Cære, in Etruria. It is a curious fact that the despotism of Tarquin at Rome was coeval with the establishment of several tyrannies in Greece, especially with that of the Pisistratidæ at Athens. The concentration of power in the hands of one man was a species of political development which may have been necessary, at that period of the world's history, among races like the Greeks and Romans, who were advancing from a lower to a higher grade of civilization, and who had not yet determined what were the forms of government most likely to avoid the evils both of hereditary monarchy and of tumultuous disturbance.

Men are so apt to be led away by a phrase, that, until very recent times, when a more critical spirit has been applied to history, it has been usual to speak of the expulsion of the Tarquins as the triumph of freedom over despotism, because it was the substitution of a Republic for a Monarchy. In point of fact, the masses of the people were no gainers by the change, but, on the contrary, very great losers. The revolution was a purely aristocratical movement, undertaken by the nobles in the interests of their own order, and with complete indifference to popular rights. The ill-treatment of Lucretia, supposing it to have taken place, was a mere pretext for making an open attack upon one who had long rendered himself hateful to the Patricians. If Junius Brutus really believed that such acts were to be attributed to arbitrary power, he only showed how small was his knowledge of human nature, in which wickedness is not the privilege of the few, but the common inheritance of the many. The act of Sextus was the act of every man who makes his pleasure and his will the only law. It might have been committed by any noble, or by any Plebeian. The morals of Rome underwent no improvement by the expulsion of the Tarquins, nor was there any abatement of tyranny, excepting in so far as a small privileged class was concerned. The commonalty were not long in discovering that the tyranny of one,

which after all affected them but little, had been multiplied into the tyranny of many, which affected them in no slight degree. For nearly a century and a half the Plebeians suffered from a rule of organised selfishness. Denied the privilege of holding office, their position was little better than that of serfs, and Rome declined both in power and civilisation, as the consequence of a revolution which abused republican forms to the advancement of special orders.

The Patricians, however, did not at once reveal their designs. It was necessary in the first instance to obtain the co-operation of the people, and the institutions of Servius Tullius were to some extent restored. As on former occasions, when a king had died, an officer called an Interrex was appointed to administer affairs until a more complete settlement should be arranged; and the function was now conferred on the Prefect or Warden of the city, Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lucretia. By this officer the people were convened in the Assembly of the Centuries for the election of a new chief magistrate, and it was determined to put in force the idea which Servius Tullius had conceived a little before his death, and to substitute for a king two elective magistrates, who during their term of office should have powers similar to those of the monarch, but who, it was hoped, would act as a check on one another. These officers were surrounded by the insignia of royalty, though in a somewhat mitigated degree. They sat in the *sella curulis*, or chair of state; the fasces, with the axe rising out of the middle, were carried before each in turn for a month at a time, though both exercised power simultaneously throughout the whole period of office, which usually did not exceed a year. The diadem, however, was laid aside, and the royal chariot and purple robe were no longer used. The new magistrates were at first called Prætors—leaders, or generals. In respect of their judicial functions, they received the appellation of Judices, and, being of equal authority, they were also entitled Consuls (*i.e.*, colleagues)—a designation which ultimately prevailed over all others. The first Consuls were Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus; but it was considered necessary to create a different kind of officer for the discharge of those religious duties (such as the offering of sacrifices) which had formerly pertained to the sovereign. For these purposes a special officer was appointed, called the Rex Sacrorum, or Sacrificial King; but, although the highest honour was paid to this dignitary, his power in the State was extremely small, and, in

HORATIUS COCLES DEFENDING THE BRIDGE.

order that he might not be tempted by ambition, he was rendered incapable of all civil functions. It is singular that the term king should have been retained in connection with this office, for the idea of monarchy was so distasteful to the makers of the revolution that they compelled all the people to take an oath that they would never again suffer any man to be king in Rome.

Aided by the Etruscans, Tarquinius Superbus made some attempts to recover his power; and, in connection with those attempts, several striking legends are related, which, although there is great reason for regarding them with distrust, demand a brief notice in any history professing to relate the fortunes of Rome. It is said that, in 509 B.C., Tarquin despatched messengers to his former capital, asking that his property might be given up to him. The Senate decreed that this should be done; but the messengers used their opportunities while at Rome to create a sedition against the newly-established order—a task not extremely difficult, as Tarquin had adherents who would gladly have brought him back. Two sons of Junius Brutus himself were among the conspirators; but their designs were overheard by a slave, who revealed the plot to the Consuls. The young men were arrested, together with others; but the persons of the ambassadors, as the representatives of a foreign State, were considered sacred, and they were merely sent back to their own country. The Senate now rescinded its previous intention of restoring the king's property, which was accordingly divided amongst the people; and the conspirators, on being brought up for judgment, were sentenced to death. Even in the case of his own sons, Brutus ordered the lictors to carry the sentence into execution in his presence; but it is said that his face showed painful signs of the struggle which it cost him. Plutarch remarks that he shut his heart against his own children with obdurate severity; but Plutarch lived in times when a greater softness, and perhaps also a greater feebleness, had entered into the dispositions of men, and his gentle and humane nature was scarcely capable of understanding the motives which influenced the conduct of Junius Brutus. In the mind of an ancient Roman, devotion to the State was one of the first of duties, as indeed it must always be in every legal and well-ordered community. The sons of Brutus had endeavoured to upset a constitution which (however great its defects may seem to us) must have appeared to their father the only guarantee of public liberty. To effect this design, they had intrigued with the national enemy; and to Brutus it was simply a question whether he should love his country or his children most. The incident is one from which the mind gladly turns away; yet it is not without a terrible pathos, similar to the later example of Timoleon and his brother Timophanes, in the history of Corinth.*

One result of this attempt on the part of the exiled king was the passing of a decree by the Senate, to the effect that thenceforward no one of the blood of the Tarquins should be suffered to remain in Rome. As Collatinus, the second Consul, came within the operation of this rule, he was compelled to resign his office, and retire to Lavinium; though, had the provision been strictly interpreted, Brutus should have been banished also, as he too was a Tarquin by descent, on the mother's side. Tarquinius Superbus was not disheartened by these acts, but persuaded the people of Tarquinii and Veii (both Etrurian cities) to lend him an army, with which he invaded the Roman territory. Junius Brutus and his fellow-Consul, Publius Valerius, who had succeeded to Collatinus, went out to meet the enemy, and a furious battle was fought. At the very beginning of the combat, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, rode with vehemence against Brutus. The two encountered with levelled spears, and were mutually transfixed through the body, so that they died on the instant. The battle was indecisive; but at night, while the armies were resting, a supernatural voice proclaimed that the Romans were the victors. Struck with a panic fear, the Etruscans took to flight, and the Romans next morning returned to their own city, where they paid high honours to the memory of Brutus. The supreme power of the State was now in the hands of Valerius alone, and it was not long before he fell under popular suspicion, partly because of his neglect to make arrangements for the choice of another colleague, partly for his pride in commencing a palace for himself on the Velian Mount. It was thought that he aimed at the sovereignty; but Valerius prudently called an assembly of the people to hear his excuses, and appeared before them with the fasces lowered, and devoid of the axe. This recognition of the popular supremacy had an excellent effect, which was increased by the Consul abandoning his design, and pulling down the splendid house he had begun. Afterwards he carried a law proclaiming outlawry against any man who should aim at kingly power, and securing to every citizen the right of appeal from the sentence of a magistrate to the decision of the people,

* See p. 462 of the Volume of this Series on "Early and Greek History."

within the city, and for one mile round. In consequence of the latter decree, the consular fasces were thenceforward borne without axes within the prescribed limits, beyond which, however, the Consuls retained the full Imperium of the kings. By these reforms, Valerius earned for himself the surname of Poplicola, or Publicola—the People's Friend.

A further attempt on the part of Tarquin to obtain possession of the throne was made about the year 507 B.C., if we are to credit the very confused and doubtful chronology of the early Roman annals. Finding that the people of Tarquinii and Veii were unable to help him to the desired end, he appealed to Lars Porsenna of Clusium, another of the Etrurian cities. Porsenna, who was probably at the head of the Etrurian Confederacy, hearkened to his request, and equipped a large and powerful army, which arrived at the Sublician Bridge before there had been time to break it down. To hold this bridge was an absolute necessity for the safety of Rome, and the feat was heroically accomplished by Horatius Cocles, Spurius Lartius, and Herminius. These three men took their stand at the further end of the bridge, and defended it against the Etruscans, while their companions were cutting away the piles and beams behind them. When this was nearly accomplished, Lartius and Herminius drew back, but Horatius still kept his ground until nothing but an open gulf remained in his rear: he then plunged into the stream, and reached the other side in safety. The Romans, it is added, put up his statue in the Comitium, and gave him large rewards; but the heroic legend of the Pons Sublicius, which has always been a favourite with other people besides those of Rome, is not without some appearance of popular exaggeration. Another well-known legend is that of the youth Mutius, who, when Porsenna had occupied the Janiculum, went to the head-quarters of the Etruscan monarch, and stabbed to the heart one of the officials, whom he mistook for the king himself. Porsenna, on being told of the fact, ordered that Mutius should be burned alive if he would not confess all he knew in connection with the attempt. The young man, however, thrust his right hand into the fire burning on an altar, and held it there while he told the king that there were three hundred young Romans like himself, who had conspired against his life, and had entered his camp in disguise, with the determination to destroy him at any risk to themselves. On this account, Mutius obtained the surname of Scævola, or the Left-handed, because he had lost the use of the right hand by his act of self-devotion. He was set free by Porsenna, and a peace was shortly afterwards concluded between the Etrurians and the Romans.

The truth as to these legends is not very difficult to be discovered. It is tolerably certain that in the war with Porsenna the Romans were beaten, although their resistance may have been dignified by many individual acts of heroism. The general discomfiture of the Romans is apparent from four important facts: viz., that they sent the insignia of royalty to Porsenna, in acknowledgment of the generosity of his behaviour towards the captives; that they relinquished all the land which had been won from the Etruscans beyond the Tiber; that Rome itself (as Tacitus long afterwards confessed) was occupied by the Etruscans for a time; and that, by the treaty concluded with Porsenna, the Romans were forbidden to use any iron except for instruments of husbandry. The treaty of peace was generally unfavourable to Rome, and the loss of one-third of her territory was followed by the reduction of the country tribes from twenty-six to sixteen, making the whole number twenty instead of thirty. All that the Romans obtained was the abandonment by Porsenna of the cause of Tarquin, if, indeed, it is historically true that he ever espoused that cause at all. The former king of Rome was probably dead, and it is not unlikely that the Etruscan movement towards the Tiber was part of a general scheme of conquest, in which the assailants were simply consulting their own interests. As previously stated, the Etrurians appear about this time to have extended their power into Campania, where they founded a confederacy of twelve cities, answering to those which had so long existed in their own land. It argues much, however, either for the heroism or the diplomacy of the Romans, that they succeeded in preserving their capital, and the narrow lands immediately surrounding it, from entire subjugation by an energetic people whose rule now flanked them both on the north and on the south. The Etruscans, however, were soon afterwards driven out of Campania by the Samnites, Latins, and Italian Greeks.

Reverting to the legendary history of Rome, some notice must be taken of what is said to have been the last attempt of Tarquin to recover possession of his throne. His son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, was the ruler of Tusculum, and Tarquin persuaded the thirty Latin cities to combine against Rome, and to take Mamilius as their leader, or chief. The Romans, distracted by internal jealousies, and finding that the double Consulship was a frequent source of weakness in times of war, determined to appoint a single Dictator, to whom was granted sovereign power—in other

words, the power of life and death—both in the city and the parts beyond. He was chosen for not more than six months; but his power during that time was absolute, and he could not be required at a later date to give any account of his actions. The Dictator was chief general of the armies, and the nomination of the officer who commanded the cavalry was vested in his hands. This important change was made in 501 B.C.; but the Latins did not declare war until a few years later. The first Dictator was Titus Lartius; the second was Aulus Posthumius, who had command of the Roman army when the Latins at length drew the sword. The adversaries encountered at Lake Regillus, in the land of the Tusculans. It is stated in the legend that Tarquin himself, though then very old, rode before the Latins in full armour, and that he was wounded by Posthumius in a close encounter. The battle after a while seemed going against the Romans; upon which Posthumius vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux, the twin heroes of the Greeks, if they would aid him. The heavenly brothers appeared immediately afterwards in more than mortal beauty, mounted on snow-white chargers. By this supernatural interposition, the Romans were enabled to gain the battle; but the mysterious horsemen vanished on a sudden, and at the same time two youths on white horses rode into the Forum at Rome, bloody and covered with dust. Alighting from their steeds, which were bathed in sweat and foam, they washed themselves in a spring near the temple of Vesta, and, telling the people that the Romans had conquered at Regillus, rode swiftly away, and were not again beheld. The battle of Regillus is supposed to have been fought on the Ides of Quinctilis (July 15th), 498 or 496 B.C.; but the date is very uncertain. According to the legend, Tarquin then took refuge with Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumæ, and died shortly after; but, if so, he must have reached an unusual age, and the probability is that he died long before. After the defeat at Regillus, the Latin cities made peace with Rome, which would seem to have recovered its former supremacy over them; and some years earlier (viz., in 504 B.C.) the Romans had obtained a victory over the Sabines, which increased the number of the tribes to twenty-one. Some slight recovery of Roman power is therefore to be noted at this period; but the influence of the State during the early ages of the Republic was small in comparison with what it had been under the Monarchy.

The revolution which expelled the Tarquins was, as we have seen, effected by the nobles, who doubtless were more concerned for the interests of their own order than for the general good. Concessions were at first made to the Plebeians, because in no other way could the new rule have been established; and so long as Rome was threatened by invasion from without the rights of the commonalty were respected. But shortly after the battle of Regillus, when the peril was greatly diminished, if not altogether overcome, the selfishness of the Patricians was revealed in several alterations of the constitution, tending to increase their own power, and to curtail and gradually extinguish that of the Plebeians. Immediately after the revolution, a hundred and sixty-four new members, a large number of whom belonged to rich Plebeian houses, had been admitted into the Senate, to complete the original number of three hundred, which had for some time greatly fallen off. The new senators were called Conscripti (the Enrolled), while the old members retained their former name of Patres (Fathers). For this reason, the members of the Senate were now addressed as "Patres et Conscripti," which in after times became contracted into the misleading phrase, "Patres Conscripti," or Conscript Fathers. The Plebeian senators soon lost all sympathy with the class from which they had sprung, and after a while no new members of Plebeian origin were appointed to the Senatorial body. The Consuls, also, were invariably chosen from among the Patricians, excepting in the first year of the Republic. Thus, the entire governmental order was concentrated in the hands of the aristocracy, and all the evils of caste rule were rapidly developed.

The dominant class consisted of a small number of noble families, who constantly married within their own circle; indeed, if any Patrician wedded a woman of inferior station, the children were regarded as illegitimate, and succeeded to none of the privileges which would otherwise have been theirs. A power so contracted was certain to be used with injustice and cruelty. Such was the case under the Roman Republic, and it led, in the course of a few years, to deep and widely-spread discontent. The laws of debtor and creditor were particularly severe, and even inhuman. A person who borrowed money was generally under an obligation by contract to discharge the debt on a certain specified day; failing which, he was summoned before a judge, who could assign him as a bondsman to his creditor. In the absence of any such contract, the creditor, after a lapse of thirty days, could arrest the debtor, put him in chains, and feed him on bread and water for sixty days or more. The debt still remaining unpaid, the creditor might, it is believed, put the unfortunate man to death; at any rate, a number

of creditors, who agreed to act together, were invested with the barbarous right of hewing the debtor in pieces, and dividing his body among themselves. It is probable that this extreme proceeding was not often resorted to, for in truth it conferred no real advantage on the creditors; but that debtors were often reduced to a greater or less degree of slavery is certain. The operation of these laws was of course grievous at all times; but it became particularly onerous after the destruction of the Monarchy, because, in consequence of that change, or at least in consequence of the events immediately following it, the masses of the Roman people were greatly impoverished. The conquests of the Etrurians, the insubordination of the Latin tribes, and the ravages of the Sabines and Oscans, who destroyed crops and carried off cattle, had deprived the populace of resources which they had for some generations enjoyed. Inhabitants of the country districts were driven for refuge into the city, and a desperate conflict for the means of life ensued, as the natural result of a too great concentration within a small area. Rome was at this time nearly reduced to the limits of her original territory; and, as the Roman people had largely increased, that territory was relatively smaller, as regarded its capacity of supporting those who dwelt upon it, than it had been at an earlier date.

Relying on the sympathy of their fellow-citizens, the Plebeians had hoped that, in consideration of their services in the recent wars, a relaxation of the law of debt would be granted. But the Patricians enforced the law with the utmost rigour, and provoked a large amount of discontent. The Roman army was maintained by voluntary enlistments, and the Plebeians at length declined to give in their names, unless they first obtained some guarantee of a redress of grievances. Promises of this nature were, indeed, made under terror of the Volscians, who threatened Rome with invasion; but they were invariably broken. The Plebeians withdrew from Rome in a body in 494 B.C., and, electing two of their own number as generals, took up a position on a hill lying at the junction of the Tiber and the Anio, about three miles from Rome. Their intention was to found a new city, where they could establish a government more in accordance with the principles of freedom; and had they carried out their design, it is more than probable that the fortunes of Rome would have been irretrievably ruined. The Patricians were alarmed, and sent embassies to persuade the seceders to return. This they were not disposed to do, for bitter experience had taught them to distrust the promises of their tyrants. The schism seemed to threaten the most fatal consequences; but Menenius Agrippa, a Patrician of popular sympathies, contrived to pacify the anger of the Plebeians, and terms of agreement were arranged. Debtors were relieved from the more extreme oppressions to which they had been subjected, and it was allowed that two Plebeians should be appointed as a counterpoise to the despotism of the Patrician magistrates. These officers were called Tribunes of the Plebs; but the value of the concession was greatly reduced by the mode of electing the Tribunes, which was at first referred to the Comitia of the Centuries, where the Patricians and their adherents were in a majority, instead of to the Comitia of the Tribes, which was a more popular gathering. The number of the Tribunes was afterwards increased to five, and ultimately to ten; their powers also were greatly augmented, and the mode of election was rendered more popular. Two Ædiles, or guardians of the temple of Ceres, were likewise chosen from the commonalty at the same time as the Tribunes. The Plebeians were still very insufficiently represented in the State; but their rebellion had procured for them a somewhat better position than before, and the spot where the treaty had been made was thenceforward called Mons Sacer, or the Sacred Hill. The new laws were entitled Leges Sacratæ, and it was considered that the pacific arrangement lay under the special protection of Jupiter. The year in which these reforms were effected is generally thought to have been 494 B.C.

Fortunately for themselves, the Plebeians had a friend in the Patrician Spurius Cassius, who, in the year following the reforms, was Consul for the second time. This remarkable man is well entitled to be considered one of the earliest benefactors of his country. In 493 B.C. he concluded a treaty with the Latins, which was preserved at Rome on a brazen pillar down to the time of Cicero. It is evident from this compact that the Latin cities had for some time regained their independence; but a close union, likely to be beneficial to both parties, was established by the league. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has preserved the very words of the treaty, which began thus:—"There shall be peace between the two parties so long as the heaven shall keep its place above the earth, and the earth its place below the heaven. They shall neither wage, nor cause to be waged, any war against each other, nor give to each other's enemies a passage through their land. They shall aid each other, when attacked, with all their might; and all spoils and plunder, won by their joint arms, shall be shared equally between them." Provision was made for the settlement of private disputes between the

citizens of the two States, and it was agreed that, when their armies were in the field together, the command should be given in alternate years to the Roman and the Latin general. The motive for this close union is probably to be found in the danger to which both Romans and Latins were exposed from the attacks of the Volscians and Æquians, two branches of the Umbro-Samnite race. The Volscians in particular proved extremely formidable. They had taken several Latin cities almost within sight of Rome; and at the same time the Æquians captured the citadel of Tusculum, while the Etruscans of Veii frequently appeared in force upon the opposite banks of the Tiber, where they threatened the Janiculum.

In connection with these perilous times, a legend is related, which doubtless possesses some degree of truth, though the imaginative tendency of popular tradition has embellished it with circumstances of a questionable character. The hero of this story was Caius Martius, afterwards called Coriolanus. He was descended from the Sabine king of Rome, Ancus Martius; and his mother, Volumnia, was one of those stern and haughty Roman matrons whom modern times affect, somewhat hypocritically, to admire. At the age of seventeen, Caius fought at the battle of Lake Regillus, where he earned a civic crown of oak for saving a fellow-citizen. Some years later, he was concerned in an attack on Corioli, a Latin city which had been taken by the Volscians; and the tale was, that when the Romans were driven back by the garrison, Caius Martius rallied the fugitives, and dashed into the town, which he captured by the vehemence and suddenness of his assault. It was for this feat that he obtained the added name of Coriolanus. But Caius Martius, though a brave soldier, was a man of insufferable pride and insolence in his conduct towards the lower orders. At a period of dearth, he opposed every measure of relief, and so irritated the Plebeians that their Tribunes had the greatest difficulty in restraining them from acts of vengeance. Ultimately, he was obliged to leave Rome, when, proceeding to Antium, which was then in possession of the Volscians, he offered his services to Attius Tullius, his former adversary, whom he induced to break the treaty then existing between the Volscians and the Romans. Rome was threatened with attack, and Coriolanus, taking several Latin towns in succession, spread consternation among those whom he now regarded as his enemies. When he had advanced to within five miles of Rome, the Senate sent forth a deputation of Patricians, to see if terms of peace could be arranged; but the conditions which he proposed were so severe and humiliating that the deputies returned to Rome without having effected an agreement. Afterwards, the Pontiffs, Flamens, and Augurs, dressed in their priestly robes, presented themselves before the conqueror, and besought him by religious and patriotic considerations to spare the city of his birth. But he refused to satisfy their demands, and the citizens were reduced almost to despair, when a deputation of women was sent to the Cluilian Foss, where Coriolanus was encamped, as the last desperate hope of saving the capital. The chief of these women was Volumnia; another was Virgilia, the wife of Coriolanus, who was accompanied by her two boys. The interview between the hero and his mother was characterized by that mingling of sternness and pathos which might be expected from such persons acting under such conditions. The fortitude of Coriolanus was at length broken down, and he exclaimed, "O, my mother! thou hast saved Rome, but destroyed thy son." His words were soon verified, for, having withdrawn his army and returned to the Volscians, he was slain in a tumult, arising out of popular mortification at his sacrifice of a great opportunity for destroying the rival power. So far as Coriolanus can be regarded as a true character at all, it would seem that he took refuge with the Volscians in 491 B.C., and was persuaded by his mother to retire from Rome in 488.

The third Consulship of Spurius Cassius was in 486 B.C., and it was signalized by some important events. By forming a league with the Hernicans, that sagacious ruler put a check upon the invasions from which the young Republic had so severely suffered, and saved the whole of Latium from external dominion. Antium was recovered, together with some other places, and the power of Rome began to rise once more. Another great measure of this distinguised Consul was that which is known as the First Agrarian Law. This was a law by which the occupation of the public lands by the Patricians, to the exclusion of the Plebeians, was subject to considerable changes. The lands forming the subject of legislation were not, as was formerly supposed, the estates of private individuals, arbitrarily confiscated for the benefit of the poor, but public territory, which the State had the right to assign in any manner most conducive to the general interests. These lands had formerly been the domain of the kings, and were increased whenever any city or country was conquered by the Roman arms. They had of late been appropriated by the Patricians; but it appeared to Spurius Cassius, himself a Patrician, that the Plebeians should receive their fair share of the arable grounds and pasture-lands which were within the disposal

of the commonwealth. He therefore proposed that the public domain should be measured, that a part of it should be leased for the benefit of the State, that other parts should be distributed among needy citizens, and that the Patricians, who were allowed to remain in possession of the rest, should pay a stipulated rent for what they enjoyed. These proposals met with violent opposition from the privileged classes, headed by Proculus Virginius, the colleague of Spurius Cassius in the Consulship. Another secession, however, was dreaded, and this salutary fear enabled the reformer to obtain legislative sanction for his scheme. No fairer or more just and necessary law was ever enacted; but not only did it offend the Patricians—it even gave dissatisfaction to the commonalty, who murmured because the Latins, in accordance with the recent treaty, were to have a share in the distribution. Nothing could be done against Spurius Cassius during his term of office; but, when that had expired, steps were taken for effecting the ruin of the noble-hearted Patrician who had cared more for the poor than for his own haughty and selfish class. The new Consuls were Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius, while, at the same time, Kæso Fabius, brother of the second Consul, was one of the two judges of capital crimes. The Fabian Gens, or House, was now acquiring great importance in the State, and its members acted together in the defence of Patrician interests. Spurius Cassius was arraigned by Kæso Fabius before the Comitia Curiata, on a charge of granting terms of too

INTERVIEW BETWEEN CORIOLANUS AND HIS WIFE AND MOTHER.

favourable a nature to the Latins and Hernicans, and of seeking to make himself king of Rome by the help of foreigners. Whether or not there was any truth in the latter accusation, the mere fact of its being brought was enough to create a prejudice against the late Consul. He was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and, after being scourged, was beheaded. His house was pulled down, and the operation of the law from which he had expected so much good, and which might have averted many evils in the future, was so successfully impeded by the Patricians that it became a dead letter.

Quintus Fabius was one of the Consuls for seven successive years—viz., from 485 to 479 B.C., inclusive. They were years of great trouble; for the Æquians and the Veientines repeatedly attacked the Roman territory, and the Roman citizens were divided against themselves. The Plebeians were systematically oppressed, and the Tribunes could do but little to protect them. The people were recommended to abstain from taking their place in the army when Rome was attacked from without; but the Patricians found their power sufficient to compel the malcontents to serve. On one occasion, however, the troops of Kæso Fabius, who was detested for his pride and tyranny, suffered themselves to be defeated, when under his command in the field. The Fabii were generally disliked, and not without reason; but a remarkable change, if we are to believe the popular legend, came over their feelings after a time. It is said that Kæso himself proposed that the Agrarian Law of Spurius Cassius should be carried into effect. As this proposal was rejected, the whole Fabian Gens left Rome in a body, and, establishing a fortified camp on the little river Cremera, which flows past Veii, and ultimately descends into the Tiber, sallied forth on frequent expeditions against the Veientines, whose cattle they drove in. When this irregular warfare had continued for more than a year, the whole colony, with the exception of a boy, was surprised and slaughtered by the Veientines in 477 B.C. In the following year, Menenius, who had been Consul at the time of the massacre, and who was encamped near at hand while the tragedy was proceeding, was indicted for neglect in rendering (no) assistance, and condemned to pay a fine. The Veientines stormed the Janiculum in 476 B.C., and in 474 a truce was made between Rome and Veii for forty years.

The Plebeians were determined to enforce the Agrarian Law which Spurius Cassius had passed for their advantage, but which they had not, in the first instance, received with as grateful a spirit as its generous character should have called forth. In 473 B.C. the Tribune Genucius impeached the Consuls of the previous year for preventing the execution of the measure; but, on the day appointed for the trial, Genucius was found murdered in his bed. This, however, only increased the popular discontent; and when the Consuls ordered a levy to take the field, a man named Volero Publius, who had been called out as a private soldier after having served as a centurion, appealed to the Tribune for protection. The latter, terror-stricken at the fate of Genucius, which had been followed by other assassinations, hesitated to act. Volero thereupon raised a tumult among his fellow-commoners, and obliged the Consuls to seek refuge in the Senate-house. The public-spirited Plebeian was chosen one of the Tribunes for the ensuing year (472 B.C.), and, while occupying this position, proposed what is called the Publilian Law, which provided that the Tribunes of the Plebs, and the Plebeian Ædiles, should be elected by the commonalty at the Assembly of the Tribes in the Forum, instead of at the Assembly of the Centuries in the Field of Mars. A bitter contest ensued, leading at times to personal collisions between the Consuls and the Tribunes, surrounded by their respective followers. On a certain occasion, the commons stormed the Capitol, and held it for some days by force. This brought the struggle to a close. The Senate listened to moderate counsels, and the Patricians authorized the Publilian Law in 471 B.C. This law has been called the second charter of Roman liberties, and it certainly increased the power of the commons in a very important degree.

Rome suffered greatly about this time from the effects of a pestilence, which added to the distresses of the lower orders. Political discontent increased from year to year, and the Plebeians demanded a complete reform of the commonwealth. The popular movement was violently resisted by the younger Patricians, who formed clubs for the organization of terrorism. Some of the offending nobles were banished; but, in 460 B.C., a number of exiles and slaves, led by a Sabine, surprised the Capitol by night, and entrenched themselves within its walls. One of the two Consuls, a favourer of the people, was killed in the assault; but the position was carried, and the insurgents were slaughtered on the spot, or subsequently executed. The place of the deceased Consul was filled by a man of strongly Patrician views—the celebrated Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, father of one of the young noblemen who, in consequence of their violence, had

been banished from Rome. Cincinnatus, though a man of narrow, aristocratical views, and entirely out of sympathy with the popular cause, lived in a style of rugged simplicity, cultivating by his own labour a small farm in the Vatican district beyond the Tiber. It is recorded of him that he formed a plan for the revocation of all the popular measures recently sanctioned, and scenes of conflict, characterized by the fiercest and most bloodthirsty spirit, frequently occurred within the walls of Rome. At the same time, the Æquians and Volscians, who were again at issue with the Romans, were pressing their enemies hard, and generally with success. A defeat which occurred in 458 B.C. was of so serious a character that it was resolved to call Cincinnatus to the Dictatorship. He was found by the deputies digging in his field, with his toga laid upon the ground; but in the opinion of the Senate he was the fittest man to deliver the Consul Minutius from an ambush into which he had fallen among the defiles of Mount Algidus. On accepting the post, Cincinnatus appointed Tarquitius Flaccus, a man as poor as himself, to the position of Master of the Horse, and immediately began to take energetic measures for the rescue of the imperilled army. Every one of military age was to march with him before midnight to Mount Algidus; and each soldier was to be furnished with rations for five days, and with twelve stakes. On gaining the scene of action, Cincinnatus ordered his troops to deposit their baggage, and to surround the hostile camp with a ditch, fortified by a palisade made out of the stakes he had provided. A great shout from the newcomers informed the Consul's army that relief was at hand, and the beleaguered soldiers made an attack upon the Æquians, which prevented them from encountering the levies of Cincinnatus. Being thus flanked on two sides, the Æquians found it necessary, next morning, to surrender at discretion. Cincinnatus made them pass beneath a yoke formed of two spears set upright, with one across, in imitation of the collar borne by draught cattle, and, having humiliated them by this token of subjection, led their chief officers in triumph to Rome, which he had quitted less than twenty-four hours earlier. Before laying down his office, Cincinnatus avenged his son by banishing the chief witness against him on a charge of perjury. He then went back to his farm, after a brief Dictatorship of sixteen days. Cincinnatus has always been a favourite with Republican orators and moralists; but a greater enemy of popular rights never existed, and even the simplicity of his life appears to have been nothing more than the enforced consequence of misfortunes which had deprived him of nearly all his property.

The army of the Consul Minutius had been saved from the danger which threatened it; but Rome was still surrounded by perils of the gravest order. Its citizens were shut up within a very small territory, and had enough to do to maintain themselves even there. The Æquians and Volscians had by this time established themselves on the Alban hills, in the very heart of Latium. Tusculum alone maintained itself against assault; in other directions, the Latin cities were either in the hands of the foe, or utterly destroyed by fire and sword. All the neighbouring territories were plundered by the invaders, who may, indeed, have been defeated from time to time, but who on the whole prevailed over the Romans and their allies. The evils of external war and of internal dissension were aggravated by the pestilence to which allusion has been made, and which continued to increase for several years. This frightful disease seems to have been part of that widely-spread malady which, somewhat later, devastated Athens during the days of Pericles, and which, like most similar afflictions, had its origin in the East. Nevertheless, the pestilence was a far smaller evil than the political condition which had arisen at Rome out of a revolution which was never intended to benefit the people at large, but simply to promote the interests of a class. The most angry and fatal visitations of Nature exhaust themselves in a comparatively short time. It is only the selfish and idle quarrels of men which are perpetuated from generation to generation, and from century to century, with a vehemence which often gains rather than loses, by the progress of the years.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF ROME.

Continued Dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians—Election of Decemvirs—Codification of the Law—Tyranny of the Third Appius Claudius—Assassination of Sicinius Dentatus—Legend of Virginia—Dissolution of the Decemvirate—Popular Revolution in Rome—Alteration in the Law of Marriage—Creation of Military Tribunes with Consular Authority—Efforts of the Patricians to Secure their Predominance—Admission of the Plebeians to the Quæstorship—Arbitrary Treatment of Spurius Mælius—Mutiny in the Army, and Stoning of Posthumius Regillensis—Recovery of Power by the Roman Republic—Destruction of Fidenæ—War with Veii—Prolonged Siege—The Draining of the Alban Lake—Veii taken by Storm—Further Triumphs of the Romans—Banishment of Camillus—Invasion of Italy by the Gauls—Character of that People—Northern Etruria Conquered by the Gauls, and entitled Gallia Cisalpina—Siege of Clusium by the Celtic Invaders—Quarrel with Rome, and March on that City—Defeat of the Romans on the Allia—Entry of the Gauls into Rome—Massacre of the Senators—Repulse of the Gauls from the Capitol—Purchased Retreat—Subsequent Victories of Camillus—Rebuilding of Rome—Poverty and Distress—Wars with the Latins, Æquians, Etrurians, and Others—Conclusion of a Peace with Etruria, and of a Treaty with Carthage.

ARISTOCRATICAL as was the spirit of the Roman Republic, the Patricians were unable to suppress the natural resolve of the people to have a share in the administration. The commonalty were not slow to perceive that their interests had been much more consulted under the Monarchy than under the new Constitution. The kings had at any rate extended the power and increased the prosperity of the State; and even supposing their despotism to have been much greater than it was, the people would probably have continued to obey them, out of that superstitious reverence towards the crowned and sceptred man—the supposed representative of Divinity—which is generally found in primitive communities. But when this order was destroyed, and it was declared by the nobles themselves that the commonwealth was to be ruled by its own inherent powers, and that all offices were to be elective, the poorer citizens, as well as the richer, asserted their right to be heard. We have seen that their claims were resisted with the obstinacy of privilege, but ultimately conceded when successful opposition became impossible. All such triumphs lead to renewed demands; and the Roman commonalty, having obtained the appointment of Tribunes as special representatives of their own class, and an agrarian law favourable to their interests, soon began to contemplate a still bolder extension of power. In 462 B.C. a member of the Sacred College, named Terentilius, proposed that a Committee of Ten (Decemviri) should be appointed to draw up laws for regulating the future relations of the Patricians and Plebeians. The Patricians were unfavourable to any further innovation; the Plebeians, on their side, were equally resolved; and the same Tribunes were re-elected five years in succession, as a testimony of the popular views. Fierce commotions broke out from time to time; assassination was employed by the nobles as a means of intimidating the democratic leaders; and society itself seemed tottering on the brink of ruin.

Fortunately, however, matters were compromised after awhile. In the first place, the number of the Tribunes was increased from five to ten in 457 B.C., and, three years later, a Committee of Three (Triumviri) was appointed to travel in Greece, and to bring back a copy of the laws of Solon, and of any other institutions which might be likely to prove instructive. These men returned in 452 B.C., and further reforms were then instituted. The Committee of Ten proposed by Terentilius was elected in 451 B.C.: all were Patricians, but their conduct was characterized by much liberality. Among their works was the codification of the law in Ten Tables (shortly afterwards increased to Twelve), which were set up in the Forum, and were the foundation of the later system of Roman jurisprudence, imposed by Roman arms upon a large part of the world, and still perpetuated, as regards many of its essential principles, in most civilised countries. Until then, the laws of Rome had been simply traditional: they were now preserved in written form, and acquired greater exactness by the process. In 450 B.C., several Plebeians were chosen Decemvirs; but one of the Patricians was Appius Claudius—the third of that name—who is said to have used his power for tyrannical ends. Like his father and grandfather, his sympathies were mainly with his own order; and, although he exhibited a conciliatory spirit during his first year of office, it may be that this was simply to ingratiate himself with the populace, and thus to acquire larger means of doing mischief afterwards. His colleagues were either overawed, or persuaded into complicity with his designs; Consuls and Tribunes were alike abolished; and the rule of the Decemvirs was so

oppressive that men remarked, Rome had got ten Tarquins instead of one. Even the Patricians left the city in considerable numbers, and the Plebeians found that those of their class in the ruling body were as despotic as the rest. At the expiration of the second year, the Decemvirs remained illegally in office, without taking any steps for the election of their successors. It would seem, however, that they really embodied a compromise between the nobles and the commonalty, who were now equally represented in the State.

While such was the condition of affairs in Rome itself, the surrounding country was being devastated by renewed attacks of the Sabines and Æquians. Two armies, each commanded by three Decemvirs, advanced against the enemy; but both were unfortunate, and the forces opposed to the Æquians were obliged to take refuge in Tusculum, lest they should be entirely overwhelmed. At this period, a tragical and atrocious incident (if we may believe the legend) occurred in the army sent against the Sabines. In that army there was an old soldier named Sicinius Dentatus—a centurion, and formerly a Tribune of the Plebs. Of the heroism displayed by Dentatus throughout a long life incredible stories are told; but it will suffice to say that he had received extraordinary honours from the Republic, and was covered with the scars of former combats. While serving against the Sabines in 449 B.C., he was suspected by the three Decemvirs commanding the Roman forces of being concerned in a plot against them. They accordingly sent him out on a reconnoitring expedition, accompanied by a number of soldiers, who were secretly instructed to murder him. When attacked, he defended his person with such fiery valour that several of his assailants were stretched dead upon the earth; but some at length climbed up the rock against which the old man had planted himself, and crushed him with heavy stones. The fact soon became generally known to the army, and a mutiny was on the point of breaking out, when the Decemvirs restored tranquillity by honouring the remains of Dentatus with a pompous funeral.

But a still more serious disturbance followed soon after. Among the officers in the army acting against the Æquians was a centurion named Virginius, who had a beautiful daughter, Virginia. Appius Claudius desired to possess this girl, and therefore caused her to be seized on a charge of being a slave born in the house of one of his clients. Icilius, a former Tribune, to whom Virginia was betrothed, procured her temporary liberation on bail, and sent a messenger to the camp to bring Virginius back to Rome. The distance being not more than twenty miles, Virginius appeared in the Forum next morning, leading his daughter by the hand. Appius at once gave judgment against the centurion, and decreed that Virginia should be rendered up to the person making the claim, and who of course was simply acting as the creature and agent of the Decemvir. This decision was in direct violation of one of the laws recorded in the Twelve Tables, which said that any person, being free, should continue so until it was proved that he was a slave. But Appius had force at his command for carrying out whatever he might order; and Virginius, seeing no other way of saving his daughter from the miseries of bondage, snatched up a knife from a butcher's stall, and stabbed her to the heart. Then, proclaiming that the blood of the girl was on the head of Appius Claudius, he passed through the crowd, which readily made way for him, and immediately returned to the army. His story excited a feeling of rage among the soldiers, and, together with the legions serving against the Sabines, they marched on Rome. Having selected generals of their own, they passed through the city, and encamped on the Aventine Hill, which had shortly before been given to the Plebeians as their quarter, and which was capable of being successfully defended.

Rome was in a state of incipient revolution. The whole of the commons were opposed to the Decemvirs, and the Patricians were at first inclined to support a body which was generally favourable to their order. But the Senate, observing the dangerous posture of affairs, compelled the Decemvirs to resign, and entered into friendly negotiations with the malcontents, who stated the conditions on which they were prepared to come to terms. These were—that the Tribuneship should be restored, and the Comitia of the Tribes be recognised as a power in the State; that the right of appeal to the people against the power of the supreme magistrate should be recognised; that thenceforward no magistrate should be appointed without appeal; that full indemnity should be granted to the movers and promoters of the late secession; and that the Decemvirs should be burnt alive. The Senate agreed to all these demands, with the exception of the last, which the Plebeians consented to withdraw; and the latter then elected ten Tribunes, the first of whom was Virginius. Thus the Tribunate was restored, and the lower orders had once more their special representatives. The Patricians therefore considered that they were entitled to a revival of the Consulship, the appointments to which had always been in their hands; and, upon the principle of divided and compensatory rule, this was perfectly

fair. Accordingly, the Comitia of the Centuries elected to the Consulate two Patricians who had exhibited a liberal and accommodating spirit towards both orders; and internal peace was soon restored to Rome. It should here be noted that this was the first time the term "Consuls" was used. The office had existed since the banishment of the kings; but its occupants had previously been called Prætors, or Judices. Several laws of a popular character were now passed, and it was enacted that the Assembly of the Tribes—which

resolution to check the vengeful inclinations of his own class. This power of exercising a veto was from the first made incidental to the office of Tribune, and enabled any one holding that position to forbid any law, or arrest any decree of the Senate, without assigning a reason for his dissent. A large amount of good was effected by the revolution which upset the Decemvirate; but the wishes of the people had not been entirely satisfied, nor had the exclusive spirit of the aristocracy been completely destroyed. The Twelve Tables of the

VIRGINIA IN THE FORUM.

before then had been empowered simply to regulate the affairs of the Plebeians—should receive legislative functions. In this way was created a species of House of Commons, while the Comitia of the Centuries was the aristocratical body, or House of Lords.

The authors of the late troubles were punished, or driven into exile. Appius Claudius committed suicide in prison, when awaiting trial before the assembled people—an indignity to which his proud nature could not stoop. But a proposal for giving an extensive application to these retaliatory measures was vetoed by the Tribune Duillius, and the danger of a renewed collision between the Patricians and Plebeians was thus removed by the moderation of a popular leader who had sufficient

Law still remained in force, and, although some of those ordinances were excellent, others were conceived in a narrow and intolerant mood. The intermarriage of Patricians and Plebeians had of old been forbidden, and the Twelve Tables confirmed the prohibition. The commonalty, however, were by no means disposed to allow this invidious law to survive. They demanded political and social equality, and, in 445 B.C., one of the Tribunes, named Canuleius, proposed two votes in the Comitia of the Tribes—one for legalising the marriage of the two orders, the other for giving a share in the Consulship to the Plebeians. As on former occasions, the opposition of the aristocrats was extremely violent, and Rome was again disturbed. Seeing no immediate prospect of success, the Plebeians once

more seceded, and took up a position on the Janiculum. Again the Patricians gave way, and the law as to marriage was allowed to pass. A more important concession could hardly have been made, since it paved the way for a complete amalgamation of the two classes, and for the ultimate abolition of those special privileges which enabled the one to tyrannise over the other.

Resistance to the second proposed law was more determined. It was hateful to the Patricians to admit the commons to a share in the highest offices of the State, and the battle was fought with great energy. Still, it was found impossible to get rid of the question altogether, and eventually a compromise was offered and accepted. It was agreed that the Consulship should be temporarily suspended, and that the chief executive power should be vested in officers bearing the name of Military Tribunes, or Tribunes with Consular authority. They were to be elected by the Centuries, and Plebeians were to be as eligible as Patricians. The original intention seems to have been that these officers should be six in number, like the Military Tribunes in each legion of the army; but the actual number varied, and in the very first year of the reform (444 B.C.) only three were chosen. Even these three were unable to serve, owing to some defect in the religious ceremonies; and their place was filled by Consuls. It was indeed remitted to the annual decision of the people whether they would have Consuls or Military Tribunes; and the Patricians were the less disinclined to concession, as they relied on their influence in the Comitia of the Centuries for securing most of the places. Moreover, the Senate had the power of suspending the Military Tribunate, and ordering an election of Consuls, whenever it thought fit. The Patricians did not scruple to take full advantage of the powers left in their hands; so that, although the Plebeians were theoretically on a level with them as regarded the right of electing to the chief magistracy, they were in fact excluded from the Military Tribunate—in other words, from the Consulship in its revised form—until 400 B.C., forty-four years after the change. To make the compromise still more illusory, two officers called Censors were appointed. These were always Patricians, and they took to themselves some of the principal functions previously discharged by the Consuls. Their election was every five years (the period called a *lustrum*); and the choice of the Senate was in their hands.

Nevertheless, the commonalty struggled hard to obtain a due share of power, and for several years the two orders were still in a position of mutual antagonism, though without proceeding to extremities. In 421 B.C. the Plebeians obtained another concession from the class above them, and were admitted to the office of the Quæstorship. There were two species of Quæstors—the Quæstores Classici, and the Quæstores Parricidii. The former were originally paymasters of the Classes, or great military bodies into which the people were divided; the latter were judges appointed to try matters of life and death. It was to the office of the Quæstores Classici that the Plebeians were now admitted, and the position was one which conferred on them an important augmentation of power, especially as it led indirectly to their admission into the Senate. During the period when these changes were being slowly elaborated, an incident of a tragical nature showed once more the width of that division which separated the upper from the lower class. A famine began in 440 B.C., and, to meet the prevalent distress, an office called the Mastership of the Market was created. The first who held this office was a Patrician named Minutius; but he was accused of dilatoriness in his measures, and the confidence of the people centred round a wealthy Plebeian knight named Spurius Mælius, who bought up large quantities of corn, which he distributed amongst the poorer citizens, either at very low prices, or as a gift. The Patricians, therefore, suspected him of a design to make himself king by purchasing the affections of the commonalty. It is probable that Mælius entertained no such project; but the Patricians, feeling uneasy for themselves, determined to take active measures against the benefactor of the poor. One of the Consuls elect—a Patrician named Quinctius Capitolinus—persuaded the Senate to proclaim a Dictatorship; and the person chosen for the exercise of supreme power was the same Cincinnatus who several years before had rescued the Roman army from the Æquians. He was not young on the former occasion, and must now have attained an age beyond the ordinary span of human life.

The old Patrician, however, entered on his office with a vigour which might well have been tempered by greater humanity and more discretion. Having named Servilius Ahala his Master of the Horse, he occupied the Capitol, and all the strong places of the city, during the night immediately following his appointment. Next morning, he sent Ahala to summon Mælius before him; but Mælius refused to appear, and Ahala slew him in the midst of the people whose protection he claimed. Cincinnatus, in virtue of his powers as a Dictator, pronounced that this act was justifiable and necessary; but the Plebeians regarded it as a murder, and Ahala

quitted Rome in 439 B.C., to escape the popular wrath. The dwelling-house of Mælius was pulled to the ground by order of the Dictator, and the stores of corn accumulated there were sold at a low rate to the famishing poor, whom Mælius was slain for helping in precisely the same manner. Such were the bitter feelings existing between the two chief classes in Rome; and, although the State was still threatened by the combined attacks of Æquians and Volscians, the social feud was perpetually breaking out afresh. In 414 B.C. this feeling of antagonism was even carried to the extent of a mutiny in the army—a very rare circumstance among the Romans, whose sense both of law and of military discipline was extremely high. The Military Tribune for that year was Posthumius Regillensis, who opposed an agrarian law for dividing among the poorer Plebeians some land which had been acquired from the Æquians. He had already made himself very unpopular with his soldiers by refusing to them a share in the plunder taken from the enemy; and he now threatened the army with penal consequences if they did anything in furtherance of the proposed agrarian law. The patience of the soldiers was exhausted, and, rising in mutiny, they stoned their general to death.

It is surprising that, with such angry dissensions at home, the Romans should have been able to preserve their independence from the attacks of surrounding foes; but, for several years previous to the latter end of the fifth century B.C., Rome had been recovering some of her former power, and had successfully resisted the assaults of the Sabines, the Volscians, and the Æquians. Military colonies were planted at Ardea, at Velitræ, and at Lavici, for the protection of the mother-city against inroads by which her territory had been frequently desolated. The Oscan nations were steadily forced back towards the east, and the Etruscans were attacked beyond the Tiber with so much effect that a considerable addition was made to the possessions of Rome. The Republic was thus re-acquiring the position formerly held by the Monarchy, and the genius for war, which appears to have been natural to the Roman people, but which had long been suppressed by political convulsions and mutual distrust, once more asserted itself. Nevertheless, the tide of good fortune did not flow without occasional checks. The Volscians defeated the Romans in 407 B.C., and re-captured Anxur (now Terracina) in 406. The power of the Volscians, however, was beginning to recede before that of the Samnites. At the same time, some of the other Italian races were operating with success against the Greek colonies of the south, and Cumæ, the oldest of those colonies, was taken by the Campanians in 420 B.C., after having, in previous years, repelled many attacks by the powerful confederacy of the Etruscans. Amongst the Etrurian cities, the most formidable enemy of Rome was Veii, attached to which was a large amount of territory extending northwards from the right bank of the Tiber. One of the cities in alliance with Veii was Fidenæ, where the Romans had frequently attempted to plant colonies, which were always expelled by the natives. The people of Fidenæ subsequently placed themselves under the protection of Lars Tolumnius of Veii; but, in the war which ensued, the Romans are said to have defeated the allies, and slain the Veientine king, in 437 B.C. It would seem, however, that Fidenæ again revolted from the Romans; for, two years later, it was once more captured by the Dictator, Servilius Priscus. Fresh Roman colonists were then sent into the city; but another uprising occurred in 426 B.C., when the colonists were murdered by the native citizens. The Romans now determined on a terrible revenge. The city of Fidenæ was totally destroyed, the Etruscan inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the Romans finally obtained possession of a spot which, being on their own side of the Tiber, was of great importance to their security. A truce was then concluded with Veii for eighteen years, dating from 425 B.C.

At the expiration of this truce, in 407, the Romans declared war against the Veientines. The latter appealed to the Confederacy for aid; but Etruria was at that time so seriously threatened by the Gauls in the north, and by the Greek colonies in the south, that it was determined to leave the Veientines to fight their own battle without any help from the associated cities. The contest, however, was far from unequal. Veii is stated to have been as large as Athens, and the ruins still existing show that it was a town of no inconsiderable magnitude and strength. Its situation was on the river Cremera, about twelve miles from Rome; and, being planted in the midst of wild and rocky glens, which there break the level of the Campagna, it was less open to attack than towns built upon the plain. The fortress of Veii was reared on a precipitous hill, united to the city by a narrow ridge, and the strength of the position was such that the Veientines determined to abandon all operations in the field, and to retire within the shelter of their walls. Although the war was nominally resumed in 407 B.C., Veii was not invested until 405. The occasion was the first

on which the Roman soldiery remained in active service for any great length of time; and it was not until this date that they received any pay. They had previously been nothing more than a militia, volunteering for a short term, and looking for their remuneration to such plunder as they could acquire from the enemy. The investment of Veii was formed by a double line of circumvallation; the inner being designed to blockade the city, and the outer to repel any external attempts to raise the siege. It would seem that the attack lasted several years, and the progress of the Romans was so slight, and marred by so many adverse occurrences, that for a long while success appeared extremely doubtful. A very serious defeat was sustained by the besiegers in 396 B.C., when the people of Capena and Falerii (two other Etrurian towns) went to the assistance of the Veientines, dispersed the Romans, and destroyed their works. The news of this misfortune created a panic in Rome, where it was at once determined to appoint a Dictator. The new occupant of the office was Furius Camillus, and his Master of the Horse was Cornelius Maluginensis.

At this point of the narrative, fable again mixes itself up with the realities of history. It is related that, two years before the defeat of the Romans besieging Veii, the Alban Lake, which is situated at a considerable height among the Alban hills, began mysteriously to rise, although it was the latter end of the summer, and the dryness of the season should have produced a contrary effect. As the phenomenon continued, in spite of prayers and sacrifices, the Senate despatched a deputation to consult the oracle of Delphi; but in the meanwhile it was rumoured that an old Veientine soothsayer had affirmed that Veii could not be taken until the waters of the Alban Lake should be let off without escaping to the sea. The soothsayer, having been captured by a stratagem, was sent to Rome to be examined by the Senate, and, when the messengers returned from Delphi, it was found that they reported the same thing. The Romans accordingly constructed a great tunnel from the south-western part of the lake, so as to distribute its waters over the surrounding fields. Setting aside the fabulous part of this story, we find that the Alban Lake was really drained at some remote period by a species of channel called an *emissarium* —a passage for the waters, hewn from the solid rock for a distance of nearly three miles, with a considerable breadth and height. The work exists to the present day, together with the regulator at its outlet, although the latter is in a ruinous condition. The exact period at which the tunnel was formed cannot be determined; but the work is undoubtedly very ancient, and exhibits a degree of engineering skill of which our own era need not be ashamed.

The Veientines, dismayed at the fulfilment of what the oracle seemed to regard as a thing impossible, made proposals for peace; but the Romans were determined to subdue by their arms a city which had already cost them so much labour and expense of life. Camillus therefore recommenced the siege, foiled another attempt to break up the investing lines, successfully encountered a sortie of the garrison, and finally constructed a mine beneath the rock of the citadel. The king of Veii was sacrificing to Juno when the Roman soldiers (according to the legend) suddenly sprang up through the pavement of the temple. Many Etrurians were slain, and the sacrifice was finished by the triumphant invader. The statue of Juno was removed to a temple on the Aventine, and Camillus rode to the Capitol in a chariot drawn by four milk-white horses, like the chariot of Phœbus. The fall of Veii is said to have taken place in 396 B.C.—the very year when the people of Capena and Falerii had inflicted so serious a reverse on the besiegers. But it is evident that this date cannot be correct in both instances, if we are to allow any truth to the story of the Alban Lake in connection with the siege; for it is certain that so immense an engineering work could not have been accomplished within the compass of a year. That Veii was stormed by Camillus is, however, an undoubted historical fact. The lands surrounding Capena were then devastated by the conquerors, and Camillus, who had become Military Tribune, attacked Falerii, the citizens of which surrendered at discretion in 394 B.C. Sutrium and Nepeté acknowledged the supremacy of Rome soon afterwards, and three years later the powerful city of Vulsinii, north of the Ciminian range, was compelled to make a peace of twenty years' duration. The power of Rome was now acknowledged over a large part of Etruria, and there was no longer any doubt as to whether the Latin or Etruscan race would prevail in that part of Italy. But an enemy was at hand whom both Powers regarded with not unreasonable dread. The Gauls were threatening the whole peninsula, and the necessity of common defence against those barbarians had much to do with determining the peace.

After the capture of Veii, the people were either slaughtered or enslaved, and, as the city was thus emptied of inhabitants, and was a place of considerable beauty and convenience, the Plebeians of Rome proposed that half of their own population should settle there. But the project seemed so

likely to result in the creation of a rival city, equal in strength to Rome, that some of the Tribunes vetoed it, in opposition to their colleagues. Still, the idea possessed great charms for many, and it was again brought forward a year later. This time, all the Tribunes were in favour of the suggestion; but the Patricians persuaded them to relinquish their design, and Veii remained uncolonized by Rome. The Veientine lands, however, were distributed among the conquerors, and with this arrangement all parties were satisfied. Before long, Camillus raised a powerful faction against himself by his haughty conduct towards the people, and by his demand that each man engaged in the late siege should give up a tenth part of the booty assigned to him, in order that their commander might redeem a vow which he had made to Apollo in the hour of victory, and which consisted of a promise that he would devote a tithe of the pillage to that god. A charge of peculation was now brought against Camillus, and, having been found guilty in 391 B.C., he left the city, praying that his country might soon have reason to feel his loss. The character of this general was distinguished by some noble qualities; but his patrician arrogance was doubtless not easily to be endured; and his proposal that the soldiers should relinquish a tenth part of what they had already received, in order that he might redeem an individual vow, was calculated to exasperate men who had only too much reason to regard the nobles as their implacable enemies and oppressors.

When Camillus departed from his native city the Gauls had already crossed the Apennines, and laid siege to Clusium, now Chiusi, a town of Etruria, on the banks of the Clanis. These Gauls were a branch of the great Celtic race which at an early period (as related in former portions of this History) spread over a large part of Europe, and whose descendants still exist in many nations of the modern world. So much did the race prevail in Western Europe that Herodotus called the whole of that region "the Land of the Celts." The habits of the people were pastoral. They considered it disgraceful to till the ground with their own hands, and were in the habit of removing with their flocks and herds from one country to another, either from the mere love of change, or in the hope of finding some more fertile locality, or more agreeable climate. Their character in the ancient world was similar to what we see in our own day among the French, and other communities of Celtic origin. Personally brave, even to an extraordinary degree, delighting in war, impetuous, impressionable, and volatile, they were gifted with the most vigorous and plastic qualities of human nature, but, for want of patience, fixity of purpose, and due subordination, failed to secure the results which on some accounts might fairly have been anticipated. Their natural intelligence was considerable; yet, in the times to which we are referring, it bore no remarkable fruits, because the undisciplined nature of the people never permitted them to settle down to any peaceful occupation of an elevating kind. It has been observed of them that they shook all States, and founded none.* Even their methods of waging war had no character of deliberate science, and their attacks upon other nations were like the bursting of a furious storm, which spends itself in vehemence and devastation, without producing any permanent effects. Their physical structure was large, but not muscular; they wore their hair long and shaggy, and moustachios of immense size curved downwards from the upper lip. They frequently carried round their necks a broad gold ring, and in combat were but slightly protected by armour. In place of this, they bore an immense shield, and fought with long, ill-fashioned swords, daggers, and lances, all of which showed barbaric ornaments of gold. Their armies consisted for the most part of infantry; but some of the tribes had the privilege of fighting on horseback, and war-chariots were used by them from a very early time. No nation in the world was ever more thoroughly imbued with the military spirit. The Celts were born soldiers, especially the Gallic branch of the Celts, which is to be distinguished from the Cymric branch existing in Britain, and still predominant in Wales. Rather than not fight at all, a Celt would fight with one of his own countrymen during times of peace; and these combats would be characterized by all the ferocity of actual war. When it is remembered that the people possessing such soldierly instincts were multitudinous in number, it can well be understood that the civilized nations of Southern Europe were confronted by an appalling danger when the barbarians of the north-western deserts, having passed the rocky girdle of the Alps, poured onwards like an inundation.

In Italy, the Celts found themselves amongst a people who were not altogether strangers to them in blood. Setting aside the general affinity which belongs to all races of the Aryan stock, there was a special relationship between the Celts and some of the Italic populations. A Celtic element has been traced in the languages of the Umbro-Samnite communities, who are believed to have been the

* Mommsen's Roman History.

oldest inhabitants of the plain extending between the Alps and the Apennines. But the Celtic blood in the Italians had been mingled with other elements, and it would certainly be a great error to consider the Romans and the Gauls as anything like one people. Their physical appearance and moral qualities were almost as distinct as they could be; and it may be said that everything which the Gauls most lacked the Romans possessed in effectual development. But, whatever may have been the early immigrations of a Celtic race into the Italian peninsula, we are now concerned only with that inroad which occurred within times that are at least partially historic. About the period of Tarquinius Priscus, the Gallic tribe of the Bituriges, dwelling in the basin of the Loire, determined on emigrating, either in consequence of excessive population, or of internal commotions. Two large bodies set out towards the Danube and the Po; the first of which entered the Hercynian forest, and so penetrated into the heart of Germany, while the other crossed the Graian Alps into the great plain of Northern Italy. Here they defeated the Etruscans, and, being followed by other Gallic tribes, formed a number of cantons, the capitals of which are to this day among the best-known cities of the Italian peninsula. The whole country north of the Po was subjected by the strangers; but the invasion did not stop there. Crossing the Po on rafts, the great tribe of the Boii expelled the Etruscans and Umbrians from the region between that river and the Apennines, and the old Etruscan city of Felsina became their capital, under the name of Bononia, now Bologna. Encouraged by the success of their countrymen, fresh tribes of Gauls crossed the Alps, and spread along the shores of the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona. Mantua, and a few other of the Etruscan cities, resisted the new-comers with success; but, for the most part, the ancient inhabitants gave way before the rushing torrent of barbarians. The city of Melpum is said to have been taken on the very day which was signalized by the fall of Veii; and from that time the ascendancy of the Gauls over Northern Italy was complete. The conquered territory was afterwards called by the Romans Gallia Cisalpina, or Gaul on their side of the Alps; and the Etruscans never again acquired the mastery in that region. Some of the old Etrurian population doubtless remained (especially in particular cities), and mingled with the blood of the invaders; but the star of the Etrurians as a great military power was now beginning to wane. Both in the north and in the south they were giving way before the pressure of more energetic nations, and the time was approaching when even Etruria Proper would become simply a province in the wide and constantly-extending dominion of Rome.

For the present, however, the two peoples were in alliance, to repel the common danger which menaced them from the north. The crossing of the Apennines by the Gauls is generally believed to have been in 391 B.C. The tribe which undertook this adventure was that of the Senones, who, though mainly Gaels, were apparently mingled with Cymri, the name, or title, of their chief being Brennus, which is allied to a Cymric word signifying "king," or "leader." The Senones are said to have had fair skins, yellow hair, and blue eyes. Their martial qualities were eminent; but, like all the other Celtic nations, they wanted sufficient steadiness for securing what they had won. The story is, that they were invited to the western side of the Apennines by Aruns, a citizen of Clusium, whose wife had been dishonoured by a young noble of that place. Having crossed the mountains, the Gauls laid siege to Clusium, and the citizens were so terrified at their impending fate that they solicited aid of their old enemies, the Romans. The Senate received this request in a friendly spirit, but for the present did no more than send three ambassadors to the Gauls, with a warning not to meddle further with the allies of Rome. The envoys, however, did not content themselves with pacific action. They joined the besieged in a sally, and one of them slew a Gallic chieftain, whose arms he was seen to strip from the dead body. This was assuredly an unjustifiable act, for Rome was not at war with the Gauls, nor were the ambassadors invested with a military character. The Gallic invaders were naturally incensed at the outrage, and sent deputies to Rome, to require the surrender of the ambassador who had slain their countryman while peace was still subsisting between the two nations. The Senate would have complied; but the father of the envoy appealed to the people, and the demand of the Gauls was rejected. As if to make the insult still greater, the three ambassadors were shortly afterwards elected Military Tribunes for the ensuing year—390 B.C.

So plain a defiance Brennus could not avoid noticing. He at once broke up his camp before Clusium, and marched for Rome. His army amounted to 70,000 fighting men, and the distance which separated Clusium from the city of the Tiber was not so considerable as to present any serious difficulties. The intermediate towns were passed without a blow, and the advancing ranks resounded with the cry, "To Rome, to Rome!"

As soon, however, as they had crossed the Tiber into the Sabine territory, they began to ravage the country lying between that river and the Anio. about twelve miles from Rome. The position of the Romans was very strong. They had the Tiber on their left, a tract of hilly ground on their

BRENNUS AT ROME.

The Military Tribunes now marched out at the head of 40,000 men, and encountered the enemy on the banks of the little river Allia, a confluent of the Tiber, which it enters through a deep ravine, right, and the ravine of the Allia in their front. But they appear to have trusted too much to these advantages, and perhaps considered that the Gauls were a despicable foe, whom they could

afford to treat with indifference. At any rate, they neglected their usual precautions of creating a fortified camp, and providing for a retreat, should that become necessary. Had the Gauls simply precipitated themselves upon the front line of the Romans they would doubtless have been shattered; but Brennus was too good a general to commit such an error. He saw that the position did not admit of a direct attack, and therefore threw his whole force upon the right flank of his antagonists. Despite their discipline, the Romans gave way before the vehement rush and murderous broadsword of the Gauls. Their position was rapidly turned, and the whole line of battle was speedily involved in irretrievable disaster. Seized with panic, the Romans fled in wild haste, and effected their retreat by any route they could find. Some were drowned in the Tiber, others were slain by the enemy, and the rest got back to Rome in a condition which spread consternation through the city. The battle was fought on the 18th of July, in the 364th year of Rome (390 B.C.)—a date always distinguished in the Roman Calendar by the blackest of marks, and by the title of "the day of the Allia."

The Gauls did not at once pursue their foe. They remained for awhile upon the field of battle, collecting trophies from the slain; but on the third day their legions appeared before the walls of Rome. In the meantime, the Senate had been taking such measures as the urgency of the case required. All the men of military age withdrew into the Capitol, for enough soldiers were not left to man the ramparts. Large numbers of the Plebeians took refuge in Veii, and the priests and Vestal virgins carried the sacred images and utensils to the Etruscan city of Cære. The older Senators solemnly devoted themselves, and the enemy with them, to the gods beneath the earth, and to the spirits of the dead. The oath was administered by the Chief Pontiff, Fabius, and each man repeated after him the impressive words by which, in the opinion of an ancient Roman, every citizen so consecrating himself acquired a mysterious and fatal power over his country's enemies. Then, clothing themselves in their robes of state, the old men ordered their ivory chairs to be set in the Forum, where they awaited the inroad of the enemy. The Gauls were already in the city, for there was nothing to stop them. The gates were open, the streets were deserted; and the wild barbarians, with their streaming hair, their eager eyes, their massive shields, and their uncouth but deadly weapons, passed on from quarter to quarter, wondering at all they saw, and doubtless not least at the entire absence of resistance. On reaching the Forum, they beheld a row of venerable men, seated with such passionless dignity that they believed them to be gods, and paused awe-stricken at the spectacle. At length, one of the warriors went up to the priest Papirius, and began to stroke his white beard—not, apparently, with any hostile intention, but rather out of a feeling of child-like reverence.* Papirius misinterpreted the action, and struck the intruder upon the head with his ivory sceptre. The Gaul, suddenly flaming into rage with the quick irascibility of his race, cut down Papirius with his sword, and a general massacre immediately followed. The city was then set on fire, and the greater part destroyed; but the Capitol still remained untouched, and a considerable number of fighting men were there to repel any assault. The only approach was by the Forum; in every other direction the ground was defended by steep cliffs. Up the one practicable slope the Gauls advanced to the attack, but, on being repulsed, determined to subject the position to a blockade. A portion of the army, however, was sent into the neighbouring country on a plundering expedition, and it is said that they carried their ravages far into the south of Italy.

But the period of success had now passed. The Romans in Veii were beginning to gather heart, and it was considered that by a vigorous effort the great city might be rescued from the barbarous hordes who had profaned it. The main object, in the first place, was to open communications with the Capitol, and this was accomplished by a youth named Pontius Cominius, who, swimming down the Tiber, climbed the outer face of the hill on which the citadel was built, and so entered the enclosure. Next day the Gauls observed by the marks of his passage that a stranger had managed to get into the Capitol; and in the ensuing night they essayed to perform the same feat themselves. This side of the hill was unenclosed by the walls of Servius, and in the midst of a dead silence the barbarians climbed the rugged cliff which alone separated them from the Roman stronghold. The position, however, was to be saved by an accident which has in it a strong element of the fabulous. The story afterwards believed in Rome was to the effect that certain geese, sacred to Juno, which were kept in the precinct of the three great deities, cried out and flapped their wings so importunately that a Roman named Manlius was roused by the noise, and, rushing to the cliff, dashed his shield in the

* The incident here related forms the subject of the Frontispiece to the preceding volume of this Series.

face of the leading Gaul. The man fell back, carrying down those who were behind him. A panic seized the others, and several were killed before the main body of the assailants could retire to a place of safety. Thus, according to the legend, the Roman Capitol was saved; yet the general position was still desperate, and, after the blockade had lasted seven months, the pressure of famine was so severe that the defenders opened negotiations with the enemy, in the hope of purchasing his retreat by a heavy ransom.

The Gauls were the better inclined to accept this proposal, as they had received intelligence that the Illyrian tribe of the Veneti had invaded their possessions on the Po. Another reason was the heat of the Roman climate, which was extremely distressing to their northern temperaments. Pestilence and fever had already thinned their ranks; yet they were not disposed to abandon their expedition without a substantial booty. Gold was what their nation had always valued above everything else, and they now undertook to leave Rome upon receiving a thousand pounds' weight of the precious metal. This was collected from the Capitoline temples, and from the stores of private families; and it was afterwards related that Brennus threw in his sword with the weights, exclaiming, "Væ victis!" (Woe to the vanquished!). The Gauls then took their departure for the north, committing great excesses by the way, but often themselves harassed by the people through whose territories they had to retreat. According to a legend popular with the Romans, the Gauls did not quietly leave Rome, but were attacked and slain to the last man by Camillus, who, at the head of the Romans from Veii, entered the city at the very moment when the gold was being weighed. This story, however, is unquestionably an invention of later times, to save Roman pride from acknowledging the fact that the Eternal City was taken by a horde of savages, and redeemed by money from their inexorable grasp. The fact appears to have been that Camillus was recalled from exile immediately after the departure of the Gauls; that he was once more invested with dictatorial powers; and that in 367 B.C., during his fifth Dictatorship, he gained a great victory over some of their bands at Alba. Still the Gauls lingered in Central Italy, and in 361 B.C. advanced to within five miles of Rome, where they were encountered by the Dictator, Titus Quinctius Pennus. As the two armies were encamped opposite each other, Titus Manlius killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and took from his neck the heavy gold ring, or torque, which it was usual with the Gauls to wear. On this account he acquired the surname of Torquatus, which long continued famous in Italy. The Celts withdrew to Campania, but their attacks were renewed again and again in subsequent years. Still, these attacks never acquired the importance of the expedition led by Brennus, and it soon became evident that the Romans, when on their guard against a foe they had at first underrated, were fully able to encounter the barbarians who had issued from the heart of Gaul.

A time of great distress ensued upon the departure of the hordes from Rome. All the surrounding country was ravaged, and the city itself, with the exception of a few portions, had been destroyed by fire. The misery was so extreme that many of the Plebeians revived the former proposal for quitting Rome altogether, and taking up their abode at Veii. To this project Camillus opposed himself with such patriotic ardour that the idea was abandoned, and the rebuilding of Rome commenced. Some of the materials were brought from the houses of Veii; and the work proceeded with so much expedition that Rome suffered, both in convenience and in salubrity, from the hasty way in which its streets were laid out. Every man built his house where he would, or where he could; the only thing done systematically was the restoration of the ancient temples and other public buildings (so far as that was possible) upon the sites which they had originally occupied. Diligent search was made for monuments of importance, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables, together with some of the ordinances belonging to the regal period, and a few treaties with foreign States, were recovered. These were valuable results; but they did nothing to help the people in their poverty and wretchedness, nor to restore the greatness of the commonwealth as it had existed before the Gallic inroad. When the rebuilding was completed, Rome appeared for the most part as a city of mean houses, and of crooked and narrow streets, which often ran across the lines of the ancient sewers, and were therefore very imperfectly drained. It needed the great fire of the reign of Nero to remedy these evils.

The misery of the citizens was increased by the imposition of a tribute for replacing the sacred treasures of the Capitol, and by the heavy debts which were almost unavoidably contracted by the people to meet their immediate necessities. The ordinary limit of usury was extended by law, and money-lenders, who exacted a high rate of interest for their loans, were attracted to Rome from various other cities. The Patricians seem to have had a

share in these loans, and in the profit resulting from them—a fact extremely inimical to the good feeling which had of late been springing up between the two classes. It must have seemed for a time as if Rome would be crushed by accumulated misfortunes. Her weakness invited attack, and it tasked the energy of Camillus to reorganize an army sufficiently strong to cope with the surrounding perils. The Latins and Hernicans renounced the treaty which their ancestors had made with Spurius Cassius; the Etruscans attacked Veii, but were repelled; and the Gauls, as we have seen, made repeated assaults upon the Roman territory. Taking advantage of the general disturbance, the Volscians advanced to Lanuvium, and encamped at the foot of the Alban hills; but Camillus, who was appointed Dictator for the third time, defeated the enemy with great loss, and chased him out of the Roman territory. This victory was speedily followed by another, gained by Camillus over the Æquians, whose power was now greatly broken; yet danger still existed in other directions, and the Etruscans, laying siege to Sutrium, forced it to capitulate. It was again taken by Camillus on the very same day, and that great general re-entered Rome as a threefold victor in the course of 389 B.C. The whole of Southern Etruria having submitted to the Roman arms, the conquered territory was formed into four new tribes in 387. Thus a large number of native Etruscans were placed on the same footing as the free citizens of Rome, and their loyalty was ensured by conduct which was no less just than politic. The Romans certainly needed all the support they could get, for the cities of Tibur and Præneste (the modern Tivoli and Palestrina) were assuming a position of hostility. In 382 B.C., the Prænestines supported the people of Velitræ, a Roman colony, in their revolt against the mother-city; but, after a prolonged struggle, Præneste was obliged to capitulate. This state of warfare continued for many years, and in 360 B.C. the people of Tibur acted in conjunction with the Gauls against the Romans. On the whole, however, the Roman legions prevailed, and, terrified by renewed irruptions of the Celts, the Latin cities again entered into a league with Rome in 358 B.C. The example was probably followed by the Hernicans soon afterwards; and when the Gauls quitted Latium, Tibur was the only Latin city which still maintained an attitude of antagonism. In 354 even this stubborn community was reduced, and Rome had then no further cause of apprehension on her eastern borders.

But peril still existed on the side of Etruria. In 358 B.C. war was declared between Rome and the Etruscan city of Tarquinii, situated beyond the Ciminian hills. Fortunately for the Romans, hostilities did not break out until after the conclusion of the new treaty of alliance with the Latins. Even as it was, however, the struggle was of an arduous nature, and early in the war the Consul Fabius was defeated by the Tarquinians, who sacrificed three hundred and seven Roman prisoners to their gods. They were afterwards joined by the people of Falerii, and, vanquishing their opponents, menaced Rome itself. The danger of attack appeared so imminent that the Romans resorted to their usual expedient, and in 356 B.C. once more named a Dictator. The appointment of this functionary lay with a Plebeian Consul, who chose one of his own order,—Martius Rutilus, who had already attained distinction in the State. This was the first time that dictatorial powers had been conferred on one of the commonalty; but the selection was a good one. The Etrurians were defeated in a series of actions, and were glad to make peace for forty years in 351 B.C. Three years later (348 B.C.), Rome concluded another treaty with Carthage, then at the height of her power. The city of the Tiber was again in the ascendant; but many rough experiences had yet to be encountered ere she became the undisputed mistress of all Italy.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE FIRST AND SECOND SAMNITE WARS.

Marcus Manlius and the Poor of Rome—Increasing Power of the Plebeians—Proposals of Licinius and Sextius for Political and Social Reforms—Opposition of the Plebeians—Prolonged Contentions—Authorisation of the Licinio-Sextian Laws—Refusal of the Patrician Curies to Invest the Plebeian Consul with the Sovereign Power—Compromise effected by Camillus during his Fifth Dictatorship—Political Virtue of the Roman People—Failure of the Social Changes—Pestilence and Want—The Legend of Curtius—Continued Poverty of the Lower Orders, and Measures for Relieving it—Evasion of the Licilian Law with respect to the Public Lands—Origin of the Samnites—Their Settlement in the Oscan Country, afterwards called Samnium—Conquest of Campania by Samnite Tribes—Capua assigned to Rome—Breaking out of the First Samnite War—Insubordination of the Roman Legions at Capua—March of the Troops on Rome—The Difficulty composed by Valerius Corvus—Further Laws for Relieving the Poverty of the Commons—Conclusion of the First Samnite War—Breach between the Romans and Latins—Incidents of the Latin War—Self-sacrifice of Publius Decius—Entire Subjugation of Latium—Treatment of the Conquered Latins—Contemporaneous Events in Greece—Menacing Policy adopted by Rome towards Samnium—Movement against Palæpolis in Campania—Commencement of the Second Samnite War—Papirius Cursor and Fabius Maximus—The Disaster at the Caudine Forks—Conduct of the Roman Senate towards the Samnites—Roman Reverses—The Via Appia—Movement of the Etruscans—Successes of Fabius Maximus—The Samnites reduced to Extremities—End of the Second Samnite War.

WHILE the Roman armies were contending with external foes after the retreat of the Gauls, some important political movements were proceeding within the city itself. The poverty of the lower orders, and the grasping character of the Patricians, re-opened feuds which for a time had ceased to be active. Owing to the foreign occupation of Rome, and the general disruption of all social habits, the surrounding territory had been left untilled and unsown; the Gauls had destroyed what they could not consume, and the pressure of want was severe. Many of the poor were reduced to a state of bondage in the families of the wealthy, and the Plebeians found they were rapidly losing all the advantages they had so painfully won by years of struggle. They had a generous protector, however, in Marcus Manlius, the hero of the Capitol when it was attacked by the Gauls. Having been shocked by seeing an old soldier conveyed through the streets to prison, on account of his inability to pay a debt, Manlius sold the larger part of his landed property, and devoted the proceeds to the relief of sufferers who were involved in difficulties by the misfortunes of the time. He also accused the Patricians and Senators of having embezzled part of the gold which had been raised to pay the recent invader, and made so decided a stand against the ruling classes that some notice was certain to be taken of his conduct. At this time Rome was under the Dictatorship of Aulus Cornelius Cossus, and he determined to call Manlius to account. The popular champion would not retract his charges, and was thrown into prison. A threatening tumult compelled the authorities to release him; but he continued his agitation with all the fervour of an enthusiast. It was at length determined to bring against him the favourite charge of aspiring to kingship; and, after considerable delay and hesitation, he was found guilty in 384 B.C., and condemned to be hurled from the Tarpeian rock—an eminence assigned for the punishment of criminals, and associated with the name of Tarpeia, who, according to one of the primitive legends, had treacherously admitted the Sabines to the citadel of Rome, and was crushed to death by the heavy shields which the invaders, disgusted by her perfidy, flung upon her. The site of this famous cliff is on the south-west of the Capitoline Mount, of which, indeed, it forms a part. It was originally about eighty feet in height, but is now greatly reduced, owing to earthquakes, to the gradual crumbling of the mass, and to the raising of the ground below by deposits from above, and by the ruins of buildings.

What made the execution of Manlius additionally bitter was its connection with the very scene of his exploit when the Gallic attack on the Capitol was repelled. His house on the same spot was pulled down, and it was decreed that no Patrician should dwell there, and that no one of the family should again bear the name of Marcus. Whether Manlius really had any designs against the Republican form of government may be doubtful. It is somewhat to his disadvantage that the Tribunes, who were the guardians of the popular rights, took part in his impeachment and condemnation, notwithstanding all he had done for the poor. But the Patricians were not without influence in the choice of the Tribunes, and Manlius may have conduced to his own fall by a sternness of manner which even his benevolence did not recommend. Nevertheless, he represented

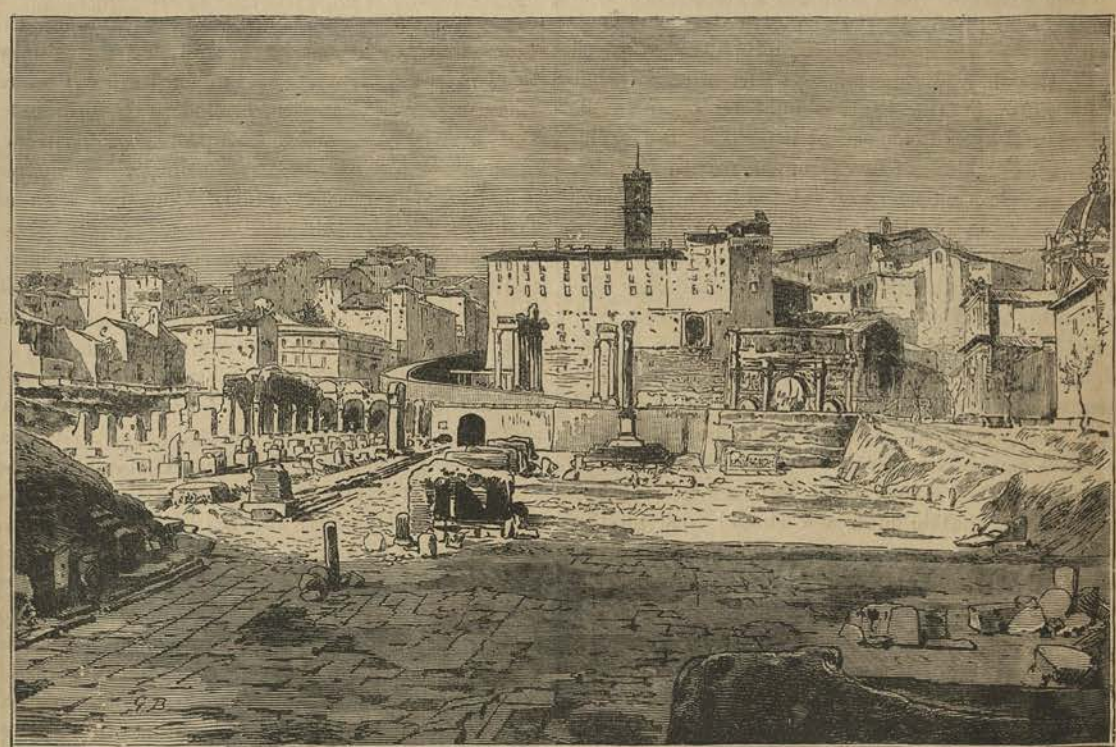
a cause which never fails in the end—the cause of justice and of equal rights. The Patricians were, in fact, making a desperate effort for the retention of privileges which they felt were slipping away from them. Their numbers were becoming fewer every year, while the Plebeians were increasing in power. One by one, the latter had attained to many of the great offices of State; but they were still shut out from the Censorship and Consulship. For appointment to these posts it was necessary to take the auguries; and religious rites could be performed only by persons of Patrician blood. The popular sense of reason and justice revolted against such a distinction. It was required that every office of the State should be open to all citizens alike; and this was at length effected by the combined exertions of two Tribunes, named Licinius Stolo and Sextius, who were related to one another.

The election of these officials to the Tribunate was in 376 B.C. As Plebeians themselves, they sympathised with the commonalty, and, for the realisation of their political ideas, promulgated three bills, which have since been known as the Licinio-Sextian Laws. These laws provided that interest already paid on loans should be deducted from the principal, which should be liquidated in three successive years; that no citizen should hold more than about three hundred and twelve acres of the public land, nor should feed on the public pastures more than one hundred head of larger cattle, or five hundred of smaller, under penalty of a heavy fine; and that thenceforward the Military Tribunes should be abolished, and the former Consulate restored, with the condition that one of the two Consuls should always be a Plebeian. The last of these laws was unimpeachably just and politic; the second may also have been advisable, to prevent the accumulation of public lands in a few wealthy families; but the first was open to serious objection. The poverty and disruption of the social state may perhaps have rendered such a measure necessary; yet the remedy was not much better than the disease. It was an act of confiscation, and the evil of confiscation consists not merely in the injury done to the persons whose property is taken, but even more in the dishonourable and profligate habit of mind that it creates in the recipients of a questionable bounty. The bad effect of this particular law was seen in after times, when similar indulgences were promised by unscrupulous demagogues.

The Patricians, as might have been expected, offered extreme opposition to these reforms, and were even reinforced by several Plebeians, whose property was injured, or whose opportunities of investment were reduced, by the first two laws. Eight out of the ten Tribunes—that is to say, all but Licinius and Sextius—put their veto on the bills; but this only interposed a temporary obstacle. Licinius and Sextius used their own power of veto in a way which threatened embarrassing consequences. The elections having come round, they interdicted all proceedings in the Comitia of the Centuries, so that no Consuls, Consular Tribunes, Censors, or Quæstors, could be elected. The whole power of the State was thus concentrated in the Tribunes and Ædiles, who were chosen at the Comitia of the Tribes. It is said that this state of things lasted five years, during all of which Licinius and Sextius were elected to the Tribunate. But in 370 B.C., when the people of Tusculum applied for aid against the Latins, the Tribunes permitted the election of six Consular Military Tribunes for the purposes of war. Among these were Fabius Ambustus, father-in-law of Licinius, and two Valerii, belonging to a family which had always supported the popular cause. Licinius now proposed a fourth bill, providing that, instead of two keepers of the Sibylline books, both of whom were Patricians, there should be ten, to be chosen alike from both orders. The Patricians, driven to desperation, appointed Camillus Dictator for the fourth time; but he was compelled by the Senate to resign shortly after, and his successor, Manlius Capitolinus, was unable to effect anything against the powerful combination of Plebeians. The law having reference to the Sibylline books was then suffered to pass, and the Patricians offered to concede the two social laws, if the Plebeians would forego their claim for admission to the Consulship. To this suggestion, however, Licinius and Sextius would not agree. They refused to accept any of the reforms if all were not granted, and, after another period of struggle, in which the Patricians vainly endeavoured to set the commonalty against the Tribunes, the three Licinian Laws were sanctioned in 367 B.C. Never was there a more striking popular triumph, and it was immensely to the honour of the Roman people that it was effected without bloodshed.

The contest, however, was not quite over yet. In 366 B.C. Sextius was chosen the first Plebeian Consul; but it was necessary that he should be invested with the sovereign power by a law of the Curies, and the Patricians, who alone composed that body, refused their permission. Camillus, though now very old, had been named Dictator for the fifth time, and he was desired by the Senate to support the Curies; but the cause was manifestly hopeless, and he preferred to act as mediator be-

tween the opponents. The Plebeian Consul was invested with the sovereign power; at the same time, judicial power was taken from the Consuls, and confided to a supreme Patrician judge, called the Prætor. The first of these Prætors was Spurius Camillus, the Dictator's son. Another magistracy, called the Curule Ædileship, was also created, and confined to the Patricians, who acted in association with the Plebeian Ædiles. Thus the long conflict ended in a compromise, and the last act of Camillus was the founding of a temple to Concord, the site of which can yet be traced at the north-western angle of the Forum. Never was any temple more appropriate to the circumstances out of which it had originated. Peace had at length been established between the two great orders of the Roman population, and Camillus had nobly closed a long and illustrious career by consolidating the political and social order of the State. The Republic, as originally established, was much too exclusive and aristocratical. So far from being an improvement on the Monarchy, it had weakened the Roman power, and plunged the people in a degree of misery such as they had never before experienced. But, fortunately for themselves, the Roman citizens were gifted with a political genius and a political virtue which enabled them to overcome the evils of a revolution created by a small body of men for the advantage of their own order. Nowhere in the ancient world is there to be seen so grand an example of the combined love of Freedom and of Law. The Romans understood the natural correlation of those two principles, and did not commit the fatal mistake of emphasising the one at the expense of the other. To this fact, taken in connection with their military genius, is to be attributed their extraordinary success, and the lasting influence they were enabled to exercise over a large part of the globe.

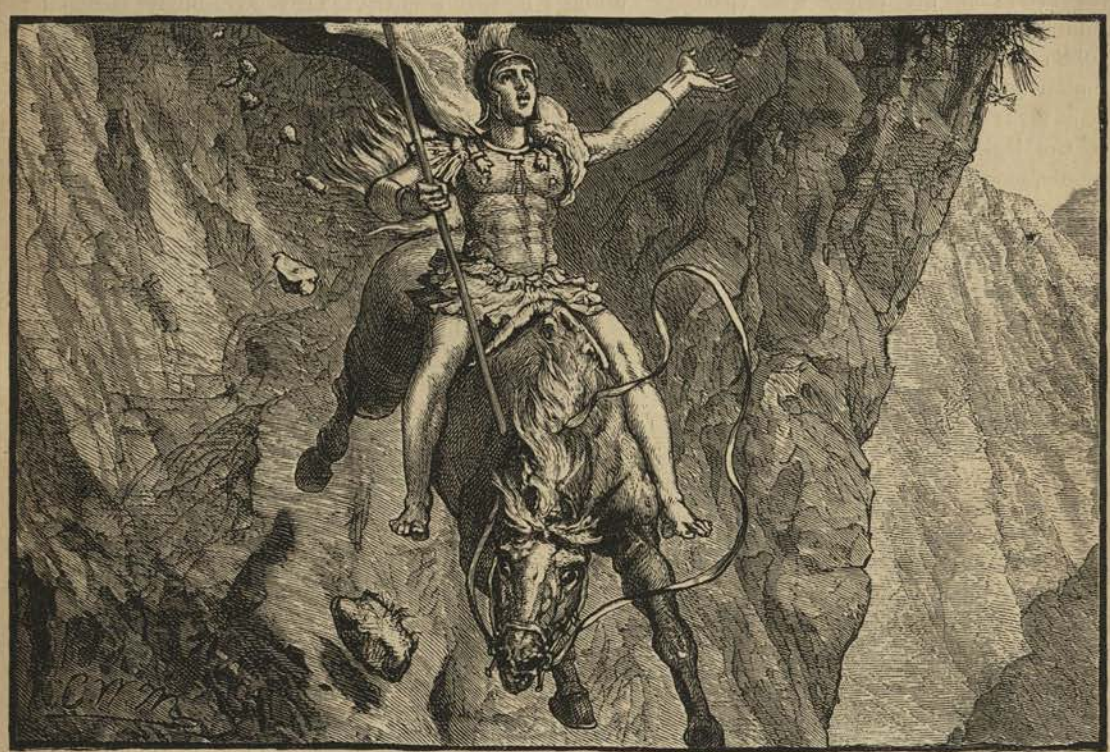


THE FORUM AT ROME.

The Licinian laws, so far as their social operation was concerned, did not prove very successful. This is to be attributed partly to the fact that the legal abolition of debt generally produces a fatal degradation of mind and laxity of principle on the part of the persons benefited, and partly to the circumstance that Rome was then being devastated by a pestilence, which destroyed so large a number of the citizens that industry was paralysed. Camillus was one of the victims of this malady in 365 B.C.; but the loss of many vigorous men, whose labours were necessary to the State, must be regarded as a greater affliction than the death of one

who had completed his work, and lived beyond the ordinary term of human life. It is probable that earthquakes occurred about the same time, and these appear to have resulted in an inundation of the Tiber, which flooded the great Circus, and put a stop to the games which were then proceeding. Shortly afterwards, an immense gulf opened in the Forum, and an oracle proclaimed that it would never close until the most costly possession of Rome was thrown into it. Upon hearing this announcement, a noble youth, named Curtius, asked his countrymen whether they possessed anything so valuable as their arms and courage. By their silence they appeared to admit the view which he suggested; whereupon Curtius, arraying himself in full armour, and mounting his horse, leaped into the chasm. The people threw flowers and fruit after him, and the earth immediately closed above his head. This story is one of the most beautiful of the Roman legends, and its memory was preserved in the title "Lacus Curtius," applied to a lake afterwards existing on the spot; though it is by no means certain that the name was not at one time associated with the still older legend of Mettus Curtius, a Sabine champion, who pressed the Romans hard on the celebrated occasion when the Sabine women rushed between the opposing ranks, and effected a peace between their husbands and their kinsmen.

To increase the miseries of the people, the Gauls (as already related) again ravaged the land, and the distress was general and extreme. In 383 B.C. the Pontine districts had been divided among the people; and the social laws of Licinius and Sextius were contrived with a special view to benefit the commonalty. Yet the poverty of the lower orders was not relieved, and in 357 B.C. a bill was brought forward by two Tribunes of the Plebeians for restoring the rate of interest fixed by the Twelve Tables, which was not to be more than ten per cent. For some years money-lenders had been charging much more; but it was now determined to place a restraint on their exactions. In 352 B.C. it was found necessary to give a more stringent application to the Licinian law of debt, and for this purpose five commissioners were appointed, whose duty was to make estimates of all debts, and of the property of the debtors, and to advance money to discharge such obligations as were covered by the actual possessions of the person indebted. A certain amount of good was effected by the measure; but it did not touch the more extreme cases, and in 347 B.C. the rate of interest was reduced to five per cent. An attempt was



THE SACRIFICE OF CURTIUS.

made, five years later, to abolish interest altogether; but the design was found impracticable. The really effectual remedy for pauperism was in the second of the Licinian laws, dividing public lands for the advantage of the majority, and forbidding the creation of large estates on those territories. This provision, however, was to a considerable extent frustrated by the dishonesty and greed of the rich, who contrived to evade the terms of the statute. Strange to say, Licinius himself was guilty of the very offence by which the action of his policy was vitiated. While holding in his own name the utmost amount of public land permitted by law, he made over a similar amount to his son; and this was also done by so many other persons that the original intention of the legislators was seriously affected. After awhile, moreover, the Patricians contrived, on several occasions, to get both the Consulships into their own hands; and the Dictatorship was so frequently resorted to as a means of repressing the democracy and enhancing the influence of the Patricians, as to be in itself no trifling abuse.

This division of classes was the more dangerous, as Rome was still confronted by great perils from without, and was now approaching a series of wars more important than any she had yet had to sustain. To the south-east of the Roman territory lay the country of Samnium, inhabited by a people who were a branch of the Sabines. At an early period, the mountainous districts of Reate and Amiternum, lying in the heart of the Sabine land, were so much over-populated that large numbers emigrated southwards, and, under the name of Samnites, occupied a rugged country on the borders of Campania, Lucania, and Apulia. The Sabines were apparently—judging by the testimony of their language—a people of Celtic affinities, and their government, as we often find among nations of Gaelic origin, was a patriarchal confederacy of clans or houses, each member of which bore the name of the clan to which he belonged. A kind of feudal serfdom existed among them, but slavery was unknown; and the social system, though exhibiting the faults incidental to aristocratical government, was characterised by many excellent qualities. The Sabines were a simple, brave, and hardy race, moral in their habits, and of deeply religious convictions. We have seen that they were intimately associated with the early settlement of Rome, and, in forming a new community in the land afterwards called Samnium, they created a Power which was to prove a formidable enemy to the Roman Republic, and to test its strength and endurance in three important wars.

It was a tradition among the Sabines that all those born at a particular season, called the Sacred Spring, should, on attaining the military age, go out in search of new abodes. Some such band colonised Samnium. The youths forming this body of emigrants were consecrated to the god Mamers, or Mars, and, according to the Samnite legend, a bull was sent to guide them on their way. The bull did not lie down to rest until he had reached the land of the Oscans, and the wanderers interpreted this as a divine intimation that they should settle in that country. They accordingly sacrificed the animal to Mamers, and afterwards took the figure of a bull as their device. Setting aside the mythological element, it appears certain that this story embodies an historical fact. The country of the Oscans was really subjugated by a Sabine tribe, some time during the period of the Roman Monarchy; but, as the Oscans and the Sabines were nearly related to one another, it is probable that the two branches speedily coalesced. For a time their territory was narrow, and they had to maintain themselves against the Greeks and Etruscans in Campania, and the Hellenic populations to the south and east. When, however, those rivals declined in power, as they did towards the latter part of the fourth century B.C., the Samnites made their way to the Mediterranean. Capua was acquired by them in 424 B.C., and Cumæ in 420. After a while, their rule extended from sea to sea, but at a later period they fell very much under Greek influences, and, in some of the cities, such as Capua, Greek sensuality, as well as Greek refinement, entered deeply into their lives. Fragments of painted pottery, and ornaments of gold and amber—all very beautifully executed—are found in their tombs; and it would seem that such of the Samnites as quitted their mountain homes, and adopted the more seductive life of the plains, lost their primitive virtue, together with the native ruggedness by which it had been guarded. The Samnites of the mountains, who preserved all their old character, disavowed their mixed and degenerate relatives in the Campanian lowlands; and the First Samnite War arose out of this division among the descendants of the Sabine emigrants.

A league had been concluded between the Romans and the Samnites in 354 B.C.; but the understanding was not destined to long duration. In 343 B.C. the Samnites, who were pressing the Volscians on their eastern frontier, attacked the Sidicines of Teanum, a city in the north-west of Campania. These people, who were a tribe of Oscan race, applied for aid to Capua, and, the

request being granted, the whole of the Campanians (who, as we have said, were mixed up with Samnites) assumed a position of hostility towards the Samnites of the highlands. The latter took possession of Mount Tifata, and ravaged the plains at its foot. Their military strength and valour were such that the luxurious Campanians were unable to defend themselves from continual injury. The sufferers accordingly begged assistance from Rome; but the Republic hesitated, as a treaty of eleven years earlier was still in force between the Romans and the Samnites, and the latter had done nothing to warrant its being set aside. Nevertheless, the advance of those people in regions bordering upon Latium, and the formidable nature of their power, inclined the Romans to acts of hostility which were not justified by international good faith. The difficulty was at length got over by the Campanians assigning Capua to Rome, so that the Romans might have the pretext of defending one of their own possessions in protecting this new acquisition. When the transfer had been accomplished, an embassy was sent to the Samnites, requiring them to forbear from attacking Capua, which was one of the cities of the Roman Republic. The Samnites naturally regarded such an arrangement as an evasion of the understanding between the two countries, and refused to turn aside from their enterprise. War, therefore, was the immediate result. The Consuls for that year were the Patricians Cornelius Cossus and Valerius Corvus. Both were sent into Campania, and at the foot of Mount Gaurus the latter obtained a victory which was regarded by his countrymen as of the highest importance. Cornelius Cossus, who was to invade the mountainous passes of Samnium, was less successful. His army was caught within a narrow pass, and would probably have been annihilated but for the valour and strategy of the Military Tribune, Publius Decius. The Roman annals state that, after being rescued from his difficulty, Cossus defeated his opponents; but the accounts of this victory are not deserving of much credit. Nevertheless, the Romans made some progress in the campaign, and, having gone into winter quarters, were enabled to hold their ground against the enemy.

But, although the legions were strong enough to resist any external attack, they were not proof against influences of a subtle and perilous character, which soon spread among their ranks. The circumstances are not known with exactness, but may perhaps be traced in their leading features. The Roman soldiers were overcome by the delightful but enervating effects of the Campanian climate, and by opportunities of indulgence presented by a voluptuous city such as Capua. They were also displeased by the prolongation of foreign service; and, at the same time recollecting the hardships they had suffered at home, owing to the extreme poverty of the Republic, it appeared to them desirable to abandon their duties as soldiers, and to settle peaceably at Capua, where they might erect a Plebeian State of their own. When symptoms of this disposition were observed by the commanders, they sent back large detachments to Rome; but, on reaching the pass of Lautulæ, near Tarracina, the first of these bodies broke out into mutiny, which quickly spread to all the garrisons in Campania. The malcontents joined their forces at Capua, and advanced in one great mass towards the Tiber. Releasing the debtors whom they found working as bondsmen in the fields, they fortified a camp on the Alban hills, and ravaged the neighbouring country for support. The situation was already bad enough, but was made still more threatening by an insurrection of the commons in Rome itself. These men, whose sufferings had long been intolerable, marched to a post four miles beyond the walls, and Rome was thus virtually besieged by its own citizens and its own soldiers. The Senate immediately created a Dictator, and, with admirable sense, conferred supreme power on Valerius Corvus, who, although a Patrician, was a favourite of the people, on account of his justice and liberality. Corvus was a man of very extraordinary powers. He was even then not more than thirty years of age, but had already been three times Consul—the first time, when he was only twenty-three. No better man could have been selected for the Dictatorship, and he at once proceeded to act with firmness and discretion. He went out against the mutineers with the best force he could collect under the circumstances, but fortunately had no occasion to strike a single blow. The Roman spirit was strong in both armies. The men felt that they were brethren, and, as they came together, rushed into one another's arms. An act of amnesty was passed, and the crisis terminated by the enactment of a set of laws, called after the name of their proposer, the Tribune Caius Genucius. It was provided that both Consulships should be open to the Plebeians; the obligations of insolvent debtors were cancelled, and all citizens who had become bondsmen to their creditors were released. It was then that usury was forbidden—a prohibition which it was found impossible to enforce. In many respects, however, the new laws were conceived in the best spirit; in some others they were doubtless necessitated by

the exceptional state of Rome, though objectionable as precedents for a more settled condition of society; and altogether the effect of the reforms was good. The new arrangements were sanctioned in 342 B.C., and in 341 peace was concluded between the Romans and Samnites. The two nations then formed a close alliance, by which it was agreed that the former should retain Capua, and the latter Teanum.

The willingness of the Romans to make peace was due not merely to the insubordination of the army, but to symptoms of a hostile nature which had recently been observed among the Latin populations. Rome and Latium had some years before been formed into a federal union, and Latin soldiers had fought side by side with those of Roman birth, in an equal proportion as to numbers. The Latins had been thus engaged with their Roman brethren against the Volscians, Etruscans, and Samnites; but during the last war it was evident that their friendship was becoming doubtful. It is said that the Romans refused the Latins a share in the Consulship, and, if so, nothing is more likely to have inclined the latter to a breach of the league. At any rate, they now adopted a foreign policy entirely opposed to that of the Romans, and allied themselves with the Volscians and Campanians, while the Romans entered into terms of amity with the Samnites. The Roman colonies in Latium stood faithful to their allegiance; but the actual Latin communities exhibited the most antagonistic spirit. Originally, the people of Latium would have been happy to form a union, on terms of equality, with those of Rome, and in 340 B.C. made proposals to that effect; but the refusal of the Romans to leave the Consulship open to them put an end to all negotiations. War followed in due course, and an army was sent out under the command of the Patrician Consul, Manlius Torquatus, and the Plebeian Consul, Publius Decius. The scene of hostilities was in Campania, where the Latin Confederates endeavoured to dislodge the Samnites from Teanum and other positions. The Romans, marching to the rescue of the Samnites, came upon the Latin army before Capua, where a memorable incident occurred, resulting from an exploit of Titus Manlius, son of the Consul, which, however creditable to his personal courage, was undoubtedly a breach of discipline. He had approached the enemy's outposts with a reconnoitring party, and was confronted by a Latin officer, named Geminus Metius, who vauntingly challenged him to single combat. The Roman commanders had been strictly forbidden all such encounters; but young Manlius at length irritated beyond all forbearance by the taunts of his adversary, entered the lists, and slew the Latin warrior. On presenting the spoils to his father after his return to camp, he met with a reception which he had never anticipated. The Consul condemned his son to death for disobedience of orders, and insisted on the sentence being carried out. This inexorable spirit appears to have been too much even for the stern Roman sense of discipline and subordination. The whole army requested that the life of the young hero might be spared, and the refusal of the elder Manlius was viewed with general execration.

The hostile forces at length came into collision at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The night before the battle, each of the Consuls had dreamed that on one side the general was doomed to perish, and on the other side the army; moreover, that the army whose general should sacrifice himself would be victorious. The dream was considered ominous, and a direct revelation from the celestial powers. The Consuls therefore agreed that he whose division first gave way should devote himself to the gods of the lower world. On the following day, the sacrifices seemed to point out Decius as the man selected for this act of self-immolation, and the progress of the battle made the fact abundantly clear. The right wing, commanded by Manlius, advanced successfully; the left wing was driven back. Decius did not hesitate as to the fulfilment of his vow. Under the direction of the Chief Pontiff, he went through the requisite ceremonies, and repeated the prescribed form of words; then, entirely muffled in his toga, as the garment of peace, he mounted his horse, and rode straight into the opposing ranks, where inevitable death awaited him. This devotion of himself to the infernal gods was accompanied by a similar devotion of the enemy, and, as we have already explained, a man thus sacrificing his life was believed to acquire a corresponding power over those whom he included in the act. The Latins, on beholding the figure of the Consul riding towards his fate, understood all that such a deed implied, in the opinion both of themselves and of their adversaries. A superstitious feeling damped their courage and their spirit, and Manlius, pressing the charge upon their disheartened ranks, obtained a complete victory. The army of the Latin Confederates was irretrievably shattered. Another was shortly afterwards raised, which encountered Manlius on the coast below the Liris; but nothing of consequence was effected. Manlius Torquatus returned to Rome under the light of a great triumph; but the severity which he had shown to his son told against him, especially with the younger

men, and he had the mortification to find, notwithstanding his great services, that he was generally unpopular. This is not the only circumstance in the history of Rome which shows that the Roman sternness had its limits. Nature can never be entirely suppressed by systems, and, although we may grant that the motives of Manlius were pure and exalted, it is impossible not to feel gratified that so extreme a rigour should have called forth, on the part of the Roman people, a corresponding pity, which saved them from the reproach of callous indifference.

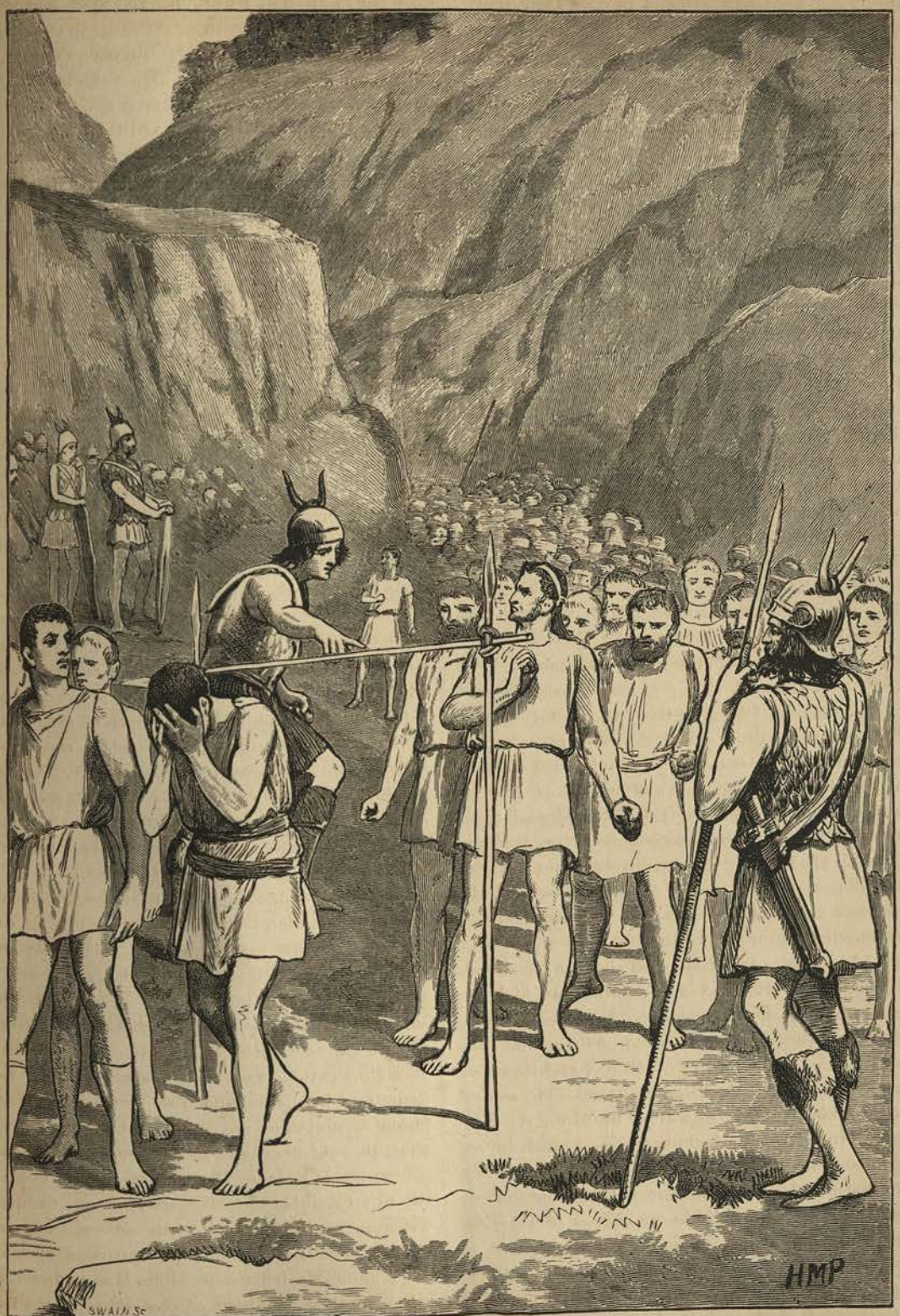
The war continued through the remainder of 340 B.C., the whole of the next year, and part of 338. Fortune was entirely on the side of the Romans, and the Latins were compelled to give up one city after another, until they could maintain the struggle no longer. The peace of 338 B.C. made over to the Romans the whole of Latium, much of the territory belonging to the Volscians and Auruncans, and the northern district of Campania. This enabled the Senate to effect a fresh division of lands among the people, and shortly afterwards three new laws were passed, giving still greater power to the commonalty. The Latin cities were treated with considerable rigour. The Confederacy being dissolved, the several towns were isolated; freedom of marriage was forbidden as between one community and another, and commerce was restrained. A few of the cities enjoyed special privileges: thus, the full Roman franchise was restored to Tusculum, and granted for the first time to Lanuvium. But others received only a restricted franchise, as Roman *municipia*. Some places were reduced to a still greater subjection; but promises were held out that even these might be restored to favour, if they continued obedient to the Roman sway. The principal citizens of Velitræ were removed to Etruria, while the town itself, the walls of which were destroyed, was brought into a state of complete subjection. The cities of Campania were reduced to dependence upon Rome, and colonies were settled in the chief Volscian towns. Rome had achieved one of the greatest triumphs that had yet fallen to her lot. It was a triumph, moreover, which, though involving some temporary hardships to particular cities, laid the basis of a firm and vigorous nationality, from which the world has surely been a gainer on the whole, whatever its faults, or even crimes. Sooner or later, all the Latin towns must have been combined in one political system. Rome itself was a Latin city in its origin. Its population was mainly of the Latin blood, and Latin was the language which its people spoke. Amongst the cities of Latium, there was none so competent to fill the chief position as Rome. The military genius of the people, their extraordinary knowledge of political forms, their discipline and self-restraint, their varied education in all that it is necessary for citizens to acquire, their progress during several centuries, and the manifest aptitude for command which they had repeatedly exhibited, pointed them out as the people destined by Nature for the post they afterwards filled. The subjection of the smaller Latin towns to Rome involved very little injury to the national sentiment of the former. They soon became reconciled to their new position, and Rome had the magnanimity, as well as the good policy, to restore the forfeited privileges of the vanquished communities when it was seen that such a course could be safely followed. This, however, was not until long after the conclusion of the Latin wars. In the meanwhile, the government of the Romans was the stern rule of conquerors, except in the few favoured cases to which allusion has been made. One unhappy result of this severity was seen in the decay of many Latin towns, the ruins of which now lie beneath the desolate fertility of the Campagna. Other cities had been destroyed by the Gauls; so that this portion of Italy was stricken with a barrenness which exists even to the present day. The Latin population, however, was in time absorbed into the general body of Roman citizenship, and some of the most distinguished generals and statesmen of Rome belonged to Latin families. The Oscan cities between Latium and Campania, and several of those in the northern part of Campania itself, were admitted to an alliance with Rome on very favourable terms; but it is not unlikely that these advantages were conferred rather on the Patricians than on the mass of the people. By maintaining a privileged class in each of the subjected cities, Rome secured to herself a large body of supporters, whose interest it would be to maintain the alliance by which they were benefited. The device was not conceived in a spirit of equity; but it was doubtless politic from a low point of view, and served the purposes for which it was designed.

The year which saw the complete subjugation of the Latins (338 B.C.) was that in which the Greeks underwent their terrible discomfiture at Chæronea. Philip of Macedon obtained his great success at the very time when Roman power was advancing in a marked degree over neighbouring and cognate populations. Four or five years later, Alexander of Epirus, the brother-in-law of Philip, landed in Southern Italy, with the intention of helping the

Tarentines against the attacks of the Lucanians and Samnites. The Romans made an alliance with him in 332 B.C.; but, after some successes, Alexander was defeated and slain at the battle of Pandosia, in 326 B.C. At that time, Alexander the Great was pursuing his brillant and altogether unparalleled career in Asia, and for a few years it seemed doubtful whether the Macedo-Hellenic Empire would not over-ride the growing power of Rome, and absorb the whole of Italy. That Rome watched the progress of the hero with profound interest and some apprehension can scarcely be doubted; and it is believed that a Roman embassy was among those which greeted the victor on his final return to Babylon, a little before his death. It is certain, at any rate, that the Etruscans and other nations of Italy hastened to lay their homage at the feet of Alexander. Had that extraordinary soldier lived, he would doubtless have turned his arms towards the West, and in that case Italy would have been the first country to feel the sharpness of their edge. It is scarcely possible that Rome could have withstood such an attack, for she was then involved in the Second Samnite War. The death of Alexander in 323 B.C., and the subsequent dissensions among his generals, which were not even temporarily composed until the battle of Ipsus, in 301 B.C., saved the Romans from a trial which they could scarcely have hoped to survive; and after the latter date the general posture of affairs, both in the Alexandrine kingdoms and in the Roman Republic, was such as to give no great cause of anxiety to the latter.

A renewed war with the Samnites was perhaps inevitable, considering all the circumstances of the case. The Samnites and the Romans were both strong and aggressive, and a collision was scarcely to be avoided, notwithstanding the treaty of amity which had been concluded in 341 B.C. Rome continued to make progress in Campania, and the Samnites viewed their successes with an excusable jealousy. Colonies were planted on the Samnite frontier, and, about 330 B.C., the Volscian town of Fabrateria, near Fregellæ, implored the aid of Rome against the Samnite Confederacy. The Senate warned the Samnites to abstain from further attacks, and occupied Fregellæ with a body of colonists. In this way the Romans obtained a command over the upper or inland road from Latium into Campania, while, by the acquisition of Anxur, or Tarracina, shortly before, the lower or coast-road had been effectually covered. There can be no doubt that these acts were menacing to the Samnites, and were intended to bring them within the military grasp of Rome. The Samnites understood them in that sense, but for some time were unable to resent the injury, owing to the war they were conducting against the Tarentines and their ally, Alexander of Epirus. The collision was at length precipitated, in the year 327 B.C., by a quarrel between the Romans and the Greek city of Palæpolis (originally Parthenope), close to Neapolis, or Naples—the former being the Old, as the latter was the New, City. The Romans complained of outrages committed on their citizens by the people of Palæpolis; but the latter, relying on the aid of the Samnites, refused to give any satisfaction. The Senate accordingly declared war, and ordered Publilius Philo, the first Plebeian Consul, to besiege Palæpolis. The inhabitants of the Old City had not counted in vain upon Samnite assistance. Four thousand of that nationality were sent to the place, and helped to form the garrison; but they do not appear to have given any trouble to the Romans. Publilius encamped between the Old and the New City, and discharged his duties so well that at the end of his year of office he was continued at the seat of war under the title of Pro-Consul, then for the first time introduced. Soon afterwards, he and his legions were admitted by a pacific agreement within the walls of Palæpolis, and the Neapolitans entered into a treaty of peace with the Senate.

So far, matters had gone happily; but Rome could not forget that the Samnites had helped Palæpolis. Ambassadors were sent into Samnium to make complaints, and the Samnites haughtily answered that the time had evidently come when the two Powers must decide in the battle-field which was to be the future mistress of Italy. The Second (or, as it is sometimes called, the Great) Samnite War began in 326, and lasted to 304 B.C., a period of twenty-two years. Both combatants were strong, courageous, and determined, and it was plain from the first that the struggle must be one of life and death. The first active operations were in 325 B.C., when the Consul Decimus Junius Brutus reduced the country of the Vestinians, while Samnium was invaded from Campania by a grandson of the great Camillus. But it was not long ere an incident occurred which showed the growing indisposition of the Roman army to submit to those despotic excesses of discipline which an earlier age had borne without a murmur. Papirius Cursor having been appointed Dictator, the post of Master of the Horse was conferred by him on Fabius Maximus. That officer, in the temporary absence of Papirius from before Sublaqueum, had ventured to attack the enemy, in violation of his superior's strict injunctions that he should act



THE ROMANS PASSING UNDER THE YOKE AT THE CAUDINE FORKS.

solely on the defensive. The attack was completely successful; but when Papirius, who was at Rome, heard of what had taken place, he returned in anger to the army, and ordered the lictors to seize Fabius, and put him to death. Fabius took refuge among the veterans, and ultimately fled to Rome, where he appeared before the Senate to defend his conduct. The Dictator followed him to the capital, accompanied by his lictors; but the offender's father invoked the intercession of the Tribunes, and demanded an appeal to the people. By the Roman Constitution, there was no appeal against the sentence of a Dictator, and all that could be done was to beg Papirius, as a favour, to overlook the offence of Fabius. The Dictator at length yielded, though with reluctance, and Papirius returned once more to the army. He found the soldiers in a mood of scarcely suppressed rebellion. Fabius stood high in their esteem, as having led them to victory, and they regarded Papirius as a hard and remorseless man, devoted more to the letter than to the spirit of the law. By a politic change in his manner, however, Papirius succeeded in regaining the confidence and esteem of his men, and various successes followed, both in that and the next year.

The Dictatorship of Papirius was renewed in 324 B.C. An armed rising of the Tusculans and Privernatians, in 323 B.C., gave the Romans some trouble, and required all their adroitness for its settlement. These communities, who had already been admitted to the private rights of Roman citizenship, now demanded the full political franchise, and it was found necessary to grant their request. Had the Romans refused to yield, and the malcontents made a serious stand, the Samnites would have received a considerable accession of strength. As it was, they were deprived of that advantage, and shortly afterwards sued for peace. But the only conditions which the Romans would offer proved too hard for Samnite pride to accept. It was required of them that they should be the subject allies of Rome, and this they refused. The war accordingly entered on its second period, which lasted from 321 to 315 B.C. Previously, the Romans had been successful in all they attempted; it was now the turn of the Samnites to enjoy the sunshine of fortune. They elected for their generalissimo a citizen of Telesilla, named Pontius—a man of great military genius, of noble disposition, and of philosophical culture, derived from Greek tuition. On being invested with the principal command, he spread a report that the whole force of the Samnites had marched into Apulia. The Roman Consuls for that year (321 B.C.) were Titus Veturius and Spurius Posthumius, who were at the time stationed in Campania. Placing full credence in the rumour, they determined to march to Apulia across the intervening territory of Samnium, and entered the first rampart of the Apennines by the pass of the Caudine Forks, so called from the village of Caudium, lying on the road to Beneventum. All the surrounding hills were thickly wooded, and the whole Samnite army lay in ambush under the impenetrable shadow of the trees.

The Romans believed that their enemies were far off, and therefore entered the defile without misgiving. In the middle of the glen was a watery meadow, closely shut in by woody hills, and in fact dividing the pass into two distinct portions, a lower and an upper. No resistance was experienced in the first of these, nor yet in the meadow; but the entrance of the upper pass was found to be blocked by felled trees, behind which stood the bristling ranks of the Samnites. Seeing that it would be impossible to force their way through, the Consuls turned back, hoping to penetrate into Apulia (where in fact their presence was not needed at all) by a more circuitous route. But, in the meanwhile, the enemy had occupied the lower pass, and the Romans found their retreat cut off. The Samnites had in fact closed round on every side, and it was only the coming on of night which saved the invaders from complete destruction. Not a track remained open by which they could escape; every sally was repulsed; numbers of brave soldiers fell, and half the officers were killed or wounded. Moreover, there was no opportunity of getting food, and at length it became necessary to open negotiations with the triumphant foe. The Samnite commander exhibited some want of skill in the ensuing arrangements. His wisest plan would have been to detain the vanquished as prisoners of war until the close of the struggle, which, in that case, would probably have been not far distant. Pontius, however, determined to let the Romans go free on their surrendering their arms, and publicly acknowledging their defeat. But these terms were accompanied by the stipulation that the chief officers should engage to procure a favourable peace. The conditions were sworn to by the Consuls, the Military Tribunes, and the Tribunes of the Plebs; but the agreement of those officials was not binding on the commonwealth. Six hundred knights were retained as hostages, and all the other members of the army, even to the Consuls, were made to undergo an ignominious ceremony, which the Romans themselves had often imposed upon their adversaries Each man was

denuded of his arms and armour, and, clothed simply in a short tunic, was compelled to march beneath a yoke formed, as before related, by a combination of two perpendicular spears with one placed horizontally on the top. Then, proceeding to Capua, the soldiers were supplied with arms and outer garments, and so returned to Rome, which, with the exception of the Consuls, they entered after nightfall, that their degradation might be the less visible.

All Rome was humiliated by this terrible reverse. Mourning was universally worn, and all festivals were adjourned. Two new Consuls were shortly afterwards elected, and the question arose whether the treaty should be fulfilled. After considerable debate before the Senate, it was determined that the agreement should be repudiated, and that all who had signed the treaty should be given into the charge of the Sacred Herald, to be by him delivered as prisoners to the Samnites. The officers were accordingly taken back in chains; whereupon Posthumius, the late Consul, who had been one of the chief commanders of the army, struck the Roman herald, observing that, as he had now become a Samnite subject, he insulted the sacred officer of Rome in order to furnish his countrymen with a pretext for renewing the war. But Pontius declined to receive the prisoners, and declared that he would not, because of the surrender of a few officers, excuse the Romans from the performance of what he regarded as their duty. The Roman prisoners once more returned to their own city, and the war broke out afresh in 320 B.C. It is evident that the officers had no power to bind the Senate, and that Pontius acted rashly in setting the legions free before he had obtained the necessary ratification. Strictly speaking, the whole army should have been sent back to the Samnites; for they had been released on a condition which the Senate did not choose to fulfil. At any rate, the surrender of the officers was absolutely imperative, as a matter of good faith, when the terms on which they had received their freedom were refused.

The war continued with varying success, and in 318 B.C. a truce of two years' duration was agreed to. The Romans had by that time recovered their position, had repossessed themselves of several places which had been lost by the Caudine disaster, and on one occasion had passed seven thousand Samnite captives under the yoke. The chief Roman hero during these engagements was Papirius Cursor, of whom many romantic stories are told, illustrating his extraordinary strength and prowess. The two years' truce enabled both sides to reinforce their armies, and, when the war again broke out, the Samnites had some marked successes. Pontius entered Campania, and defeated Fabius Maximus (who had been appointed Dictator) at the pass of Lautulæ. This opened Latium to the Samnites, and some of the Campanian cities deserted to the enemy. But the Romans speedily retrieved their fortunes, and the Samnite cause passed once more under a cloud. In 313 B.C., two hundred of the chief citizens of Fregellæ were beheaded by the Romans, as a warning to towns that were inclined to temporise. On the other hand, the good will of Nola was secured by a favourable treaty. Colonies were founded in various places possessing strategical value, and by 311 B.C. the Romans had established their power in Apulia on the Adriatic, and in Campania on the Mediterranean. A chain of forts was drawn across the peninsula, and Campania was connected with Rome by the first of those great military roads which were afterwards so remarkable a feature in the dominion of the Republic and the Empire. This was the celebrated Via Appia, so called after the Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus (the Blind). The road extended from Rome to Capua, and was carried through the Pontine Marshes on an embankment. At a later date, the road was prolonged to Brundusium (the modern Brindisi), a city on the eastern coast of Italy, where travellers from Rome took ship for Greece, and which of late years has again acquired importance as an intermediate station between the West and the East. The Samnites were held in an iron grip, and would probably have made peace at once, had it not been for a favourable diversion which occurred at this time. The forty years' truce which the Etruscans had made with Rome in 357 B.C. was now at an end, and the people of Etruria considered that self-preservation required a renewal of the war. They attacked the frontier stronghold of Sutrium, and inflicted heavy losses on the Romans. As the most likely way of meeting this danger, Fabius Maximus carried the war into the enemy's country, and, crossing the Ciminian hills, which were thickly overgrown with wood, and presented many dangers to an invading force, entered Upper Etruria. Ravaging the country in every direction, he so alarmed the Etruscans that the army before Sutrium was withdrawn in haste, in 310 B.C. The expedition, however, was of so hazardous a character that the Senate, alarmed at the possible consequences (for the departure of the army left Rome open to the Umbrians, whose fidelity was very doubtful), sent off emissaries, accompanied by two Tribunes, with positive orders to forbid the march of Fabius Maximus. But the rapid movements of that commander had

brought him into Upper Etruria before the prohibition could be delivered; and in 308 B.C. the Etruscans sued for peace, which was granted to the separate States.

The division of the Roman forces had enabled the Samnites, in 309 B.C., to defeat the Consul Martius Rutilus. The Senate considered Papirius Cursor the best man to redeem them from their troubles; and Fabius Maximus, as the other Consul, nominated to the Dictatorship the man who had once condemned him to death. Papirius achieved a decisive victory over the Samnites, and enjoyed a splendid triumph on his return to Rome. The Umbrians and other communities of Central Italy soon afterwards entered into an alliance with the Samnites, and even the Hernicans, who had long been the friends of Rome, assumed a position of hostility. But in every direction the Roman armies triumphed, and in 306 B.C. Samnium was ravaged for nearly five months. In the following year the Samnites sued for peace, and the war came to an end in 304 B.C. The terms granted to the vanquished are not known with any certainty; but it is probable that the Samnites became dependent allies. The Æquians soon afterwards made a fierce attempt to resist the growing power of Rome, but were subdued in 302 B.C. Two colonies were then planted among their mountains—one at Alba on the Fucine Lake, the other at Carseoli. Their territory on the Anio was formed into two new Tribes, and the total number of the Roman Tribes now amounted to thirty-three. Alarmed at the near approach of the Romans, the Marsians—a people occupying the high Apennines—declared war against the great Republic, but were speedily defeated. The former alliance was at once renewed; the Vestinians were soon afterwards admitted to the league; and, as the other communities of Sabine origin had already made peace with Rome, the position of that State was one of undisputed predominence. The Etruscans were no longer to be feared, and the future of Rome, as the ruling power of Italy, was now assured beyond any probability of failure.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF ROME IN ITALY.

Beginning of the Third Samnite War—Roman Successes—Co-operation of the Samnites with the Etruscans, Gauls, and Umbrians—Great Military Preparations of Rome—The Battle of Sentinum—Defeat of the Samnites under Gellius Egnatius—Roman Reverse in Campania—Vengeful Treatment of Pontius, the Samnite Hero—Political Developments at Rome during the Samnite Wars—Conquest of the Sabines—Last Secession of the Roman Citizens—Affairs in Southern Italy—League against Rome—Renewed War with Etruria—Extermination of Gauls—Submission of Three Greek Cities in the South—Position of Tarentum—Quarrel with Rome—Insult to a Roman Ambassador—Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines—His Measures for the Creation of an Army—The Epirote Phalanx and the Roman Legion—Defeat of the Romans at Heraclea—Admiration of Pyrrhus for the Roman Soldiers—His Proposals for Peace rejected by the Roman Senate—Cineas the Epirote on the Patriotism of Rome—Advance of Pyrrhus Checked—Renewal of the War—Battle before Asculum—The Romans again Defeated—Pyrrhus Crosses over into Sicily—Brilliant Successes, followed by Failure—Second Invasion of Italy—Defeat of Pyrrhus near Beneventum—His Return to Epirus—Capture of Rhegium by the Romans—Subjection of Italy to the Predominance of the Republic.

War was the usual condition of the Roman Republic, and, as in the ancient world generally, peace took the form of a truce extending over a greater or less number of years, because it was assumed that the state of hostility was the only state natural to human beings. The Samnites were exceedingly glad of the respite granted them in 304 B.C., but were bent on recommencing the struggle at the earliest opportunity. It was in fact renewed in 298, and in the intermediate years the Romans had been at war with the Etruscans and the Umbrians. The Etruscans had been assisted, in 299 B.C., by the Gauls; and, owing to these accumulated troubles, the following year seemed favourable to the renewed attempt of the Samnites. The Third Samnite War began with an invasion of Lucania, which was in alliance with Rome, and claimed its protection. Fortunately for the Romans, the Gauls speedily retired from the conflict; for the Samnites had secured the co-operation of the Sabines dwelling in the upper country, and the safety of Rome might have been gravely threatened, had the Etruscans retained the Gallic alliance. Under the command of Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus—the latter the son of the Decius who had devoted himself in the great battle at the foot of Mount Vesuvius—the Romans invaded Samnium, and for a while carried all before them.

At the same time, everything went happily for the Roman cause in Etruria, and peace was on the eve of being concluded with the Etruscans, when a gallant leader of the Samnites, named Gellius Egnatius, offered to go to their assistance with an army.

It was one main object of the Romans to separate northern from southern Italy, as their own position between the two made it desirable to prevent co-operation. With this view, they had, a few years earlier, taken the fortress of Nequinum, in Umbria, and had planted a colony on its site. This colony, which received the name of Narnia, commanded, at the point where the river Nar was crossed, the great military road called the Via Flaminia, which, passing through Umbria, severed the Samnites from the Etruscans. When, therefore, in 296 B.C., Egnatius led the larger part of his forces through the Marsian, Sabine, and Umbrian territories, so as to support the Etruscans, the Romans found themselves baffled by an unexpected combination. Appius Claudius was sent into Etruria with an army, but effected little or nothing. It was then determined that Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus should invade Umbria at the head of four legions, so as to separate the Samnites and Umbrians from the Etruscans—a step all the more necessary, as the Gauls had again given their powerful aid to the enemies of Rome; that the Proconsul Volumnius should be sent into Samnium; that Fulvius should be stationed with a reserve force near Falerii; and that a fourth army, under Posthumius, should cover Rome. This was by far the greatest war in which the Romans had yet been concerned. It is believed that they and their allies had in the field an army of 100,000 men.

Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus lost no time in crossing the Apennines into Umbria, where they met the confederated Samnites, Gauls, and Umbrians, at Sentinum. The Etruscan forces, which had entered the same territory some time before, had now withdrawn, in consequence of the Romans having invaded their country. The legions of Rome, with their allies, had therefore one foe the less to encounter, and, as they numbered about 60,000, they presented a formidable array, although the enemy was even stronger. The battle was fought with great obstinacy. Fabius, who was in command on the right, drove back the Samnites; but Decius, who directed the left wing, found himself unable to repel the fierce assault of the Gallic auxiliaries. His men were disconcerted by the war-chariots of the Celtic tribes, which were new to them, and which they do not seem to have known how to meet, as the Greeks and Macedonians did when opposed to the Persians—namely, by opening their ranks, and letting the chariots through. The cavalry fell into a panic, and the whole wing was thrown into disorder. Decius accordingly determined to sacrifice himself as his father had done before him, and, having gone through the prescribed ceremonies, courted the death which he speedily found. The Pontifex, Livius, then took command of the left wing; but the Gauls still prevailed, although the Romans again formed their ranks, and advanced with renewed spirit. At length, however, Fabius, having completely dispersed the Samnites, sent a detachment of his cavalry and infantry against the enemy's rear. This completely broke up the opposing line, and the Samnites were pursued to their camp, in defending which, Gellius Egnatius fell at the head of his troops. Vast numbers were slain on both sides, but several of the Samnites managed to escape to their mountain strongholds.

Fabius subsequently gained a victory over the Etruscans at Perusia; yet the Samnites still maintained the struggle. Another great battle was fought with them in 293 B.C.—a year which is also signalized as that in which the first sun-dial was set up at Rome. On this occasion they were again defeated with heavy loss; but some successes were obtained in Campania, where, in 292 B.C., the Romans were signally worsted by Caius Pontius, the hero of the Caudine Forks, unless, as some suppose, it was his son. The Roman commander was Fabius Maximus Gurges, son of the celebrated Fabius, and it was considered that he had managed so badly as to have merited deposition from the Consulship—an extreme step, of which there is only one example (and that at a much later period) in the whole course of Roman history. The punishment would probably have been carried out in the present instance, had not the elder Fabius interposed, and offered to serve as lieutenant to his son. Another battle was then fought, and the Samnites were defeated. The gallant Pontius was taken prisoner, and, in a spirit of vengeful cruelty, afterwards beheaded at Rome during the triumphal procession of Fabius Gurges, when the aged father of that official (now Proconsul, for a year had passed since the defeat of Pontius) rode on horseback behind his son, as one of his lieutenants. In 291 B.C., the first Roman colony in Samnium was founded at Venusia, on the borders of Apulia; and the resistance of the Samnites was virtually at an end.

While the Samnite Wars were proceeding, the political system of Rome underwent some important developments. By means of their clubs, the Patricians made desperate efforts to influence

the elections, and to recover their lost power; but the vigilance of the Plebeians defeated them. The commonalty, indeed, even added to their advantages. Up to this period, the Patricians alone had been eligible to the sacred offices of the Pontificate and Augurate; but both functions were now laid open to the people, and the numbers of the Pontifices and Augurs were augmented. The formation of colonies in the conquered lands had done much to relieve the poverty of the lower classes, and it

POSTHUMIUS IN THE THEATRE AT TARENTUM.

was no longer easy or safe to oppress them. But the evil of slavery was extending with the number of vanquished tribes and nations, and the Freedmen, or manumitted slaves, were often desperately poor. Their cause was taken up by the Patrician, Appius Claudius; but his motive was not beyond suspicion. The Freedmen were principally the dependants of the Patricians, and it was feared that any increase of political power conferred on these persons would be so much gain to their former masters. Appius was chosen Censor in 313 B.C., and he used his power with considerable latitude, and with an entire disregard of precedent. His great object was to enlarge the political privileges of the Freedmen, which he did by the aid of Cneius Flavius, himself the son of a Freedman. A few years after the admission of the Freedmen to the full rights of citizenship Flavius was elected (though not without some difficulty) to the Curule Ædileship. One of his most notable achievements was the publication of the forms and times to be observed in legal proceedings, which until then the Patricians had kept jealously in their own hands. The necessary information was obtained by him through Appius; but the Patricians generally were much annoyed by such an invasion of their privileges. Appius had for some time been the only Censor, his Plebeian colleague having resigned; and he refused to lay down his office when the period of eighteen months for which he was elected had expired. Altogether, he retained possession of this post for a period of five years, during which he constructed the Via Appia, to which allusion has been made, and the Appian Aqueduct, the first of those great channels which afterwards supplied Rome with water. Probably on account of these useful works, Appius was not disturbed in his Censorship; but, in the years immediately ensuing, the Freedmen were reduced to their former position of subordination to the other citizens.

The final submission of the Samnites was received by Curius Dentatus, one of the Consuls for the year 290 B.C., and immediately afterwards that commander proceeded to take active measures against the Sabines, who had given offence by supporting the Samnites. It is said that Dentatus himself came of Sabine race; but, if so, he was none the less a Roman. The rough simplicity of his life, which set him above the temptations of wealth, made him popular with the commonalty, and his abilities as a general were shown in the war he conducted against the Sabines. Those gallant people were speedily subdued, and compelled to accept the position of Roman citizens without the privilege of the suffrage. Curius Dentatus was the author of an agrarian law, which provided that all the poorer citizens should receive a certain allotment of territory in the Sabine country. The scheme was vehemently opposed by the more prosperous classes, and perhaps successfully, though the point is uncertain. The poor, however, suffered greatly in the time of Dentatus. Famine and pestilence were in the land, and about 286 B.C. a large number of the impoverished citizens left Rome, and encamped on the Janiculum. The Dictator Hortensius induced them to return by passing several laws which diminished the liabilities, and increased the political powers, of the lower classes; and the secession of 286 B.C. was the last which occurs in Roman history. The noble character of Dentatus was seen on this occasion, as on others. When the Sabine lands were divided amongst the people, he refused to take more than any other poor citizen; but it was decreed by acclamation that he should receive an additional share as a gift.

Rome was now about to come in contact with the Greek communities of the south. Those communities were not so powerful as they had been at an earlier day. The Greeks had never occupied the entire country, but had congregated in cities on the coast, according to their usual custom when founding colonies. The surrounding regions had been left to the aborigines, and the latter increased in power as the cities became less prosperous. For many years before the period we have now reached, the southern extremity of Italy had been occupied by two kindred races—the Lucanians and Bruttians, both of Samnite origin. The first acted in alliance with Rome during the Samnite wars, and it appears to have been understood that, as a recompense, the people were to be at liberty to take possession of the Greek cities lying scattered about their country. On the conclusion of the Third Samnite War, they accordingly laid siege to Thurii, the citizens of which applied to Rome for aid. The Romans commanded the Lucanians to respect the Thurians as allies of Rome; but this was naturally regarded as a breach of faith, and the Lucanians, Bruttians, Etruscans, and Samnites, entered into a new confederacy against the dictatorial city of the Tiber. In 283 B.C.—seven years after the conclusion of the Third Samnite War—hostilities again broke out in Etruria. Arretium, one of the Etruscan cities, refused to take part with the other States, and was accordingly besieged by the forces of the confederacy, strengthened by a large number of Gauls. The Roman Prætor, Cæcilius Metellus, marched to the relief of the city, but was defeated and slain. Seven Military Tribunes and 13,000 men were killed on the same occasion, and the rest of the army were taken prisoners. This disastrous overthrow was due to the Gallic Senones, who were then at peace with Rome. The Heralds sent to complain of the act were murdered, and the Consul Cornelius Dolabella marched an army into the territory of the Senones, devastated their lands, and slaughtered all who were able to bear arms. The Gauls returned to defend their country, which lay eastward of the Apennines, and were so disgracefully beaten by Dolabella that the survivors killed themselves. The women and children were then sold as slaves; the men not serving as soldiers were driven from the land; and the nation of the Senones was virtually extinguished. Their territory was occupied by Roman settlements, the first of which was founded immediately at Sena, now Senigaglia; at the same time, a Roman fleet was sent into the Adriatic, to protect the coasts. Hereupon, the Boian Gauls took up arms on behalf of their unfortunate brethren, and on their southward march were joined by the Etruscans. Dolabella, now supported by his colleague Cneius Domitius, was overtaken on the northern bank of the Tiber near Lake Vadimo, and a hard-fought battle ensued, which ended in the triumph of the Romans. Aided by the Etruscans, the Boians continued the struggle for some time longer, but were unable to effect anything against their powerful and disciplined foe. In 282 B.C. they concluded a separate peace with Rome, but for two years longer the Etruscans maintained a desultory struggle. In the meanwhile, the Romans had kept up a small auxiliary force at Thurii, which was besieged both by the Lucanians and the Bruttians. The position of that city, beleagured by so large and powerful a host, was highly critical, and a Roman army, under the command of Caius Fabricius Luscinus, was sent to its relief. The investing force was defeated, and the credit of the

Roman arms was so firmly established in the south of the peninsula that Locri, Croton, and Rhegium —three of the Greek cities in that part of Italy— were glad to receive Roman garrisons. The Hellenic cities of Dorian origin retained a position of independence; but Roman power had now reached to the very Straits of Messana, and it was almost inevitable that the Republic would before long come into collision with Greece on the one hand, and Carthage on the other.

Of all the Greek communities in Southern Italy, the one most opposed to Rome was Tarentum. This rich and splendid city was situated on the eastern shore of the adjacent Gulf, near its northern extremity. The pre-eminence of Tarentum had long been acknowledged by the other States of Magna Græcia, and, as a prosperous seat of commerce, it had been able to organize forces of sufficient strength to defend its independence against the Etruscans and Syracusans, both of whom had shown their desire to obtain possession of so wealthy a town. The people had many of the Greek qualities to a marked degree, being devoted in almost equal measure to intellectual speculations and licentious gaiety. The growing power of the Lucanians filled them with apprehension, and they sought aid among their fellow-countrymen in Greece. Archidamus of Sparta, and Alexander of Epirus, had assisted them with armies, and with their own personal service, in the second half of the fourth century B.C.; but the pressure of the Lucanians still continued, and the Tarentines had not the political skill to turn the conflicts of Rome with other Italian communities to their own advantage. With a ridiculous confidence in their own powers which nothing had occurred to warrant, they affected to assume the position of umpires between the Samnites and the Romans, and, after the disaster at the Caudine Forks, summoned both belligerents to lay down their arms. The Romans replied by a declaration of war; but nothing could be done at that time. Towards the end of the Second Samnite War, the Tarentines applied to Sparta for assistance against the probable vengeance of the Romans; and Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes II., entered the country at the head of 5,000 mercenaries, to whom he added many others raised in Italy itself. These troubles of the Tarentines gave the first occasion for the invasion of Italy by Greek armies. The expedition of Archidamus was the earliest of such enterprises; that of Alexander of Epirus was the second; and the interposition of the Spartan Cleonymus furnished a third instance. Cleonymus forced the Lucanians to make peace with Tarentum, and then, instead of forming a coalition against Rome, departed for Corcyra, whence he occasionally issued forth on piratical incursions from which Greece and Italy were alike the sufferers. Rome might now have taken vengeance on the offending city; but, at the conclusion of the second great struggle with the Samnites, she granted favourable terms of peace, including an engagement not to let any of her ships appear in the Gulf of Tarentum.

From 304 B.C., when the treaty was concluded, to 282 B.C., nothing of importance occurred between the Tarentines and the Romans; but the former were animated by a scarcely-concealed antagonism to the latter, although they hesitated to take any active steps against their formidable opponent. Though the Tarentines were excellent seamen, and possessed a powerful fleet, they were not good soldiers, and naturally dreaded to encounter the land forces of Rome. In the wars they had previously waged they depended chiefly on mercenaries, or on foreign allies; but these were now not readily to be obtained. For this reason, the pleasure-loving Greek city would probably have continued on formal terms of amity with Rome, had it not been for an incident in which the Romans were certainly to blame, but which the Tarentines treated in a spirit of rash and headstrong confidence. During the Dionysiac festival of 282 B.C., ten Roman ships of war appeared off Tarentum, in defiance of the agreement entered into in 304. The Tarentines, as was usually the case during the festivals of Bacchus, were in a state of inebriation, and from the seats of the theatre where they were assembled, and which was open to the harbour, they beheld the Roman galleys not far off. Incited by the harangues of a demagogue, they determined to attack the intruding ships at once, without first warning the Romans off the coast, or giving them any opportunity of explanation. The Roman vessels were so greatly outnumbered as to be incapable of prolonged resistance. Half of them escaped; of the other half, four were sunk with all their crews, and the fifth was taken; the soldiers on board the captured galley were killed, and the rowers sold into slavery. The Tarentines appear to have been surprised by their own rapid success, and, in the uncontrollable elation of the moment, marched to Thurii, and took possession of the city. The Roman garrison was permitted to retire, but a government favourable to the Tarentines was established. The city was then plundered, and all supporters of the Roman alliance were driven into exile. However blamable the Romans may have been in sending

ships beyond a point they had undertaken not to pass, they could hardly be expected to endure the injuries which had been put upon them by the hot-headed Tarentines. Still, they hesitated to enter on a war in which their coasts might be injured by the navy of Tarentum, and, desiring to proceed circumspectly, sent an embassy to the Greek city, headed by Lucius Posthumius, who was charged to require satisfaction for the recent outrages. The Tarentines received these envoys in the worst spirit of levity. A rabble followed them through the streets, jeering at the peculiar fashion of their garments; and their reception was no better when they reached the theatre, where the citizens had assembled in the observance of some festival. The people laughed at the bad Greek of Posthumius, and, while he was still proceeding with his address, taking little notice of the indecent interruptions by which he was encountered, one of the revellers went up to him, and bespattered his white toga with filth. Delighted with the act of this drunken fool, the whole assembly burst out into loud laughter, immodest songs, and frantic applause. But Posthumius, changing his manner to one of suppressed wrath, exclaimed, "Laugh while ye may! Ye shall weep long enough hereafter, and this robe of mine shall remain uncleansed till it is washed in your best blood."

The Romans were generally quick to avenge insult; but on the present occasion the Senate debated long before determining on their course of action. Wars had been so numerous of late, and so desolating in their effects, that the leaders of the people might well hesitate as to reopening so costly and precarious a game. Yet, in the absence of apology, it was impossible to suffer such an outrage. At length, Æmilius Barbula, one of the Consuls for the year 281 B.C., was ordered to march southwards, while his colleague kept watch upon the Etruscan frontier. The country round Tarentum was devastated; numerous prisoners were taken, and for a while some disposition to a pacific policy was exhibited by the governing classes. The democratic party, however, was in favour of protracted war, and a deputation went over to Epirus to solicit aid from Pyrrhus, the warlike king of that country. Pyrrhus immediately sent Milo, one of his best officers, to garrison the citadel of Tarentum with 3,000 men, and signified his determination to follow himself in the course of a few months. He was at this time in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and had already been concerned in many martial enterprises. His restless and ambitious temperament made a peaceful life hateful, and almost impossible, to him; and he believed that he might achieve in the West a series of conquests almost as brilliant as those which Alexander the Great had obtained in the East. He rejoiced therefore to mix himself up in the quarrels of Tarentum, and probably anticipated that he should found an Empire among the Hellenic cities of Magna Græcia and of Sicily. Leaving Epirus towards the end of 281 B.C., he sailed for Italy, and, after a stormy passage, during which several of his ships were scattered, reached the Iapygian coast, where, in the midst of darkness and tempest, he leaped into the waves, and, at the peril of his life, struggled to the shore. The expeditionary forces were presently reunited, and Pyrrhus marched overland to Tarentum. His army consisted of 20,000 infantry, 3,000 or 4,000 cavalry, and a squadron of twenty elephants. Several of these troops had been drawn from Macedon; most of the cavalry were Thessalians—men at all times celebrated for their skill as mounted warriors; the rest of the army came from the western States of Greece.

This rather slender force was to be augmented by bodies of Lucanians and Samnites; and the Epirote hero determined that the Tarentines also, despite their effeminacy, should help to fight the battles they had provoked. If the people of Tarentum supposed that Pyrrhus was simply going to consult their pleasure, the illusion was very speedily dispelled. The treaty which he had sent over previous to his arrival gave him supreme command of the Italian allies, and he had not been long in Tarentum before the citizens discovered that in calling in Pyrrhus they had put a master over their heads. The Tarentine envoys had promised to furnish him with 350,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry; but no such contingent was forthcoming when the Epirote sovereign was ready to take the field. He therefore at once enlisted mercenaries at the expense of the Tarentines, and many of the citizens he compelled to serve in person. A strictly military government succeeded to the turbulent and pleasure-loving laxity that had prevailed till then. All places of public amusement were shut up; the political clubs were suppressed; the promenades were cleared of idlers; some of the demagogues were put to death, while others were banished; and guards were stationed at the gates, to prevent any one leaving the city without the king's permission. The people murmured at these acts, which to them appeared nothing less than the insolent oppression of a foreigner; but Pyrrhus knew that he would have no chance of fighting the Romans unless he first obtained a strong grip upon the instruments of

war; and the voluptuous levity of the Tarentines filled him with a disgust which he did not care to conceal. Every attempt at sedition was promptly suppressed, and all citizens of military age were drafted into the phalanx.

Immediately after the arrival of Milo, Æmilius Barbula, the Roman Consul, retired into Apulia, where he went into winter quarters; and, while Pyrrhus was organizing his forces in Tarentum itself, the Romans were making the utmost exertions to anticipate his movements when the time for opening the campaign had arrived. The task which lay before them was one of no ordinary weight, for the nationalities of Central and Southern Italy were for the most part disaffected to the Roman sway, and ready to abet any invader who should help them to cast it off. The Samnite, Etruscan, and Latin wars had consumed so much of the Roman strength that an army of sufficient size could only with difficulty be collected. It was found necessary to call out and arm the lowest and most poverty-stricken members of the population,—the *proletarii*. By the aid of these measures the Romans were able to protect the northern frontier against the Etruscans, while four legions, together with the auxiliary forces of the allies, were despatched to Tarentum in 280 B.C. When these troops, which were under the command of Valerius Lævinus, had effected a junction with the men already in Apulia, the total number of soldiers appears to have amounted to 50,000—a much larger number than Pyrrhus could by any effort bring into the field. The two hosts encountered near the city of Heraclea, at the mouth of the river Aciris, which flows into the Gulf of Tarentum about the middle of its northern shore. Pyrrhus had marched out of the city to meet the advancing enemy, and had taken up his position on a plain between the rivers Aciris and Siris, with his left towards the sea, and his right stretching inland. The action was most fiercely contested, and it may be said that two systems of military formation were then placed upon their trial. The system prevailing in the army of Pyrrhus was that of the Macedonian phalanx, the nature of which has been previously explained; the disposition of the Romans was of a much more open character, and depended for its effectiveness on the valour and aptitude of the individual soldier. The Roman legion was originally ordered as a phalanx; but, during the great Latin War, this method of construction had been greatly modified. It was now drawn up in three lines, which might more correctly be described as five lines, for the third was triple. A somewhat considerable distance separated these divisions of the army from one another, and every man was allowed free space in which to ply his weapons. The phalanx, on the contrary, was an elaborate combination of warriors, formed into one mass by the interlocking of their shields, and by the manner in which the spears were held, and whose main efficiency consisted in the extraordinary compactness of the whole body, and the power which it acquired from simultaneous action.

The battle of Heraclea was commenced by the Romans, who, after crossing the Siris, threatened to surround the enemy by troops of horsemen. Pyrrhus led his own cavalry into the field to repel this danger, but was thrown from his steed, and nearly killed. He then exchanged his resplendent armour and purple cloak with an officer of the guard named Megacles, who was some time after killed in mistake for the king. Pyrrhus having brought up his phalanx, a desperate conflict ensued, during which the phalanx and the legion drove one another back seven times. For some hours it was doubtful which side would prevail; and when Lævinus ordered up his last reserve—a picked body of cavalry—the Epirote phalanx wavered and receded. The fall of Megacles had produced a temporary impression that Pyrrhus himself was slain; but shortly afterwards he was seen riding along the front, untouched. His men then rallied with a sudden access of ardour, and once more dashed upon the Romans. Still, the moment was critical, and Pyrrhus considered that the time had arrived when his twenty elephants should be led into the field. At the sight of these strange animals, the Roman horses were seized with uncontrollable terror, and, turning round with their riders, carried confusion among the legions. Pyrrhus now charged with his Thessalian horse, and the Romans were glad to escape over the Siris, without attempting to defend their camp. The losses of the vanquished were numerically much greater than those of their adversaries; but Pyrrhus had to lament so many of his best officers and troops that he declared such another victory would be his ruin. It was after this battle also that, when observing how every Roman corpse bore its wounds in front, he exclaimed, "If these were my soldiers, I would conquer the world." He appears, indeed, to have made an attempt to gain the prisoners over to his side; but his offers were persistently refused, and the magnanimous nature of the Epirote must have been still more favourably impressed by this evidence of patriotic firmness.*

* In the year 1820 two bronzes, of beautiful workmanship (now in the British Museum), were discovered near the Siris.

Lævinus withdrew his shattered legions into Apulia, where the city of Venusia remained faithful to the Roman cause. With this exception, the whole south of Italy declared in favour of Pyrrhus; but that commander would not pursue the war without first endeavouring to effect a pacific arrangement. He therefore sent terms to Rome, demanding the freedom of all the Hellenic cities (even including those of Campania), and the restitution of the territory and places previously taken from the Samnite nations. Several members of the Senate were inclined to accept these proposals; but the aged Appius Claudius threw all the weight of his authority and reputation into the scale against any such concessions. The blind old statesman was carried to the Forum in a litter, and led by his sons into the place reserved for him, where he had not been seen for many years. He there delivered an address of such passionate eloquence and piercing force that the Senate rejected the overtures of Pyrrhus, and laid it down as a fixed principle that Rome could never negotiate with a foreign enemy on Italian ground. The envoy sent by Pyrrhus on this mission was a Thessalian Greek named Cineas—a philosopher and orator, gifted with extraordinary powers of persuasion. He had often before served Pyrrhus in various ministerial capacities, and the Epirote king used to say of him, "The tongue of Cineas has won for me more than my own sword." But Cineas was baffled by the resolution and dignity of the Roman Senate. He is reported to have declared that to fight with the Roman people was like fighting with the hydra, so inexhaustible were their numbers and their spirit; that the whole city was a temple of the gods, and the Senate an assembly of kings. However much these expressions may have been magnified by popular report, it is certain that Cineas gave his master an impression very far from encouraging.

Nevertheless, Pyrrhus would not abandon his design. He determined to press the war close, and to threaten Rome itself. At the head of his motley force, he marched in a north-westerly direction, and, having passed through Campania, entered the bounds of Latium. Here he laid waste a good deal of the land, but in certain directions received the submission of the people. Still pursuing his way, he reached a point within eighteen miles of Rome; but the nearer he got to the great city the less support did he obtain. It may be noted as an instructive fact that his willing allies were found only among those tribes who had received the burden of Roman citizenship without the privileges, and that where the conquered communities had been treated in a generous spirit, their fidelity to Rome was unshaken. Pyrrhus found that he had committed himself to a rash enterprise, and that he must withdraw as quickly as possible. The army of Lævinus, reinforced by two new legions, had followed him on his march, and, while thus threatened in his rear, he found an unexpected obstacle springing up in his front. The Etruscans, who were by this time nearly exhausted by continual misfortunes, had made a separate peace with Rome, and the army of the Consul Coruncanius was thus set at liberty to oppose the invader. At the same time, Rome was covered by an army of reserve under the Dictator Domitius Calvinus. Pyrrhus saw the necessity of immediate retreat, and, laden with an immense booty, marched for Tarentum, where he took up his winter quarters towards the end of 280 B.C. On the whole, the prospect was disheartening. The Italians and Greeks of the south were beginning to dislike the war on account of the hardships it imposed, and the insolence of the Epirote soldiers, who lost no opportunity of asserting their superior position. The king, therefore, again endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the Romans to those terms of peace which Cineas had advanced; and when Caius Fabricius Luscinus was despatched by the Senate, with two other agents, to negotiate an interchange of captives Pyrrhus refused to make any such arrangement unless his previous offers were accepted. In a spirit of generosity, however, he gave his prisoners leave to go home for the Saturnalia, if they would pledge their word of honour to come back in case the war should continue. But the Senate still rejected the Epirote terms, and ordered every man to return to Tarentum, on pain of death if he remained a single day beyond the appointed time.

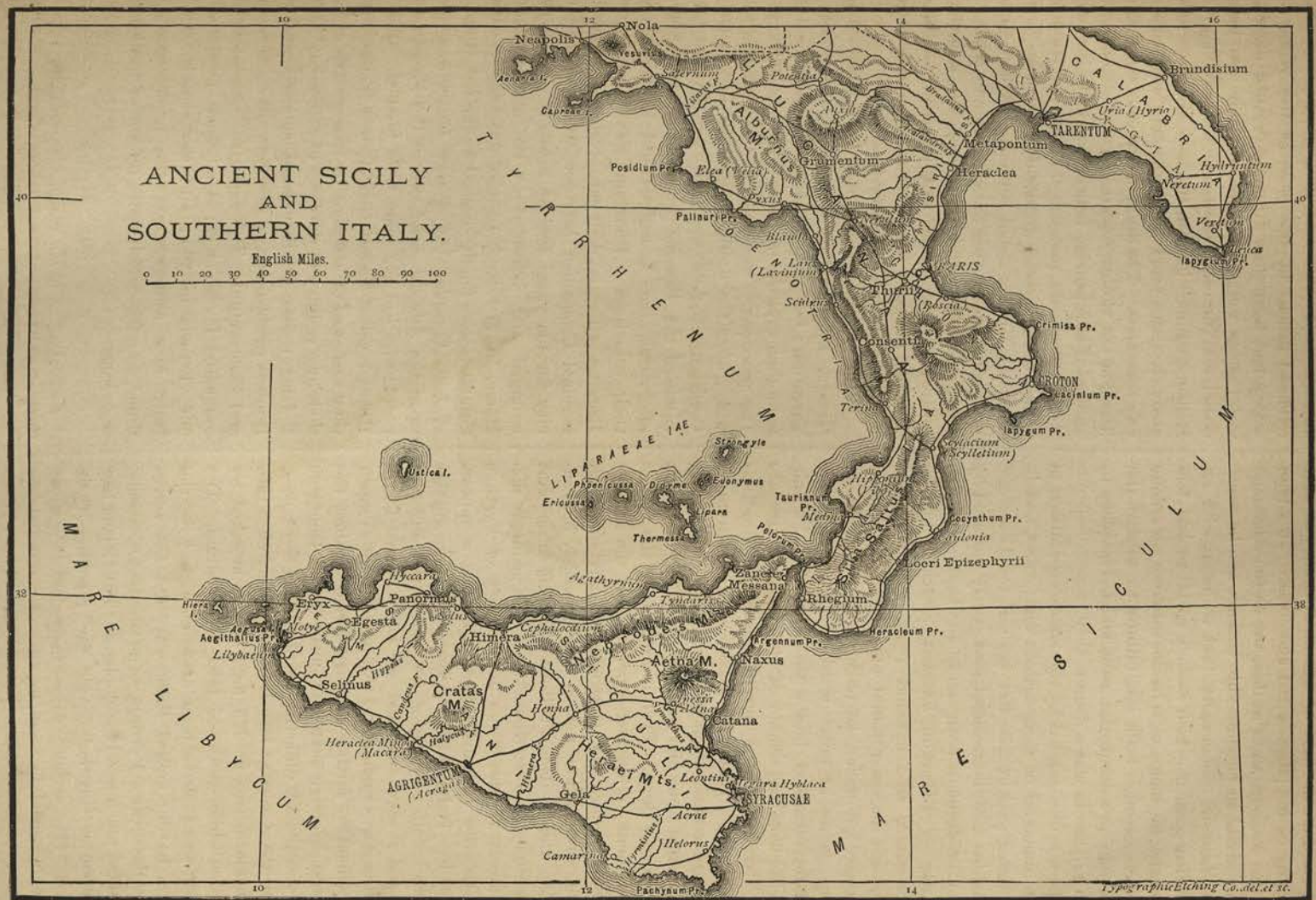
The war broke out afresh in 279 B.C., when Pyrrhus laid siege to Asculum, in Apulia. The Roman Consuls marched to the relief of that city; but, after suffering a slight reverse, Pyrrhus, by his skilful manœuvring, managed to draw his opponents down into the plain, where the phalanx and the elephants would have greater opportunity of action. On the side of the Greeks and Epirotes were the Lucanians, Bruttians, Samnites, and Tarentines. On the side of the Romans were the Latins, Campanians, Volscians, Umbrians, Sabines,

They are evidently fragments of a magnificent cuirass, originally gilt, and the figures, which are in high relief, represent a hero fighting with an Amazon. The production is undoubtedly Greek; and, considering its costly and splendid character, it is not improbable that this cuirass was part of the suit of armour which Pyrrhus, on the memorable day of Heraclea, exchanged for that of Megacles.

and various other tribes. The contest was therefore something more than a struggle between Pyrrhus on the one part and the Romans on the other. It was a civil war between the Italians of the south and those of the central parts. Taught by his experience of the previous battle, Pyrrhus now arranged his wings so as to encounter with greater effect the open order of the Romans; at the same time, he preserved the solidity of his phalanx. Again the Romans found their most desperate charges broken and driven back by the iron firmness and bristling spears of that veteran body. The attack was renewed several times over, until the assailants, being reduced by their own efforts to a state of exhaustion, were routed by the elephants, and, with the loss of 6,000 men, escaped to their entrenched camp on the other side of a neighbouring river. Once more the Romans had been beaten; but Pyrrhus paid so dearly for his triumph that he did not think it prudent to pursue. For the second time, he retired into winter quarters at Tarentum, where he soon afterwards learned that the Romans had concluded a defensive alliance with Carthage, which would destroy the superiority of Tarentum at sea. In the early part of 278 B.C., he received from the Roman Consuls a communication which, taken with other circumstances, determined him to a new course of action. He was informed that his physician had offered to poison him. For this intimation, which none but a generous enemy would have made, Pyrrhus expressed his warmest gratitude, and, as a proof that the feeling was not merely verbal, sent back all his prisoners, without ransom, and with fresh clothing. He had just then received an invitation to take the command of a Sicilian army, destined to operate against the Carthaginians and Mamertines. Since the death of Agathocles, about eleven years before, the Sicilian Greeks had suffered much from the want of a common leader. The power of the Carthaginians had become extremely formidable, and many parts were harassed by the predatory incursions of the Mamertines—Campanian adventurers, of Samnite origin, whose name was derived from their god Mamers, or Mars. Pyrrhus conceiving that a more promising future lay before him in the neighbouring island than in Magna Græcia, and perhaps despairing of any decisive success against the Romans, departed for Sicily, leaving his son Alexander with the garrison at Locri, and Milo at the citadel of Tarentum.

FIGURES FROM THE BRONZE CUIRASS FOUND NEAR THE SIRIS. (*See foot-note, p. 64.*)

The stay of Pyrrhus in Italy had been rather more than two years; in Sicily he remained about two years and a half. His career was for a long time one of uninterrupted success. Syracuse was almost immediately relieved. All the other Greek cities, enchanted by his good fortune and soldierly skill, placed themselves under his leadership. By one brilliant victory after another, he drove the Carthaginians into the extreme west of Sicily, and shut up the Mamertines within the walls of Messana. Had it not been for their fleet, the Carthaginians would doubtless have lost all their positions. Even as it was, they offered to conclude peace with Pyrrhus, and to supply him with men and money, if he would leave them in undisturbed possession of Lilybæum. It would have answered their purposes extremely well, could Pyrrhus have been induced to return whence he came; for in that case the Greek communities of Sicily would once more have fallen beneath the African sway. But Pyrrhus could not be satisfied without attempting the reduction of Lilybæum—a maritime city lying on the western coast. He therefore commenced building a fleet, such as would enable him to keep open his communications with Epirus and Italy, and perhaps even to invade Carthage itself, as his father-in-law, Agathocles, had done. The fleet was ready by the middle of 278 B.C.; but the strength of Lilybæum had proved greater than Pyrrhus anticipated. He was obliged to raise the siege, even before the despatch of his vessels; and this failure so disheartened his Sicilian allies that the fame he had won by his previous victories disappeared in a breath. He had also made himself unpopular by many harsh and despotic acts, and the Greek communities of the island now refused his demand for reinforcements and supplies. His disposition was not naturally cruel, and indeed was often generous; but his temper was by this time spoiled by reverses. Although he had frequently


ANCIENT SICILY
AND
SOUTHERN ITALY.
English Miles.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
TYRRHENUM
MARE LIBYCUM
MARE SICULUM
Nola
Neapolis
Vesuvius
Aenaria I.
Capreae I.
Salernum
Potentia
Alburnus M.
Grumentum
Posidium Pr.
Elea (Velia)
Pyxus
Palinuri Pr.
Blanda
Lanus (Lavinium)
Scidrus
Thurii
(Roscia)
Consentia
Terina
Crimisa Pr.
CROTON
Lacinium Pr.
Iapygum Pr.
Scylacium (Scylletium)
Brundisium
Uria (Hyria)
TARENTUM
Metapontum
Heraclea
Hydruntum
Neretum
Veretum
Iapygium Pr.
CALABRIA
Ustica I.
LIPARAEAE IAE
Strongyle
Phoenicussa
Dinyme
Euonymus
Ericussa
Lipara
Thermessa
Taurianum Pr.
Medma
Cocynthum Pr.
Caulonia
Locri Epizephyrii
Pelorum Pr.
Zancle
Messana
Rhegium
Heracleum Pr.
Argennum Pr.
Naxus
Aetna M.
Catana
Agathyrnum
Tyndaris
Hyccara
Panormus
Eryx
Egesta
Hiera I.
Aegusa I.
Aegithalius Pr.
Lilybaeum
Selinus
Himera
Cephalocdium
Cratas M.
Henna
Heraclea Minoa (Macara)
AGRIGENTUM (Acragas)
Gela
Heraei Mts.
Leontini
Megara Hyblaea
SYRACUSAE
Acrae
Helorus
Camarina
Pachynum Pr.
Typographic Etching Co. del. et sc.

conquered on the field of battle, it cannot be said that any of his projects had succeeded. It is true that, to a nature such as his, the mere excitement of battle had an inexpressible charm; and he sometimes followed up his individual triumphs with an unresting passion, which looked as if he had forgotten his original design in the intoxicating ardour of the pursuit. Still, his failure to subdue the Romans was a disappointment, and his inability to take Lilybæum was a disgrace.

He was now invited by the Southern Italians to take command of their armies once more, and in the latter part of 276 B.C. set sail for Tarentum. His ships were intercepted and partly captured by the Carthaginian fleet, and, on landing in the vicinity of Rhegium, he was attacked by the Mamertines, who inflicted some loss upon his army, and a serious wound upon himself. Shortly afterwards, however, he took possession of Locri, where, being in great want of money (for the Italians furnished him with no supplies), he abstracted from the temple of Proserpine a treasure said to have been buried there for countless generations. This was despatched to Tarentum on board certain ships which were wrecked during the passage; but the treasure itself was cast upon the Locrian shore. Pyrrhus, regarding the fact as a judgment on his profanity, restored the amount to the temple, and punished his advisers with death. But it was not so easy to satisfy his conscience, and he always believed that his subsequent misfortunes were attributable to the goddess's displeasure. Whatever the despondency of Pyrrhus himself, the Romans looked upon his re-appearance in Italy with feelings of the gravest apprehension. Prodigies, indicating the anger of the gods, were supposed to have occurred. A pestilence was raging, and the people were so much disinclined to further military service against the Epirote sovereign that the Consul Curius Dentatus had the utmost difficulty in obtaining the forces. When these were at length raised, he marched into Samnium, where, in 275 B.C., he was attacked by Pyrrhus while encamped near Beneventum. The assault was to have been made at night; but the troops, having missed their way, did not arrive before daybreak. Pyrrhus, as on previous occasions, depended much upon his elephants; but Curius had hit upon a singular device for repelling their charge. His archers were instructed to shoot arrows wrapped in burning tow at the unwieldy animals; and it is said that a female elephant, rendered furious by the cries of her young one, which had been thus wounded, rushed back into the Epirote ranks, and threw them into sudden disorder. The other elephants followed, and the Romans, rushing in upon the broken masses of the phalanx, slaughtered large numbers with scarcely any resistance. The camp of Pyrrhus fell into the hands of the victors, who took 1,300 prisoners, and succeeded in capturing four of the elephants, which were afterwards paraded through the streets of Rome, to the intense wonder of the citizens. Notwithstanding this signal reverse, Pyrrhus was still desirous of prosecuting the campaign in Italy, but, being unable to obtain reinforcements, reluctantly quitted the peninsula, and returned to Epirus. The final scenes of his eventful career have already been related in this History.*

Wishing to retain some hold upon Magna Græcia, Pyrrhus left a garrison under Milo at Tarentum; but this commander could do nothing more than save the position from external assault. The peace-party was again in the ascendant; and when, after the death of Pyrrhus, in 272 B.C., a Carthaginian fleet appeared in the bay, Milo admitted the Romans into the citadel. Shortly afterwards, the Lucanians and Bruttians made their submission. Rhegium was taken by the Romans after a desperate resistance, and the revolted Campanian garrison, who had held the city for ten years against repeated attacks, were scourged and beheaded in the market-place of Rome, in 270 B.C. In the following year, the Samnites were finally crushed by the united armies of both Consuls; but a new danger soon arose upon the Adriatic coast, where the Picentines, a people who had for some time been the allies of Rome, revolted against their former friends, whom they suspected of a design to transport them from their own country to the Gulf of Salernum. After a faint resistance, they were subdued, and the Romans established two new colonies at Ariminum and Beneventum. The Iapygian promontory was conquered in 267 B.C.; Umbria was reduced in 266, Etruria in 265; and the greater part of Italy now acknowledged the predominance of Rome, as a fact which could no longer be disputed or overcome.

* See chap. 48 in the Volume of "Cassell's Universal History" on "Early and Greek History."

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

Retrospect of Roman Progress from the Period of the First Samnite War—Measures for Securing Roman Predominance—Military Colonies—The Treaties of Rome with Carthage—Creation of a Navy—Treatment of the Conquered Territories—Prefectures, Municipal Towns, and Colonies—Formation and Government of Colonies—Position of Allies—Power of the Roman Democracy—Roman Law as a Science—Early Developments of Literature—Popular Contempt for Poets and Actors—The Games of the Circus—Quarrel of Rome with Carthage—Expedition to Sicily—Beginning of the First Punic War—Building of a Large Fleet by the Romans—Defeat of the Carthaginian Fleet at Mylæ—Honours paid to Duilius, the Roman Victor—Further Reverses of the Carthaginians—Atilius Regulus—Sea Fight at Heraclea—Invasion of Carthage—Discomfiture of the Romans by Xanthippus—Renewed Fighting in Sicily—The Romans again Victorious—Regulus and the Carthaginian Peace Embassy—Progress of the Sicilian War—Achievements of Hamilcar—Defeat of the Carthaginian Fleet at Drepanum—Terms of Peace—Government of Sicily by Rome—Rising at Falerii—Civil War in Carthage—Sardinia Taken by the Romans—Expedition of Hamilcar into Spain—Events in Sardinia and Corsica—Wars with the Gauls and Ligurians—Conquest of the Illyrian Pirates—Renewed Gallic War—Union of the whole of Italy under the Sway of Rome.

GREAT indeed had been the progress of Rome since the era of the First Samnite War. In the middle of the fourth century B.C., and for some time after, it was a doubtful matter whether the Republic on the Tiber would not succumb to the rivalry of other Italian States, to the barbarian assaults of the Gauls, to the sword of Pyrrhus, or to the internal dissensions of political parties. But the Romans never lost faith in themselves. Even after the great disaster of the Caudine Forks they refused to acknowledge a superior, and in time extorted victory from adverse circumstances. Once, indeed, the Senate had quailed before the successes of Pyrrhus; but the exhortations of Appius Claudius recalled them to a sense of patriotism. The failure of the Epirote king to secure a hold on any part of Italy marks the period when the greatest of these earlier dangers gave way before the resolution of the Roman people. From that time it became evident to the other communities of the peninsula that they must accept a subordinate position towards the great military power which had arisen at the northern extremity of Latium. But Rome would never have been able to establish and perpetuate her influence, had she not been something more than a military power. Her administrative genius was equal to her valour and capacity in the field. Wherever the Roman went, he took with him his laws, his organising ability, and his mastery over physical conditions. The creation of military roads, which penetrated in various directions throughout the greater part of Italy, secured the predominance which had been won by actual fighting. Another politic measure was the establishment, at various points, of military colonies in strict subordination to the mother-city. The duty of these colonies on the north and north-east was to guard against further irruptions of the Gauls; others were to keep in subjection the Italian tribes which had reluctantly yielded to Roman sway; while a certain number were planted on the coasts, to repel any attacks that might be made by the Carthaginians, Syracusans, or other maritime nationalities.

It was shortly after the retirement of Pyrrhus from Italy that Rome began to acquire importance as a naval State. A commencement had been made more than half a century before, when the reduction of Antium placed at the disposal of the Romans the fleet of that piratical city. But this left Rome still very much the inferior of other communities, whose command of the Italian seas was a source of danger not to be despised or overlooked. A very considerable addition to the Roman navy, however, resulted from the conquest of Magna Græcia, the cities of which were mostly coast-towns, well provided with ships of war. Yet Carthage continued to be the dominant naval power, and, for the present, Rome was compelled to acknowledge her superiority. With the African Republic there had been two commercial treaties—the first in 348 B.C., the second in 306; and the latter was still in operation when the Romans completed their subjugation of Southern Italy, and established their supremacy over the North. The terms of both treaties were very severe. By the earlier one, the Romans were bound not to sail beyond the Hermæan Promontory (Cape Bon), on the Carthaginian coast, which of course entirely excluded them from the Atlantic. By the latter agreement they were prohibited from trading with Sardinia, or with the cities of Northern Africa, except Carthage itself. It was not in the nature of things that a growing and successful commonwealth would long continue to endure such restrictions; but it was necessary first of all to increase the

naval power of the Republic. The conquest of Bruttium, in 272 B.C., gave to the Romans the forest-region of Sila, which furnished them with inexhaustible materials for enlarging their navy. Two Admirals had been appointed as early as 311 B.C., for the general superintendence and organisation of the Roman navy; and, at a later period, four Quæstors of the fleet were created for similar purposes. Alliances were concluded with some of the Greek maritime cities, and everything was done to strengthen Rome in what was undoubtedly her weakest point.

On land, her power was scarcely questioned by any in the days at which we have now arrived. The struggles of nearly five hundred years had proved the superiority of Rome as a governing State to any other community in the Italian peninsula. As a consequence, Italy was subdued, and to some extent Romanised. But as yet there was no Italian people. A great variety of nationalities dwelt side by side in that which we now regard as one land, and, although the military successes of Rome brought them all under the same sway, the union was simply mechanical. The several commonwealths retained their own language and their own laws; with some exceptions, they were allowed to manage their own affairs; but they were isolated from one another, that no combination might be possible against the supremacy of Rome. That supremacy, while leaving untouched a good deal of local freedom, was a very positive, and in some respects a very onerous, fact. The conquered territories were to furnish contingents to the Roman armies, and a yearly tribute was collected from them by the sovereign State. Treaties concluded by Rome were binding on the subject communities, and the coinage of the imperial city on the Tiber was the circulating medium of all the other cities. But the greater number of these other cities were denied the rights of Roman citizenship. They had nothing to do with the government of the Republic, which nevertheless they were bound to support. This, however, does not seem to have been regarded as a great hardship, for it left the original citizenship untouched. Indeed, in some instances the gift of Roman functions was received with distaste, because it deprived its recipients of those ancient and national franchises which were more highly valued.

The Italian communities, as organised by Rome, were threefold, and consisted of Prefectures, Municipal Towns, and Colonies. The first of these were under the care of Roman governors, appointed annually, and the people enjoyed none of the privileges of Roman citizens. The Municipal Towns were bound to Rome by treaties of alliance, which left to them the ordering of their own affairs, but identified them with the fortunes of the ruling city, which they were obliged to aid with men and money. For the most part, they received the private rights of Roman citizens (amounting to equality before the law), but not the public or political rights. In particular cases the latter were granted as rewards for special services or peculiar faithfulness; but then, as we have said, the privilege of local self-government was at the same time withdrawn. The Roman Colonies were strictly military settlements, formed within the walls of Italian cities which had resisted the arms of Rome with more than common obstinacy, and which it was necessary to make unusual efforts to secure. In most instances, each of these colonies consisted of three hundred families, headed by three hundred soldiers of known valour and military experience. The heads of the families retained their rights as Roman citizens; but the natives of the subjected cities were lowered to a condition similar to that of the Plebeians in Rome itself, before they had extorted better treatment from the Patricians. There were also numerous Latin colonies, which had been formed during the period when a close league subsisted between Rome and the Latin cities; but the persons forming these colonies did not possess the rights of Roman citizenship, being merely communities in alliance with Rome. At a later period, however, they received certain privileges which went under the appellation of "the Latin Name."

Besides the Roman and Latin colonies which had been formed in cities already existing, and which were in fact little else than garrisons, others existed in territories where the settlers had to build new cities. A third of the conquered land was usually assigned to the colonists, and the ground was cultivated either by themselves, or by the dispossessed proprietors, acting as their tenants. The colonists were sent out by the State itself, and were expected to do the work of the State. Each man's allotment of land was defined by law; the whole body marched to the appointed place in martial array, and under military discipline; the limits of the town were marked out by the plough; and functionaries, appointed at Rome, proceeded to execute the works necessary for the building of a new city. Next, the magistrates were elected by a popular assembly; a Senate was also created; Consuls were chosen; and in most respects the constitution of the parent city was reproduced. Thus, by far the greater part of

Italy was to a considerable extent incorporated with Rome; but a few cities remained for some time longer wholly independent, though connected with the great Power on the Tiber by treaties of alliance, framed on terms of equality. These communities were chiefly in Latium, Campania, Umbria, and the Hellenic portions of Southern Italy; but ultimately all were absorbed within the mighty sphere of Roman supremacy. The advantage to Rome was of course immense and obvious. The predominant State gained a very large addition to her material strength, to her fighting power, and to her resources. On the side of the subjected commonwealths, the gain was not so marked. Still, it must be recollected that they shared in the grandeur of a magnificent sovereignty, and were protected from foreign enemies by the formidable military organisation with which they were connected. The government of Rome was imperious, but not cruel. Nothing like a state of serfdom was imposed on any of the conquered tribes or nations; and the possibility of advancement was open to all.

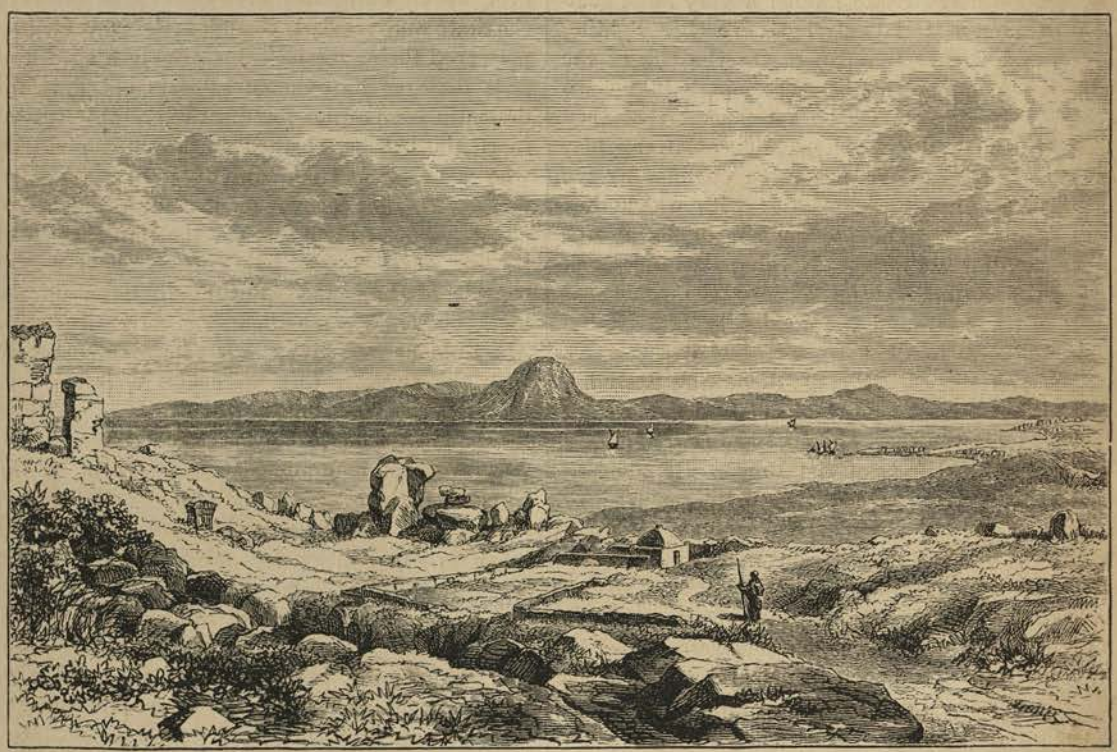
Such was the condition of Rome and Italy ten years after the second and final departure of Pyrrhus from the shores of the peninsula—viz., in 265 B.C. The defects of the Roman Republic, as it was originally formed, had been removed or mitigated, and the Roman people had a real and potent voice in the management of their own concerns. Much of this power was now exercised through the Quæstors, whose number was increased to eight in 268 B.C. The Quæstors were elected by the commonalty, and their principal duties were the collection of the public revenues, and the control of the public treasury. On the expiration of their term of office, they entered the Senate, and vacancies in that body were filled up from their number. As the senators sat for life, the power of the assembly was very great, and it was a power to which the whole mass of the citizens contributed. In these ways, the Roman populace acquired a familiarity with the science of governing which made them remarkable among the nations of antiquity. The less highly-organised democracies of Greece presented no such instance of administrative skill. Not one of the Greek Republics has left us any great body of laws: the legal system of Rome has been an example to the whole civilised world. It was not without considerable truth that Cicero wrote:—"How far our ancestors excelled other nations in wisdom, will be easily perceived on comparing our laws with the works of Lycurgus, Draco, and Solon; for it is incredible how rude, and almost ridiculous, every system of law is, except that of Rome."* The explanation of this fact is to be found in the natural love of discipline which was characteristic of the Roman people, and in the devotion of some of the highest minds to the creation of a body of precedents applicable to all the concerns of life. These rules and precedents gradually found their way into writing, and acquired a permanent and binding force.

Literature was but slightly cultivated at this period in the history of Rome. It was not, however, wholly unregarded even then. The annals of the State were regularly compiled; the great families preserved their genealogical registers; a species of rude dialogue on common subjects did duty for dramatic composition; and satire, in the form of inartistic ballads, chanted by strolling minstrels who went about from town to town, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of a flute, had already shown, even through the imperfection of its first developments, how great a power it was capable of becoming. But of literature in the more elaborate sense there was an entire want. The Romans were always a less imaginative people than the Greeks: they were also a less joyous race—at any rate, in the earlier stages of their national life. They had, indeed, their annual games, when various entertainments were given in the Circus Maximus. But the sedate and dignified Roman was simply a spectator of the feats of jugglery, rope-dancing, and mimicry, provided for him by Etruscans and other foreigners. Poets and actors were regarded as idle and disreputable people. The latter were excluded from the army and the comitia, and sometimes punished with imprisonment and blows, if their performances were in any way distasteful to the magistrates. The consequence of this treatment (which to an Englishman is suggestive of the Puritan severity of Cromwell's days) was that acting was left almost entirely to the Etruscans, and that the only Romans who engaged in it were persons of the most ignoble order. The chariot-races, however, were held in great esteem, as having a manly and warlike character; and here it was no disgrace for Romans themselves to contend, though the performances were originally in the hands of aliens. The drivers were distinguished by separate colours, and at a later age these became the symbols of political factions, the enmities of which led to frequent bloodshed, especially amongst the excitable populace of Constantinople.

Successful as they had been in their contests with other Italian nationalities, the Romans had

* On Oratory and Orators, Book I., chap. 44.

need of all their strength and resolution for encountering the dangers which still lay before them. On the other side of the Mediterranean, and at no great distance from the southern termination of Italy, lay the great African Republic of Carthage. The power of that State at sea was much greater than the naval power of the Romans; and the Carthaginian nobles, who formed the ruling class, had also at their disposal a large and efficient army of mercenaries, drawn from several parts of the world. Up to the present time, Rome had considered it politic to keep on good terms with her rival; but, for some years past, a feeling of jealousy had been growing up, which indicated the probability of an early rupture. This at length occurred in 264 B.C., when the Campanian mercenaries, known as Mamertines, who had taken possession of Messana, called upon the Romans to defend them against the Syracusan king, Hiero II. The willingness of Rome to support these robbers proceeded from no sympathy with the adventurers themselves, but from the fact that Carthage was in alliance with Hiero, and might perhaps extend her power to the important position of Messana, which overlooked the straits dividing Sicily from the mainland. The policy of Rome was obviously opposed to such a consummation; yet it was discreditable to take arms against the Syracusan ruler on these grounds, seeing that he had, only a few years earlier, assisted the Romans against the Campanian rebels who had established themselves at Rhegium. The members of the Senate were, in fact, so impressed with this consideration that they refused to entertain the project; but the Consuls were supported by the Centuriate Assembly, and it was determined to give the Mamertines the aid which they solicited.



THE SITE OF CARTHAGE.

Appius Claudius, grandson of the famous Censor, was appointed to command the army, and the expedition at once set out. But before it could reach the shores of Sicily a party among the Mamertines, opposed to the wishes of the majority, had admitted a number of Carthaginian soldiers into Messana. When Appius arrived upon the spot he found the enemy already in possession, and therefore made a direct attack on Hiero, whom he defeated with great loss, and drove into Syracuse. In 263 B.C. Hiero concluded peace with the Romans; but the latter now felt themselves committed to a war with Carthage, and

it was perhaps impossible that such a struggle could have been long postponed. The Carthaginians were clearly bent on obtaining possession of Sicily; and if the whole island had at any time passed under their sway, they would ere long have crossed the straits into the peninsula of Italy. It was evident to all the best intellects of Rome that the two Republics must encounter one another in the Sicilian fields. This had been equally apparent to Pyrrhus, who, shortly before returning to his own country, had said, with reference to Sicily, "How fair a battle-field we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!" The island was highly attractive to both Powers; but its geographical position pointed it out as Italian, not African. Moreover, the mass of its population was of Italic origin, and even the Greeks of the coast-towns belonged remotely to the same division of the human race as the Romans themselves, and not at all to that out of which the Carthaginians had arisen.

THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF CAPE PELORUS.

Immediately after their defeat of Hiero, the Romans obtained possession of Messana, but were subsequently invested there by the Carthaginians. The siege was speedily raised by Appius Claudius; and when Hiero, alarmed at the successes of the

Romans, made peace with the great Italian Republic, his example was followed by all the other Sicilian Greeks. The Carthaginians were driven back towards the western coast, but made a determined stand at Agrigentum, where Hannibal, the son of Gisgo, was in command of 50,000 men. During seven months of 262 B.C., that splendid city was blockaded by the Romans, who reduced the inhabitants, with the Carthaginian garrison, to the greatest distress. Hanno was then sent from Carthage to raise the siege, and, having landed at the port of Heraclea, cut off the supplies of the Romans, who by these means were themselves brought into serious straits. They accordingly determined to attack the new-comers, and the Carthaginians were defeated, though at so heavy a cost that the victors were unable to prevent their escape. Such was the commencement of the First Punic War, so called from a word by which the Romans recognised the Phœnician origin of their African foes. The departure of the Carthaginians placed Agrigentum at the mercy of its assailants; but, notwithstanding this success, it was certain that the latter could not long contend against the former, unless some greater equality of naval power could be established. They therefore took advantage of a pause in the operations of war to build themselves a fleet of vessels equal in size to those of the Carthaginians. A ship belonging to their enemies had been cast ashore on the Bruttian coast, and was made to serve as a model. Men were set to work without delay; timber was obtained in plenty from the forest of Sila; and, in sixty days from the time of the trees being felled, a large number of heavy vessels had been constructed. While this was proceeding, men were trained to row, by placing them on scaffolds ranged in the same manner as the benches in ships, and auxiliary sailors were levied from the commercial marine of Grecian cities.

It was assuredly high time that Rome should make herself stronger at sea; for, during the interval between the fall of Agrigentum and the creation of the new navy, Carthaginian vessels were ravaging the coasts of Italy, and exacting contributions from the allies of Rome. At length, in the spring of 260 B.C., the Consul Cneius Cornelius Scipio put to sea with seventeen ships, but was captured at Messana with the whole of his squadron. His Plebeian colleague, Duilius Nepos, followed with the rest of the fleet, which comprised by far the largest part, and was not long before he encountered the enemy ravaging the coast at Mylæ, to the west of Cape Pelorus. Duilius had provided his vessels with a species of boarding-bridges, which, when not in use, were fastened to the mast in the fore-part of each ship, but which, when the moment for action came, were suffered to fall over the hostile decks, which they penetrated by means of a long iron spike. This contrivance enabled the Romans to come to close quarters, and thus, by giving to the engagement very much the character of a land-fight, helped to neutralise the better quality of the Carthaginian vessels, and of the sailors who navigated them. The result was a complete victory, for the Roman fighting men were numerous, and their superiority at close quarters was made speedily manifest. Thirty-one Carthaginian ships were taken, and fourteen sunk. This was the first naval triumph ever celebrated at Rome, and Duilius was rewarded by the most signal honours. The Senate permitted him to have music-playing and torches lighted at the public expense, every day while he was at supper; medals were struck in commemoration of the victory; and a column was erected at Rome, to which was given the title of the Columna Rostrata, because it was adorned with the beaks of captured ships. Livy relates that this structure was destroyed by lightning during the interval between the Second and Third Punic Wars; but a new column was afterwards erected by the Emperor Claudius, the base of which, containing a damaged inscription, was dug up in 1565 from amongst the ruins of Rome. The Romans had undoubtedly great cause to rejoice over their good fortune at sea; while the Carthaginians were so much exasperated that they crucified their unfortunate commander.

The Romans now established a naval station at Aleria, in Corsica, whence they made frequent, but desultory, attacks on the coasts of Sardinia, at that time a possession of Carthage. In Sicily, the operations of the Roman armies were attended by considerable success. Several important cities fell into their hands, and the Carthaginians were glad to retire into their trading marts, Drepanum, Lilybæum, and Panormus. Another great sea-fight occurred off Tyndaris in 257 B.C., and, although the result was sufficiently doubtful for both sides to claim the victory, the Romans shortly afterwards took possession of the Lipari Islands and Malta. The following year was signalised by the appearance of the chief Roman hero in this First Punic War. Atilius Regulus had already distinguished himself in the military service of the State; but he was now to give more remarkable proofs of his energy and genius. In 256 B.C., an army of 40,000 men, under Regulus and his colleague in the Consulship, Manlius Vulso, was embarked on board a fleet of 330 ships, manned by

100,000 sailors. Departing from the mouth of the river Himera, on the south coast of Sicily, they found the Carthaginian Admiral waiting for them at Heraclea Minoa, a little west of Agrigentum. The battle which ensued was fought with much elaboration, and with many ingenious tactics; but the Carthaginian line was broken from the very commencement by the Roman device of bearing down upon the centre with the concentrated force of the whole squadron. Many ships were lost on both sides, but the Carthaginians were worsted, and retired rapidly to their own shores, that they might guard against an attack which they foresaw was only too probable. The action at Heraclea is said to have been the greatest ever fought at sea up to that period; and if it be true that about 300,000 men were concerned in it, the statement is probably correct. The Romans soon effected a landing in the harbour of Aspis, or Clupea, to the east of Carthage, and conducted so alarming a series of inroads into the surrounding country that 20,000 captives were sent to Rome, together with an immense booty. The opposing army was defeated with terrible loss; many of the towns submitted, and Regulus established his forces at Tunes, which was not more than ten miles from the metropolis itself. The Carthaginians retreated into the capital, and the nomadic tribes, throwing off their allegiance, helped the Romans to desolate the country. It must have seemed as if the days of Agathocles had returned; for the great African Republic was again reduced to the bitterest extremities. Proposals for the conclusion of a peace were made by the vanquished; but the Roman terms were so exacting that, rather than submit to them, the Carthaginians again ventured all upon the fortunes of war.

Special efforts were now made by the rulers of the Republic. Large forces were withdrawn from Sicily; a new body of cavalry was raised; and the general command was placed in the hands of a Lacedæmonian named Xanthippus, who had brought with him a number of Greek mercenaries. Xanthippus determined on an immediate attack, to which he was invited by the unguarded position of Regulus, who had taken no measures to secure his communications with the harbour of Clupea. The Carthaginians were strong in cavalry and in elephants; Xanthippus was a commander of no mean ability; and the Romans were so completely overthrown that only 2,000 of their number succeeded in effecting their retreat. Regulus himself was captured; but, of those who remained upon the field, not more than 500 were taken alive. Such was the disastrous termination (in 255 B.C.) of an enterprise the earlier stages of which had been marked by the most brilliant success. It is worthy of note, however, that the Roman soldiery embarked on this African expedition with the most gloomy forebodings, and that Regulus had been compelled to order the arrest of one of the Tribunes, who refused to conduct his legionaries into the ships. The previous experience of Agathocles had, indeed, shown that, whatever temporary successes might be obtained, the invasion of a great military State like Carthage was attended by the highest risks. It would have been wiser of the Romans had they suffered themselves to be taught by this example, instead of learning by personal experience that they must confine their operations to Sicily. But first of all it was imperatively necessary to rescue the small force which still remained at Clupea. A fleet of 350 vessels was sent thither, and on its voyage defeated the Carthaginians off the Hermæan promontory. Having taken on board the soldiers entrenched in the harbour, the fleet hastily put to sea, and returned to Italy, but was encountered by a terrible storm, which swept away three-fourths of the vessels.

Carthage was thus delivered from a serious peril, which at one time seemed to threaten her immediate extinction; and, again assuming the offensive, she despatched an army to Lilybæum, under the command of Hasdrubal, the son of Hanno. The Romans, however, speedily built 220 ships to supply the place of those which had been lost, and were thus enabled to capture Panormus, on the northern coast of Sicily. This second fleet was in its turn partially destroyed by another storm, which overtook it between the African coast and the Lucanian Promontory; and the Romans, considering that the gods had declared against such naval armaments, determined thenceforward to maintain only sufficient vessels to defend their own shores, and convey their troops to Sicily. This act of self-abnegation was followed, in 252 B.C., by a great victory under the walls of Panormus, where the elephants of the Carthaginians (who had learned from Pyrrhus the use of those animals in war) were so successfully encountered that several were driven back upon their own ranks, and a hundred and twenty were captured. The whole northern coast of Sicily was now in possession of the Romans, and in 250 B.C. the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Rome, to ask for an exchange of prisoners, and to make renewed approaches towards a pacific settlement. To emphasize these proposals, Regulus was allowed to accompany the mission to Rome, after first giving his

word that he would return, should the war be resumed. It is related by the Roman annalists that, although he knew from observation the frightful tortures inflicted by the Carthaginians on their captives, he passionately urged the Senate to continue hostilities, and that, upon again reaching Carthage, he was killed under circumstances of the most abominable atrocity. But the story is doubtful, and it has even been questioned whether he accompanied the ambassadors to Rome. Polybius, who is regarded as the most authentic historian of the time, says nothing with respect to these horrible facts; but it would appear that the family of Regulus subsequently inflicted on two captive Carthaginian generals, Hamilcar and Bostar, a series of cruelties supposed to be in retaliation for those which Regulus had been compelled to suffer. It is certain that in the later ages of Roman history the fate of Regulus was universally believed, and it may be that the narrative is not wholly devoid of truth, though perhaps exaggerated by popular report and sympathy.

The only place which the Carthaginians now retained in Sicily was Lilybæum, and, on the resumption of the war, the position was besieged by a Roman army. Several attempts were made to take the city by assault; but these were invariably repulsed by Himilco, and the siege degenerated into a blockade. In spité of every endeavour to stop up the harbour's mouth, the Carthaginian vessels still continued to enter the enclosed waters, and to supply the garrison with food. In 249 B.C., a Roman fleet, under the Consul Claudius Pulcher, was seriously defeated in an attempt to surprise the Carthaginian force off Drepanum. Lilybæum was then relieved, and another naval squadron of the Romans, conveying reinforcements to the army, was compelled by the Carthaginians to take shelter in the roadsteads of Gela and Camarina, where the vessels were scattered by a tempest. Claudius was recalled to Rome by the Senate, and ordered to appoint a Dictator. In the insolent spirit often exhibited by his race, he named the son of one of his freedmen; but the Senate set aside the nomination, and appointed a statesman whom they considered more fit for the post. The Carthaginians were again masters of the sea, and, had their affairs been managed with skill, might even yet have prevailed against the Republic of the Tiber. They had a commander of distinguished genius in the person of Hamilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal; who, with forces very inadequate to the task in hand, contrived to seize a position commanding the town of Panormus, whence he conducted frequent attacks upon the Romans during the next three years. He even descended from time to time upon the coasts of Italy, spreading consternation far and wide. In 244 B.C. Hamilcar took Eryx, at the western extremity of Sicily, which he made his headquarters; and, although defeated by the Consul Fundanius in the following year, was still enabled to maintain his position. After this action, he sent to demand a truce, that he might bury his dead; but Fundanius replied that he ought rather to concern himself about the living, and should surrender at once, to save further bloodshed. Hamilcar, however, was not the man to accept a temporary defeat as final. Shortly afterwards he vanquished the Romans, and showed the nobility of his nature by giving a very different reply to a request on their part to recover their dead. The prayer was at once granted; and, with a somewhat sarcastic reference to the response he had himself received, Hamilcar said that he warred not with the dead, but with the living.

Thus the campaign wore on, without any decisive incident on either side. The Romans were still investing Lilybæum, but, although they had been more than eight years before the walls of that stronghold, their prospects of taking it seemed as remote as ever. It was evident that they could not prevail without the aid of a fleet much greater than they now possessed. They accordingly determined for the fourth time to construct a navy such as might enable them to cope with that of Carthage; and this was done by means of a loan, to which the patriotic were glad to contribute. At the beginning of 241 B.C. at least two hundred vessels were ready for sea. Under command of the Patrician Consul, Lutatius Catulus, they sailed for the Sicilian coasts, where Drepanum was invested. The Carthaginian vessels were soon afterwards defeated, and the reverse was of so crushing a nature that Hamilcar received full powers to treat for peace. Some little while before, the ancient city of Hippo, on the northern coast of Africa, had been burnt by Roman privateers, and Lilybæum was now so closely blockaded from the sea that its fall could not be much longer delayed. Peace was therefore a necessity; but Hamilcar sternly refused the demand of Catulus that, as a preliminary to negotiations, the Carthaginians should lay down their arms and give up all Roman deserters who might be found among their ranks. Finding that such a condition, if pressed, would imperil the chance of peace, Catulus consented to abandon it, and a treaty was then concluded on favourable terms. It was agreed that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, should consent not to molest

Hiero of Syracuse or his allies, should give up all Roman prisoners without ransom, and should within twenty years pay to the Romans 2,200 talents towards the expenses of the war. The Romans, on their part, gave up the Carthaginian prisoners, but not without a moderate ransom. It appears to have been considered at Rome that these terms erred on the side of clemency, and the Senate despatched ten commissioners to revise the treaty on the spot. The results were that the war-indemnity was raised to 3,200 talents; that only ten years, instead of twenty, were allowed for the total payments; and that the small Mediterranean islands near the Italian shores were given up. The two Republics then formed an alliance, on terms of mutual respect for their independence, territories, and sovereign rights.

Sicily was the first acquisition beyond the limits of peninsular Italy that the Romans had made. It was a prize of the highest value, since it conferred on them a territory of remarkable beauty and productiveness, coasts admirably suited to the purposes of commerce, an active and mobile population, and a number of ancient cities, distinguished by some of the finest triumphs of Greek genius. For the present, Hiero was left in possession of his kingdom, occupying the south-eastern part of the island; but all the rest of the country was constituted into a Roman province, which was at first governed, like the several divisions of Italy, by Quæstors, dependent on the Consuls. Afterwards, the administration was in the hands of Prætors, who united in themselves the chief military, judicial, and civil functions; but the finances were still managed by Quæstors, directly responsible to the Roman Senate. The same arrangement was observed in other provinces; so that in 227 B.C. the number of Prætors was increased from two to four. The Roman Republic had become a Power of considerable magnitude, holding large territorial possessions; but some of the conquered populations were still possessed with the desire for freedom, and, very shortly after the conclusion of the First Punic War, the Etruscan city of Falerii endeavoured to throw off its allegiance. The hopeless nature of the attempt appears from the fact that the war lasted only six days; but the city had so frequently rebelled before that it was now destroyed. The State which had vanquished Carthage could not be successfully resisted by a small city like Falerii; but it was perhaps considered by the Etruscan rebels that the exhaustion of so long a contest had made the Romans less able to encounter a new enemy. The exhaustion, however, was much less than might have been supposed. The Roman census of 241 B.C.—the year in which peace was concluded—showed that there were still 251,000 citizens fit for military service; which, was about the same number that had been found five years before. The First Punic War lasted twenty-three years, and a period of nearly the same duration elapsed before the commencement of the second great conflict. The loss of life during the struggle just concluded had undoubtedly been immense; but the Roman Republic was a young and vigorous commonwealth, and its powers of recovery were great.

Carthage had suffered in a much more serious degree, and the policy of her rulers soon involved the State in another collision, which threatened disastrous consequences to all. The mercenaries of Hamilcar had for a long time been unpaid, owing to the absolute inability of that commander to obtain the necessary funds. He was directed to send the troops back to Africa, that they might receive their arrears, and be disbanded; but, on arriving there, attempts were made to diminish the payments due to them. The men were in no mood for such treatment; and, under the leadership of Spendius, a runaway Campanian slave, and Matho, a Libyan, they rose in rebellion, plundered the country surrounding Carthage, induced the subject Africans to revolt, besieged the fortified towns of Utica and Hippo, and murdered the chief citizens of Carthage itself. The army sent against them was defeated, and for a time the subject populations —though having so little in common as to be unable to communicate by any speech intelligible to one another—were united in a general hatred of the city which had oppressed all alike. The nobles at length gave the command of their forces (though reluctantly) to Hamilcar, who inflicted so signal a defeat on Spendius that he surrendered at discretion. Matho, whom Hamilcar had skilfully separated from his comrade, shut himself up in Tunes, but was ultimately compelled to risk a battle, when he was taken prisoner, and put to death. The contest, which is known in history as the War without Truce, or the Inexpiable War, lasted three years and four months, and was brought to a close in 238 B.C. by the skill and resolution of Hamilcar, after a series of barbarian atrocities which threatened the very existence of Carthage, and of that commercial civilisation established by the descendants of the Phœnician race upon the northern shores of Africa.

While the contest was proceeding, the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia mutinied on their own account, and took possession of the country. They were ultimately expelled, and, following the example of the Mamertines in Sicily, requested the

aid of Rome, to which Power they made over their territory. The Romans, who had behaved with honourable forbearance towards the Carthaginians during the Inexpiable War, were unable to resist the temptation of acquiring Sardinia. As the price of peace, they demanded a formal cession of that island, and the payment of 1,200 talents, as compensation for the expenses of preparing for war. Nothing could be more shameful than such a demand; but the Carthaginians were in no position to refuse it. The island was handed over to Rome in 237 B.C., and Hamilcar determined to take an ample revenge when the resources of his State should have been sufficiently restored. For the present, his thoughts were turned in another direction. Having obtained extensive military powers, he set out on an expedition to Spain, where he hoped to obtain successes such as would strengthen Carthage for any future war with Rome. Before leaving for Europe, he went through an impressive scene with his son Hannibal, afterwards one of the greatest generals of the ancient world, but at that time a boy of nine. The child was led by his father to the altars of the national gods, and made to take an oath of undying hatred to the Romans. Such, at least, is the story told by Livy as a tradition of his time; and it is so inherently probable that there appears no reason why we should not accept it as a part of history. Hannibal's vow was sternly kept in later years; but for the present the Carthaginian vengeance is to be viewed rather in preparation than in act.

CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

At this period Hamilcar was viewed with even greater distrust by Carthage herself than by Rome. It was believed by the nobles that he desired to raise himself into the position of a Dictator, and that in the prosecution of this design he might overthrow the Council of One Hundred. Even during the crisis of the Inexpiable War, he was regarded with the greatest jealousy by the ruling aristocratic party, and his movements were systematically hampered by association with the incompetent Hanno. After the conclusion of the struggle, the nobles even ventured to accuse their greatest man of having provoked the revolt by promising the troops their whole pay—a promise which the governing body had declared its inability to fulfil. But the people had faith in Hamilcar, and it would seem that some kind of revolution took place, resulting in his obtaining the position of commander-in-chief, from which he could be deposed only by a vote of the popular Assembly. The nobles were accordingly glad to see him depart for Spain, where they conceived that his restless energies might be directed into channels not dangerous to the stability of the Republic. This is the first we hear of Spain (or, as the Romans called it, Hispania) in the great events of the world's history. The larger part of the peninsula was peopled by savage tribes; but the Carthaginians had some settlements in the south, and the Phœnician colony of Gades (now Cadiz), which had been founded at a remote epoch, owned the supremacy of the African commonwealth. The name of Spain is believed to be of Phœnician origin, and it was certainly the Phœnicians who first planted the germs of civilisation in that beautiful and interesting land.

Traces of the same energetic people were also to be found in Sardinia, which passed into the Roman possession in 237 B.C., and, together with the dependency of Corsica, was erected into the second of the Roman provinces, and placed under the government of a Prætor. The basis of the population in Sardinia is thought to have been Iberian, — in Corsica, Tyrrhene-Pelasgian; but various races were mingled in both. Greek colonies had been formed in Corsica at an early age, and Sardinia received Phœnician settlements. The first of these islands was at one time

under the dominion of the Etruscans; but both were now added to the mighty Republic of the Tiber. They were valued, however, simply as military possessions, giving to Rome command over the adjacent waters. For this purpose, garrisons were planted on their coasts, while the rest of the country remained in possession of the natives, who were little better than bands of robbers, making frequent attacks on the Romans, and fully able to guard their independence in the interior. In these acts of irregular warfare, they were thought to have been secretly encouraged by Carthaginian emissaries; yet the Romans held their positions on the sea-shore, and for the present were probably content to leave the distant communities unmolested. They had troubles on the mainland which sufficiently engaged their powers. In the last year of the First Punic War (241 B.C.), the Celtic tribes occupying the great northern plain beyond the Apennines rose against the authority of Rome, and invited fresh hordes of their countrymen from the further side of the Alps. The movement might have been serious, but that the new-comers ultimately quarrelled with the Boii, who had invoked their assistance, and the latter were vanquished by the Romans in 236 B.C.

THE VOW OF HANNIBAL.

A simultaneous contest with the Ligurians was ended about the same date, and, for the second

time in the history of Rome, the temple of Janus was closed in 235. The peace was of short duration, for the Ligurians, the Sardinians, and the Corsicans, soon made renewed attempts to shake off the yoke that had been imposed on them. This was followed, in 229 B.C., by a war with Illyria, provoked by a series of piratical attacks on Roman vessels. Illyria was a rather narrow country, extending along the eastern shores of the Adriatic to the north of Epirus. Hitherto the Romans had not cared to cross the Adriatic; but the injury done to their marine rendered some measures necessary, and an embassy was sent to Scodra, the Illyrian capital, to make complaint, and demand reparation. King Agron openly avowed that his subjects considered piracy a lawful trade; to which the envoys replied that Rome would make it her business to teach the Illyrians better. The ambassadors then departed for their own country; but one of them was murdered on the way, and Rome immediately declared war. Agron died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by his widow, Teuta—a woman of strong character and great determination. Her cause, however, was betrayed by a Greek named Demetrius, who held the important position of Corcyra—an island on the Illyrian coast, not to be confounded with the more famous one in the Ionian Sea. This brought the war to a close in the same year which saw its commencement; but, a few years later, an ineffctual attempt to revive piracy was made by the traitor Demetrius, who, as a reward for his services to the Romans, had received from them a large part of the dominions belonging to his former mistress. Between the termination of the Illyrian war and the piratical movement of Demetrius, the Romans sent their first embassy to Greece, and were admitted to the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Isthmian Games about the year 228 B.C.; certainly a very important epoch in ancient history.

Another Gallic war broke out in 225 B.C., when the Celtic tribes of the north, with only two exceptions, combined to resist an agrarian law of the Tribune Flaminius, passed in 232 B.C., by the operation of which the Gauls found themselves deprived of territory which they regarded as their own. Celts from beyond the Alps were again invited to give their assistance, and a powerful army marched as far south as Etruria. The invaders were defeated at Telamon; but in 224 B.C. the war was renewed beyond the Po, where the Romans were nearly overpowered by their barbarian foes. By dint of extraordinary steadiness and valour, they repaired the bad generalship of their commander; and the contest was concluded in 222 B.C. by the complete subjugation of the Insubrians. These victories were shortly followed by the conquest of the Illyrians occupying the Istrian peninsula; so that the whole of Italy, from the Alps to the southern coasts, was now for the first time united under one common rule, together with the adjacent islands of the Mediterranean and Adriatic. There was only one Power which could venture to dispute the Roman supremacy in those regions; and with that Power the death-struggle was to be soon renewed.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Early Population of Spain—Character of the People—Rule of Hamilcar in the Spanish Peninsula—Position of the Barca Family towards the Carthaginian Republic—Hasdrubal in Command in Spain—Conclusion of a Treaty with Rome—Succession of Hannibal to the Chief Command—Subjugation of other Spanish Tribes—Attack by Hannibal on Saguntum—Ineffectual Protest of the Romans—Declaration of Hostilities against Carthage—Preparations for the Second Punic War—Designs of Hannibal against Italy—Personal Qualities of the Carthaginian Commander—His Operations in the North of Spain—Crossing of the Pyrenees—Ineffectual Movements of Scipio on the Rhone—Passage of the Alps by Hannibal—Defeat of the Romans on the Trebia—Advance of Hannibal into Etruria—Terrible Disaster to Flaminius near Lake Thrasymenus—Hannibal in Picenum and Apulia—Cautious Policy of Fabius—Immense Preparations of the Romans for War on a Larger Scale—The Evils of Divided Command—Crushing Defeat of the Romans at Cannæ—Reception of the News at Rome—Embassy of Mago to Carthage—Successful Operations of the Romans in Spain—Hannibal at Capua—Measures of the Roman Senate—Difficult Position of both Combatants—The Campaign of 215 B.C.—Repulse of Hannibal before Cumæ and Nola—Continued Success of the Romans—Unsuccessful Intrigues of Hannibal in Macedon and Sardinia—Marcellus in Sicily—Siege of Syracuse—Archimedes and the Defence—Surrender of the City.

HAMILCAR crossed the Straits of Gibraltar (known to the Greeks and Romans as the Straits of Hercules) about the year 238 B.C. One of his objects was to effect the complete subjugation of Spain, and thus to indemnify Carthage for the territorial losses she had recently sustained. But he also hoped to increase the military strength of the Republic by the barbarous tribes inhabiting

the peninsula, and to open fresh sources of wealth in the rich silver mines of the country. Spain was the Iberia of the Hellenes, who regarded it as situated in the most western regions of the globe. Beyond the Pillars of Hercules—the rock of Gibraltar, or Calpe, on the side of Europe, and the promontory of Mount Abyla (now Ceuta) on that of Africa—lay the vast and apparently boundless waters of the Atlantic, haunted with dreams of the submerged island of Atlantis, of which Plato has given us an account in his "Timæus" and "Critias." To the nations of the ancient world, nothing but watery desolation flanked the outer parts of the globe, excepting that, in the opinion of the Greeks, the unsubstantial regions of the dead lay somewhere in those dim and mysterious seas. Iberia, or Spain, was therefore a country bordering on the unknown, and indeed was in itself an almost unexplored land until the period at which we have now arrived. The settlements of the Phœnicians (of which Tarshish, or Tartessus, may possibly have been one) extended but a little way beyond the southern coast; the Greeks had a few colonies on the eastern shores; but otherwise the peninsula, with all its noble capabilities, was lost in obscurity. The original inhabitants, according to the general belief, were the Iberi, afterwards mingled with Celts, who crossed the Pyrenees, and to some extent overpowered the natives; though Niebuhr is of opinion that the Celts were the aborigines, and the Iberi their conquerors. This mixed race, called by classical authors the Celtiberi, formed the chief population of Spain; but, in the south, the Iberians were combined with the Phœnicians. Of the primitive Iberian stock, it is believed that a remnant still survives in the people of the Basque Provinces, whose language exhibits a curious union of Tartar with Sanskrit elements, seeming to indicate that the Iberi were of mixed Turanian and Aryan origin. Altogether, the Spaniards of the time of Hamilcar were very similar, in their essential qualities, to the Spaniards of the present day. Grave, temperate, proud, and indolent; gallant and high-spirited in the field of battle, yet possessing no great military genius; addicted to guerilla warfare and brigandage; courteous to women, and prone to conservatism,—they appear to have laid in very remote times the bases of the national character which still endures.

In the first place, Hamilcar established his authority over the provinces lying along the southern sea-board; then, advancing northwards, he subdued several of the wild tribes which had not previously acknowledged the supremacy of Carthage. His power over these tribes appears to have been practically that of an independent monarch, for the Carthaginian Government did not interfere with his proceedings. After this fashion he ruled between eight and nine years, and in 229 B.C. was slain in a battle with the natives. The abilities of this general, though afterwards surpassed by his son, were of a very high order. He had proved himself a dangerous enemy to Rome, and his suppression of the mercenary troops, when they revolted and raised the subject populations, was an achievement of which any commander might have been proud. The genius of the man not merely exalted him to offices of great distinction and power, in spite of the aristocratic party which hated and feared him, but gave to his family a position in the State which has been likened to that of the princes of the House of Orange in the Dutch Republic. The second name of Hamilcar—that which we know as Barca, but which appears to have been the same as the Hebrew Barak, signifying the Lightning—conferred on his descendants the appellation of the Barcide family, by which they are generally known. The successors of Hamilcar, who appear to have been really hereditary commanders-in-chief (although nominally appointed by the army, subject to the confirmation of the popular Assembly), made treaties by their own authority, and received embassies like the Senate.

When Hamilcar died, his son Hannibal, being still a youth, was considered unfit to take the command, and the forces in Spain fell under the directions of Hasdrubal, son-in-law of the great captain, who was now removed from the scene of his triumphs. Though preferring the arts of persuasion to those of war, Hasdrubal showed conspicuous aptitude for his post, and, having subdued many additional tribes, founded the city of New Carthage (the modern Cartagena) as the capital of the newly-acquired realm. Almost the whole country south of the Iberus (Ebro) had by this time been reduced; and, as New Carthage looked towards Italy as well as Africa, the Romans not unnaturally sought to know the object of such movements. Hasdrubal explained that the conquest of Spain had been undertaken with a view to procuring means for paying the war-indemnity; and the Roman Senate, not suspecting at the time that a Carthaginian army in Spain could cross the Pyrenees and the Alps, so as to attack Italy from the north, expressed their satisfaction with the proffered excuses, and in 226 B.C. concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, by which the Iberus was made the northern frontier of the Carthaginian

possessions in Spain. At the same time, to guard against possible contingencies, Rome constituted herself the protector of the Greek cities on the eastern coast, the principal of which were Emporiæ, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and Zacynthus, or Saguntum, south of the Iberus, the independence of which, despite its geographical situation, was secured by the treaty. But the line of the Iberus left nearly the whole of the Spanish peninsula to the Carthaginians.

Hasdrubal was assassinated in 221 B.C., after an administration of about eight years. It was now seventeen years since the invasion of Spain by Hamilcar, and it may be said that during the whole of that time an independent Carthaginian kingdom had existed in the peninsula. Neither Hamilcar nor Hasdrubal had assumed the state or title of a monarch; but they had been under no sort of control by Carthage, and their proceedings were those of sovereigns, responsible only to themselves. Hannibal would at once have succeeded to his father, had not the immaturity of youth stood in his way; but on the death of Hasdrubal he was twenty-six years of age, and he now assumed the power which Hamilcar had undoubtedly intended that he should one day possess. The army acclaimed him as their chief, and the Government at home did not venture to dispute so unanimous a choice, especially as it was ratified by the Carthaginian people. Entering immediately on a career of conquest, he crossed what are now the Castilian mountains, and vanquished several Spanish tribes of the north. The town of Helmantice (Salamanca) was speedily taken; other successes followed; and before the close of 220 B.C. the Greek city of Saguntum had become so alarmed for its independence as to send messengers to Rome for help and guidance. A Roman embassy was accordingly despatched to Hannibal (then at New Carthage), to remind him that the independence of Saguntum was guaranteed by the treaty of 226 B.C., and that Rome would consider any injury done to the Saguntines as a declaration of war against herself. Hannibal replied that he could not answer for the safety of the Roman envoys in his camp, and that they had better seek redress at Carthage. So far was he from restraining his operations that he sought by every means to provoke a quarrel with Saguntum, and at length found an excuse for war in some aggressions which he alleged had been committed by the inhabitants on a tribe allied with Carthage. The city was besieged in 219 B.C., and the Romans, who were at that time engaged in putting down the pirate Demetrius of Pharos, whom they had previously raised to power in Illyria, were unable to render any assistance to the Saguntines. The city resisted for eight months with heroic determination, but was obliged to succumb towards the end of the year. The inhabitants were treated with terrible cruelty; but the excesses of Hannibal's soldiers were doubtless no worse than those of many other conquering armies under similar conditions. While the siege was proceeding, the Romans had sent an embassy to Carthage, to protest against the action of Hannibal, and to require that he should be given up to them. Hanno, one of the most incapable of Carthaginian generals, and a bitter enemy of Hamilcar and his house, advised compliance with the demands of the Romans. He met with no support, however, and the Roman ambassadors were told that their State would act more wisely in remaining true to its old alliance with Carthage than in risking all for the sake of a recent league with Saguntum. The envoys had just returned to Rome when news arrived that Saguntum had fallen before the enemy's attack. Great was the alarm which this intelligence excited. It was feared that Hannibal, at the head of a motley force, enlarged by Iberian and Gallic tribes, would invade Italy, and lay siege to Rome itself. The Senate therefore resolved on immediate action; and, of the two newly-elected Consuls, Publius Cornelius Scipio was appointed to the command in Spain, and Tiberius Sempronius to that of Africa and Sicily.

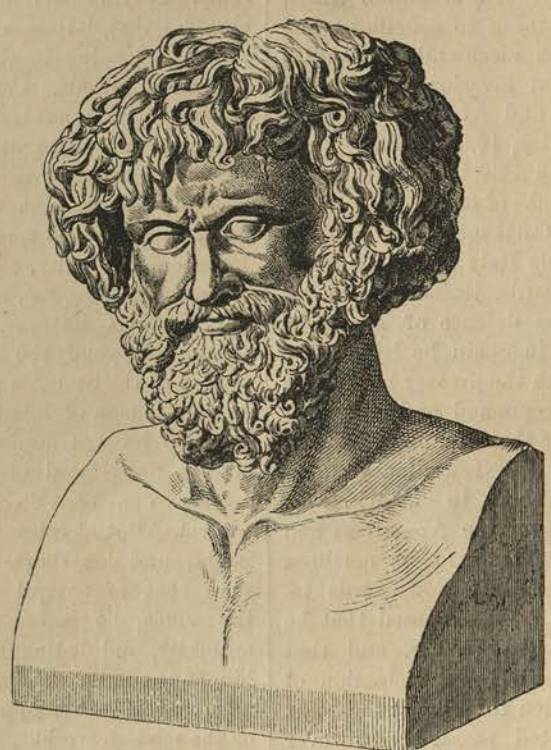
Before the actual commencement of hostilities, it was thought advisable to send a final embassy to Carthage, to ascertain whether the attack on Saguntum was sanctioned by the Republic, or whether it was simply a personal enterprise of Hannibal's; and this was despatched in the early part of 218 B.C. The Government of Carthage was now thoroughly convinced that it was necessary to support the national cause in Spain, however irregularly the power of the State had been established in that country. The justice of Hannibal's proceedings was maintained by arguments which to the Roman envoys may have appeared sophistical, but which doubtless expressed the convictions of the Carthaginian people. Fabius, the chief of the Roman ambassadors, lost patience at what he considered an outrage on good faith, and, gathering up his toga into a heavy fold, exclaimed, "I here carry for you peace and war: take which you please." The senators replied, in a suppressed voice, "Give us which you like;" and Fabius, shaking out the fold, said, "I give you war." "We accept the gift, and welcome!" cried the

Carthaginian senators; and the Roman envoys quitted the land, bent on doing their utmost to excite the Spanish tribes against their African masters. In this attempt they met with no great success, and an aged chieftain asked them how they dared offer the alliance of a State which had betrayed Saguntum more thoroughly than Carthage had destroyed it. Quitting Spain, the ambassadors passed into Gaul, but there also were unable to obtain allies. It was evident that Rome would have to encounter a wide and terrible opposition, not merely from the Carthaginians, but from the Iberian and Gallic tribes, whom they had done nothing to conciliate, and much to provoke. In the meanwhile, Hannibal had been preparing for an invasion of Italy, and for the defence of Spain and Africa. His army consisted of 120,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry, and 58 elephants, together with a fleet of 32 quinqueremes (vessels with five banks of oars), and reserves of ships and elephants at Carthage. The force by which he designed to invade Italy was made up of Libyans and native Spaniards, trained under his own supervision. For the defence of Africa he assigned 20,000 men, and in Spain he left 12,000 foot, and 2,500 horse, with the greater part of the navy, under the general command of his brother Hasdrubal. It is probable that Hannibal had for some time contemplated the extraordinary undertaking on which he was about to embark, viz., the carrying of an army over the Apennines and the Alps, so as to invade Italy at its northern termination, and thus penetrate downwards towards Rome. Some have even supposed that he inherited the design from his father, and that Hamilcar entered Spain with the anticipation of being ultimately in a position to strike at the heart of Italy by this unexpected passage. However this may have been, it was apparent to the daring genius of Hannibal that such a blow might possibly be dealt against the powerful Republic of the Tiber. He knew that he would have very little chance of success if he assailed Italy from the south; but, amongst the Gallic tribes recently subdued, he had good reason to hope that he should find powerful allies; and, as he proceeded southwards, the Etruscans might be expected to yield valuable assistance. Such were the calculations on which the Carthaginian commander proceeded. Desperate as was the enterprise in some of its particulars, it cannot be said that it was altogether wanting in substantial grounds of policy.

The personal qualities of Hannibal were in every way calculated to ensure success. He was now about nine-and-twenty, and, although in the full zenith of life, had already had several years' experience of actual warfare, under the eyes, first of his father, and then of Hasdrubal. His strength and activity were those of a mythical hero. He could endure heat and cold, fatigue and hunger, without appearing to suffer from them, and his genial manners assured to him an affection which the strength of his character never suffered to pass into undue familiarity. There must have been much of nobleness in the nature of a man of whom it is related that, during a campaign of nearly sixteen years, he never had to deal with a mutiny in his camp. Polybius, in remarking on this circumstance, observes that, "though his army was composed of people belonging to various countries—Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks—men who had different laws, different customs, and different languages, with nothing among them that was common,—yet so dexterous was his management that, notwithstanding this great diversity, he forced all of them to acknowledge one authority, and to yield obedience to one command. This, too, he effected in the midst of very various fortunes." His abilities, indeed, extended beyond the camp, and appeared in the service of the State, as well as in the regard which he paid to men of intellect and learning. By the Romans he was accused of cruelty, and circumstances are related of him which show that his temper was sometimes vehement and beyond control. But at other times he acted with generosity, and his character certainly stands higher than that of several eminent conquerors. On the whole, he is one of the greatest figures of antiquity, and distinguished judges have regarded him as the most consummate master of the art of war that has ever appeared, either in the ancient or the modern world.

At the head of 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, accompanied by thirty-seven elephants, Hannibal set out from New Carthage in the course of 218 B.C. His troops consisted principally of Spaniards, Libyans, and Numidians; but to these were added a body of slingers from the Balearic Isles. After passing the Iberus, the African general found himself amongst a number of wild tribes, not at all disposed to receive him in a friendly spirit. He was compelled to fight every inch of his way, and it was only after four months that he overcame all opposition, and arrived at the foot of the Pyrenees. By this time he had lost a fourth part of his army, and the principal difficulties of the enterprise still lay before him. By the previous despatch of agents he had, indeed, ascertained that the Gallic tribes beyond the Pyrenees were favourable to his designs, and it was also

reported that the passage of the Alps, although difficult and dangerous, was not impracticable. Yet before the towering ramparts of the Pyrenees the courage of several of his Spanish troops gave way. Three thousand of their number, belonging to a tribe newly conquered, refused to proceed any further, and set out on their return. Hannibal thought it prudent to give out that they had departed with his consent, and he allowed all the unwilling members of his force to go back. Nearly eight thousand more took advantage of this permission, and the Carthaginian commander proceeded on his way with an army reduced to 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry. Thus accompanied, he rounded the eastern end of the Pyrenees, and halted for a few days at Illiberis, on the sea-coast. Then resuming his march, he passed onwards to the Rhone, which was reached without serious opposition in the latter days of summer. The Romans had not on this occasion shown their usual vigour, promptitude, and readiness. They had quietly allowed the Carthaginian power to grow up into formidable dimensions in Spain, and, though aware that Hannibal had crossed the Iberus, had taken scarcely any measures against the threatened danger. When, however, Scipio, having landed at Massalia (Marseilles) on his voyage to Spain, learned that Hannibal was approaching the Rhone, he made arrangements with some friendly Gallic tribes for disputing the passage of the river. These Gauls were found by Hannibal awaiting him on the opposite bank of the stream; but he outflanked them by sending a detachment across about twenty miles higher up. The whole army was thus enabled to pass this important channel without difficulty, and Scipio was shortly afterwards startled to find that Hannibal was three days' march in advance. The Roman general had lost much valuable time in suppressing a rebellion which had broken out among the Cisalpine Gauls, and which had undoubtedly been fomented by the agents of Hannibal; but it is probable that neither Scipio nor the Roman Senate had any idea that the Carthaginian commander would cross the Pyrenees, and thus make his way towards the northern boundaries of Italy. As it was now obvious that the enemy could not be encountered in Transalpine Gaul, Scipio determined to fall back on Pisa, and to make arrangements for meeting the invader nearer home. Nevertheless, the greater number of his forces were despatched into Spain, as a diversion which might be of service to the Roman cause, and which was in fact productive of valuable results.



HANNIBAL.

After crossing the Rhone, Hannibal proceeded up the eastern bank of that river in a northerly direction, and passing the Isara, found himself in a region occupied by the Allobrogian Gauls. This brought him to the lower range of the Graian Alps, and it is probable that he surmounted that barrier by the Little St. Bernard. The point, however, is by no means certain, and other routes have been suggested as more likely. Whatever the road by which Hannibal made his way into Cisalpine Gaul, it is certain that the difficulties he had to encounter were of a very serious nature. The Gauls, it is true, had frequently passed over the Alps into that which we now regard as Northern Italy; but it is to be recollected that they were a horde of savages, lightly armed and equipped, and having none of the *impedimenta* of organised warfare. Hannibal, on the contrary, was in command of a large army, with baggage, horses, and elephants. The season, moreover, was autumn, and snow had begun to fall. Many of Hannibal's soldiers—probably, indeed, the greater number—were unaccustomed to the severities of

such a region, and Hannibal himself was confronted by circumstances to which his previous experience offered no parallel. He had also to encounter the treacherous opposition of barbarians who affected

THE CARTHAGINIANS CROSSING THE ALPS.

in the first instance to be his friends, but who viewed his presence in their country with jealous distrust. These tribes had undertaken to guide him over the pass; but, on the third day after starting, they fell upon his line of march, and were repulsed with difficulty. Even then they did not abandon all opposition, but, posting themselves on the precipitous sides of the mountains, rolled down heavy stones upon the Carthaginian forces. The annoyance continued until Hannibal seized a rock commanding the pass, from which he was enabled to keep his assailants at bay until the baggage and cavalry had cleared the defile. The elephants struck great terror into the Alpine mountaineers, who had never seen such creatures before; and it was in company with these animals that Hannibal followed the main body of the army to the summit of the pass. The highest point was not attained until after a toilsome march of nine days; and here the army halted for awhile, that the men might recover from their fatigues, and the stragglers have time to arrive.

The month was now October; ice and snow lay thickly all over the mountainous ground; and the sufferings of the troops were extreme. Large numbers perished from hunger, cold, and exhaustion, and at one place the road was so defective that it was necessary to make it afresh for the passage of the elephants. Ancient authors relate a strange story, to the effect that Hannibal softened the rocks with fire and vinegar, and thus clove a way through the stony ramparts of the Alps. The true glory of so great a general gains nothing by such extravagant fictions, and the passage of the Alps, viewed in the most prosaic and literal manner, presents marvels sufficient for a reasonable intelligence.* The descent, which proved even more trying than the earlier movement, occupied six days, three of which were devoted to repairing the road. In all, fifteen days had been employed in surmounting the great natural fortress which guards the north of Italy, and the immense numbers who lost their lives in that short period show how severe must have been the hardships entailed by the march. When approaching the banks of the Rhone Hannibal, as already stated, was in command of 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry. He had now only 20,000 of the former, and 5,000 of the latter. As there had been very little fighting, it is clear that the loss was due almost entirely to fatigue and deprivation. Many of the elephants died, and it was with very shattered forces that the invader entered the plains of Cisalpine Gaul.

Hannibal now made his way into the country of the Insubrians, where, being amongst a people well disposed towards his enterprise, he rested his troops, while he procured fresh horses for the cavalry. The capital city of the Taurini, being occupied by a hostile tribe, was taken by assault, and the Carthaginian commander, moving down the northern bank of the Padus, or Po, encountered a body of horse under the command of Scipio. The encounter was nothing more than a skirmish; but it was to the disadvantage of the Roman general, who was severely wounded, and saved from imminent death, either by the devotion of a Ligurian slave, or by the courage of his son Publius, then a youth of seventeen. The forces of Scipio were manifestly unequal to those of his opponent. A retreat was therefore necessary, and the Roman commander, retiring across the Po, paused for awhile under the walls of Placentia, but, finding himself surrounded by hostile tribes of Gauls, fell back on a strong position among the hills on the east bank of the Trebia, a confluent of the Po. Here he was joined by his fellow-Consul, Sempronius, who had returned from Sicily. The two generals had now 40,000 men at their disposal, and were consequently in much greater force than Hannibal. This superiority, however, was balanced by the fact that the Gallic tribes were their bitter enemies, and that Hannibal might, to some extent, count upon the assistance of the natives. A Brundusian, in charge of the Roman magazine at Clastidium, had betrayed that place to Hannibal, who was now encamped in view of the Romans on the opposite bank of the Trebia. Hannibal was anxious for an encounter. Scipio, on the other hand, dreaded the result of a conflict, but, being still disabled by his wound, was obliged to commit the army to the sole direction of his colleague, who believed himself strong enough to defeat the adversary. By a skilful stratagem, Hannibal lured the Romans across the Trebia, where they were confronted by the whole of the invading army, with cavalry and elephants on the two wings. The Romans had waded across the river, which, as December was now near its close, and sleet was heavily falling, struck a deadly cold and numbness into the men. They accordingly fought at a great disadvantage; but the infantry held their ground with tenacity, notwithstanding the flight of the horsemen, until Mago, the younger brother of Hannibal, rose from an ambush in which he had been concealed with a body of 2,000 horse and foot, and attacked the rear of the opposing force. The whole army was routed with fearful slaughter, and the two Consuls, with the remnant of their legions, had great difficulty in effecting a retreat to the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona, situated on opposite sides of the Po. Cisalpine Gaul was now entirely in the power of the Carthaginians; but they themselves had suffered much from the weather, and after awhile all the elephants died, with one exception. Hannibal was glad to retire into winter quarters, and to enlist large numbers of the Gauls, who made up for the numerical losses of the last few months.

The campaign of 217 B.C. opened gloomily for the Romans. The Consuls for the year were Servilius and Flaminius—the first a Patrician, the

* Those who are inclined to grant a degree of truth to this relation allege that Hannibal might have calcined some cliffs that stood in his way, by firing the woods of fir that grew there, and that a few hogsheads of vinegar poured upon the heated mass would have caused it to split and fly asunder. It has also been suggested that the burning of the wood produced a large quantity of pyroligneous acid, which was mistaken for vinegar, and that the vapour raised from subterranean streams by the heat may have detached masses of rock by explosion. But the whole story is improbable. It finds no place in Polybius, and is doubtless the invention of a later age.

second a Plebeian. The latter of these generals had already acquired some distinction in the field, and was favourably known to his countrymen by the Agrarian Law which divided the coast-lands of Umbria and Picenum among the poorer citizens of Rome, and by the construction of the Flaminian Way, which led from Rome to Ariminum across the Apennines, and was thence continued to Mediolanum, the modern Milan. To Flaminius was confided the duty of watching the passes of the Apennines from Arretium, while Servilius was sent to Ariminum to guard the Flaminian Way. With the bold initiative which usually characterized his strategy, Hannibal at once determined to advance into Etruria, and in the early days of spring crossed the Apennines, and descended to the channel of the Lower Arno. In the neighbourhood of Pisa, the marshy ground was so flooded by melted snow and violent rains that the soldiers could find no other dry places on which to sleep than their piles of baggage, or the bodies of dead beasts of burden. Their ranks were wasted by disease, and Hannibal lost the use of an eye from ophthalmia. Passing up the Arno, the Carthaginians rested at Fæsulæ, and, on resuming their march, made their way to Perusia, lying to the east of Lake Thrasymenus, not far from the Tiber. In following this course, Hannibal left Flaminius behind him at Arretium, feeling confident that, should his enemy pursue him, he would be well able to resist an attack. Flaminius, thirsting for military honours, quitted Arretium directly he heard that his enemy had got between him and Rome, and an important battle was fought shortly afterwards in the neighbourhood of Lake Thrasymenus.

The position chosen by Hannibal was on a range of woody hills, commanding a narrow and marshy pass through the Apennines—the only road by which Perusia could be approached. Not suspecting the trap that had been laid for him, Flaminius marched into the pass at an early hour of the morning, when a heavy mist concealed from view the formidable dispositions of his adversary. As soon as the Roman columns had fully entered the defile, the opening was closed behind them by the Carthaginian cavalry, and immediately afterwards Flaminius was assailed on every side. The slaughter was terrible, and, although the Romans maintained the struggle with the utmost heroism and obstinacy, success was impossible. Indeed, the legions fought rather for existence than for victory. It was simply a question of how many should escape from that deadly ambush; and the thickness of the mist, which in the first instance had conduced to the disaster, may, to some extent, have mitigated its effects. Six thousand of the vanguard cut their way through the serried ranks of their foes, and gained an Etruscan village on one of the neighbouring hills, but, being surrounded, were compelled to surrender on the following day. The loss upon the field of conflict was terrific. Flaminius himself was slain; numbers were driven into the lake by the Numidian horse; and 15,000 men are said to have been killed upon the Roman side. As many more were taken prisoners, and an advanced guard of 4,000 cavalry, sent forward by Servilius, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who slaughtered many of their number. Hannibal lost only 1,500 men, although the magnitude of his triumph was such that all Etruria lay at the mercy of his sword. Hoping to employ many of the provincial Italians against Rome, the Carthaginian leader dismissed all such without ransom, declaring that he had come into Italy, not to fight against the Italians, but to assert their freedom against an oppressive city. This is the common excuse of all invaders; but the Italians had never invited the Carthaginian hero to rescue them from a thraldom which after all was not very onerous, nor did they welcome his advent when first he came.

The Roman people now perceived that they had undervalued their enemy, and that the safety of the great city itself was imminently threatened. Special measures of protection were immediately taken, and a Dictator was appointed, not, as usual, by the nomination of a Consul, but by popular election. The choice fell on Fabius Maximus, and at the same time Minutius Rufus was elected his Master of the Horse. In a little while, Fabius joined the army of Servilius with as many troops as he could collect, and a force of no insignificant strength was ready to take the field against the African invader. For the present, however, Hannibal abandoned his advance on Rome, and, crossing to the eastern side of the Umbrian Apennines, entered Picenum, where he collected a large amount of plunder. Here he remained during the heat of summer; after which he advanced along the coast of the Adriatic into Apulia. He was now a long way to the south-east of Rome, and the native Italian populations, had they been then disposed to support him, would certainly have given evidence of their inclination. Nothing of the kind, however, was visible, and Hannibal began to fear that in this respect he had miscalculated probabilities. He had always reckoned on Italian alliances as an important element in his scheme of conquest; but not a city submitted to him. His own soldiers, however, were now well seasoned to

war, and the immense number of Roman arms which he had captured enabled him to equip his Libyan infantry with better weapons than they had before possessed. For the present, he had nothing to dread; yet his situation was not without embarrassments which would have been perplexing to a commander of inferior genius. He was in the midst of an unfriendly population, and his flank was threatened from the neighbouring mountains by the forces of Fabius Maximus, who now commenced that policy of slow and cautious action which procured for him the surname of Cunctator, or the Lingerer, and which has given to all similar measures the distinctive epithet of Fabian. It appeared doubtful to the new Dictator whether he could overthrow the great Carthaginian in a pitched battle; but he might incessantly harass his march, and keep the danger of an attack continually hanging over him.

Hoping to find supporters in Capua, Hannibal recrossed the Apennines, passed through Samnium, and made his way towards the Mediterranean coast. He doubtless hoped to provoke Fabius to a battle; but the latter saw the impolicy of such an act, and contented himself with closing the passes of the Apennines against the retreat of the invaders. In vain did Hannibal lay waste the whole of that fertile and exquisite region: Fabius would not be moved from his wary and observant attitude. On discovering that the passes were closed behind him, the Carthaginian commander resorted to a stratagem which proved entirely successful. He tied lighted faggots to the horns of a number of oxen, and drove them after dark over the heights flanking the road from Teanum to Allifæ. The troops guarding that road conceived that the Carthaginian army was escaping over the hills, and, moving off in the direction of the lights, left the path open for the true retreat. Hannibal was thus enabled to regain Apulia, where he took up a position before Gerunium. Fabius immediately followed him, and drew up his forces near Larinum, within a few miles of his opponent's camp. He was shortly afterwards recalled to Rome, ostensibly to preside over certain sacred offices, but perhaps to explain the fact of his having apparently done nothing whatever to resist the enemy. Minutius, the Master of the Horse, had achieved a few successes in Apulia, and his popularity equalled the disfavour into which Fabius had fallen. By the advice of Terentius Varro, the Senate passed a law conferring on Minutius an equal command with the Dictator; and he speedily gave battle to the invaders, but would have been defeated, had it not been for the unexpected help of Fabius. With a magnanimity which did him honour, Minutius acknowledged the great service of his colleague, and, resuming his former post, left the whole army once more united under the command of the Dictator.

The second of Hannibal's Italian campaigns had now come to an end. The opposing armies went into winter quarters, and the people of Rome addressed their utmost energies to the raising of an army of such proportions that the invader might be overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers. The new Consuls were Terentius Varro and Æmilius Paulus, and their four legions were to be added to the four under Fabius. Each of these legions, also, was to contain one-fifth more than the usual number of men; the auxiliaries were to be proportionately augmented; and a ninth legion was raised for service in Cisalpine Gaul, where its presence, it was hoped, might have the effect of drawing off the Celts from Hannibal's army. The forces thus collected must have reached a total of 80,000 foot, and more than 6,000 horse. The third campaign opened in the late spring of 216 B.C. by a movement of Hannibal from Gerunium into the plain of Canusium. The Roman camp was in the neighbourhood of Cannæ, a fortress situated on the southern bank of the river Aufidus. Large magazines had been collected at this place, and Hannibal, finding that his own supplies were being rapidly exhausted, made a sudden movement upon Cannæ, and captured it. The Carthaginians had been lately reinforced by troops from Cisalpine Gaul; but their forces were still little more than half those of the enemy. The seizure of Cannæ, however, was a fresh disaster to the Romans, which it was necessary to retrieve as speedily as possible. The new Consuls therefore marched immediately to the neighbourhood of Cannæ, where a difference of opinion arose as to the advisability of an immediate attack. Æmilius was in favour of manœuvring, so as to draw the enemy on to ground more favourable to the Roman assault. Varro considered that the invader should be at once engaged. By a preposterous arrangement, the two Consuls commanded on alternate days, and for some time they continued to act in direct opposition to one another. But Varro at length contrived to place his troops in such a position that a conflict could no longer be averted by his more prudent colleague. He crossed to the northern side of the river, where Æmilius had fortified a smaller camp, and here drew up his army in line of battle immediately opposite the camp of Hannibal, who, delighted at the opportunity, followed the Romans across the Aufidus.

Æmilius, finding that a battle was now un-

avoidable, did the best he could to support his fellow-Consul; but the position was a bad one, for the army was cooped up within a small peninsula formed by a bend of the river. The enemy was strong in cavalry, though comparatively weak in infantry; and, to offer a more compact body to the Carthaginian horse, the Roman legionaries, with the infantry of their allies, were posted in files of unusual depth, formed after a manner similar to the Macedonian phalanx. Hannibal, however, made his dispositions so as to meet this unexpected change in the Roman tactics, and the battle commenced. The fortune of the day was for a time extremely doubtful. The crescent-shaped line of the Carthaginians was driven back by the advance of the Romans against Hannibal's centre; but this superiority did not last long. The assailants, pressing forward with inconsiderate eagerness, found themselves enveloped by the African flanking columns, and furiously attacked on both sides, so that they fell into disorder, and were able to produce scarcely any effect upon the steady ranks of their foes. Varro could do nothing to restore the formation of his army, and all that was accomplished in this way was owing to the coolness and greater experience of Æmilius, who, though wounded by a sling shortly after the commencement of the action, remained upon the field, giving the soldiers the benefit of his knowledge and self-possession. The infantry rallied for a time, but were finally routed by the heavy cavalry of Hannibal, who fell upon their rear, and inflicted terrible losses. No quarter was granted by the victors, and it is said that 70,000 men were left dead upon the field, including the Consul Æmilius Paulus, the Proconsul Servilius, two-thirds of the chief officers, and eighty Romans of Senatorial rank. Varro, with seventy horsemen, escaped to Venusia; others made their way to the two camps, while the remainder found refuge in the woods. The loss of Hannibal was of course very much smaller; yet it was not inconsiderable.

The terrible news was brought to Rome by a Tribune of the legions named Cneius Lentulus, who, as he quitted the field, had seen Æmilius sitting on a stone, mortally wounded. The brave Consul refused all offers of assistance, and told Lentulus to proceed to Rome with all despatch, to seek out Fabius, and to bid him defend the city with all the means in his power. On receipt of the dreadful tidings, the members of the Senate met, and assumed to themselves special and despotic powers. The Prætor Claudius Marcellus was appointed to command a new army, and Varro was recalled to Rome. It might have been supposed that, after the great error he had committed in provoking a battle under circumstances which were only too likely to produce the disaster that actually ensued, he would have been treated with severity, or even in a spirit of remorseless vengeance. But the purity of his motives was recognised by the Senate, and it was known that after the defeat he had done his utmost to rally the shattered remants of the army at Canusium. The Senators met him at the gate of Rome, and thanked him that he had not despaired of the Republic: during the remainder of the war, he was constantly employed in positions of trust. It was perhaps fortunate for the Romans that Hannibal did not at once march upon their city. His subordinate, Maharbal, had begged that he might be put in command of the cavalry for this purpose, and had promised that within five days his leader should sup in the Capitol. But Hannibal feared the risk of such an enterprise, and preferred to negotiate with the Samnites and other nations of Southern Italy for their assistance against the Romans. He therefore entered into correspondence with the chief men of Capua, and in the meanwhile despatched ten of his prisoners to Rome, with an offer of ransoming all whom he had taken. The Senate, however, sent back the ten, and refused to enter into any terms — a decision which provoked Hannibal into one of the acts of cruelty that are laid to his charge, for he put some of his prisoners to death, and sold others into slavery.

His plans for winning over the Southern populations were beginning to bear fruit. Capua was entered in triumph, and soon afterwards nearly the whole of Southern Italy declared in favour of the African conqueror. In some few places, however, he met with determined and successful opposition, and Nola was occupied by Marcellus, who repulsed Hannibal from the gates. The Carthaginian commander then laid siege to Casilinum (a city close to Capua), and reduced it after a long investment. The Roman cause began to look black in that part of Italy; and when Hannibal went into winter quarters at Capua, it must have been with strong hopes that the next campaign would carry him to the very walls of Rome itself. His forces, however, were not large enough for further operations on an extensive scale: he therefore despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the conviction that the tidings of his extraordinary career would induce the Government to send him out fresh troops. Mago emptied on to the floor of the Senate-house a bushel of gold rings worn by Roman knights who

had fought at Cannæ, and whose dead bodies had been stripped upon the field. So remarkable a proof of success might well have inspired the Senate with a readiness to support the conqueror in his further designs; but the Barcide family were regarded with jealousy, and the disturbed state of Spain appeared reason sufficient for denying any other reinforcements than a body of 4,000 Numidian cavalry and forty elephants, with a supply of money. The Spanish troubles were due to the enterprise of Cneius Scipio, who, as already related, had been sent there in 218 B.C. to embarrass the Carthaginians, and effect a diversion from Italy. The operations of Cneius were attended with great success. Hasdrubal was defeated by sea and land, and the whole of Northern Spain fell into the power of the Romans.

Finding that he could obtain but few reinforcements from Carthage itself, Hannibal saw that his chief assistance must be derived from such of the Italian populations as he could win over to his cause. What he especially wanted was proper apparatus for conducting sieges, and it is surprising that he did not employ his leisure at Capua in creating the necessary means. The fact has sometimes been attributed to the enervating effects of that Campanian city, the delights of which are said to have corrupted the soldiers of Hannibal, and perhaps to have influenced the great captain himself. The Romans, on their part, strained every nerve to complete their preparations. A Dictator was appointed to raise levies in Rome and Latium; but the loss of life during recent years had been so tremendous that it was found a difficult matter to obtain fresh recruits. It was therefore determined that 8,000 slaves should be purchased for military service, and that debtors should be enrolled, together with other persons not usually found in Roman armies. The pecuniary means of the people were at this time as much restricted as their military powers; for the loss of Southern Italy had deprived them of a large revenue. As a discouragement to extravagance, a sumptuary law affecting women was passed at the instance of the Tribune Oppius, and the spoils were taken from the temples. The Senate, however, refused to supply the gaps in its own body caused by the fearful slaughter at Cannæ by the enrolment of Latin nobles—a piece of illiberality which is poorly veiled by the pretence of patriotism. The delay of Hannibal at Capua was very favourable to the Romans, as it gave them the necessary opportunity for repairing their recent losses. On the other hand, the Carthaginian commander was not without serious reasons for pausing in his career of conquest. Pyrrhus had found that an advance on Rome was attended by great perils, even to the most competent general. The communities of Southern Italy who had thrown in their lot with Carthage did not possess the military virtues in a high degree. The Samnites were no longer the warlike people who had once given such trouble to Rome. The Campanians had always been a pleasure-loving and somewhat effeminate race; and Hannibal may well have doubted whether his new allies did not add more to the numbers than to the actual strength of his force. Moreover, the Romans held several fortresses in Apulia, Campania, and Samnium, which it was necessary to watch—a precaution that detached considerable bodies of the invading army. The Greek cities of the coast, remembering their ancient enmity to the Punic commonwealth, exhibited every disposition to support the Roman garrisons by which they were guarded, and to oppose the common enemy by all the means at their disposal. Nevertheless, the brilliant successes of Hannibal brought him offers of alliance from distant quarters. Philip V. of Macedon promised to send troops into Italy; but his messengers were seized by the Romans on their way back from Capua. Hiero II. of Syracuse having recently died, his youthful successor, Hieronymus, showed a tendency to oppose the Romans, of whom the late king had for many years been the steadfast friend; but the new despot was assassinated not long after, and affairs in Sicily languished for awhile. On the whole, therefore, both parties to the Punic War in Italy were glad to avail themselves of the temporary pause, and were by many considerations dissuaded from any rash or immediate action.

The position of Hannibal at Capua was good from a military point of view; but the citizens were not so subservient to the will of the Carthaginian warrior as might have been expected. They made it a stipulation that they were not to be summoned to the field without their own consent. Still, the fact of holding such a city gave Hannibal a command over the surrounding country; and, to strengthen his power in those parts, he established a camp on the ridge of Mount Tifata, overhanging the chief Campanian town. He had previously endeavoured to obtain a port on the coast of Campania, so that he might open direct communications with his own State; but this design was defeated by the admirable combinations of Marcellus. The first period of the Second Punic War is held to have terminated with the revolt of Capua from its allegiance to Rome; the second begins with the

year 215 B.C. Hannibal now reduced some of the Campanian towns, the governing bodies in which he treated with much severity. The design of the Romans, on recommencing operations, was to surround the enemy by the multitude of their forces. For this purpose, they put three armies in the field, under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus. The first and second of these generals were the two Consuls for the year; the third was Proconsul. The right bank of the Vulternus was watched by Fabius; Marcellus occupied the hills above Nola; and Gracchus protected the coast-town of Cumæ from attack. So well did the last named discharge his office that an attempt on Cumæ by Hannibal himself was defeated. A fourth army, stationed at Luceria under the Prætor Valerius, defended the eastern coast from any designs of the Macedonian king, and at the same time kept the malcontent Samnites in continual terror. Hannibal began to fear for his communications with Apulia, and made an attack on Marcellus under the walls of Nola. Here he was seriously repulsed, and, on retiring into Apulia, was closely followed by his enemy. The tide of fortune had evidently begun to turn, though but slightly; and Hannibal made urgent appeals to Carthage for the help which he now seriously needed. The Carthaginian Senate, however, was at this time under the dominion of the peace-party, and no assistance was forthcoming. The operations of Hannibal were therefore so much restricted by the want of sufficient means, that he went into winter quarters at Arpi, in Apulia; and the somewhat uneventful campaign of 215 B.C. came to a close.

When the spring of 214 B.C. arrived, Hannibal once more occupied his camp on Mount Tifata, overlooking the city of Capua. His opponents were Fabius, now again made Consul; Marcellus as second Consul; and Gracchus, who occupied the position of Proconsul. After a while, Hannibal quitted Campania for the city of Tarentum, where he had reason to expect support, and during his absence one of his lieutenants, named Hanno, attempted to surprise the Roman colony of Beneventum. The movement was frustrated by the promptitude and energy of Gracchus, who promised the slaves among his army that in the event of victory they should be made free, but that if defeated not one should be enfranchised. The battle, which was fought before the walls of Beneventum, was prolonged and desperate; but it ended in the defeat of Hanno, who retreated into Lucania. Hannibal was equally unsuccessful in his endeavours to secure Tarentum, as, before his arrival there, the Romans had thrown a garrison into the place, and baffled the designs of the conspirators. Very little of importance occurred during the next year (213 B.C.). The Italian allies of Hannibal began to waver in their adherence, and Arpi was betrayed to the younger Fabius, who was now Consul, with his father as Legate. A cloud had settled upon the fortunes of the Carthaginian, and for some time past his policy had been to obtain as many allies as he could find beyond the boundaries of Italy. With this view, he sent envoys to Macedon, to Sardinia, and to Sicily, as early as 215 B.C., and in all those quarters his proposals were favourably received. Philip V. of Macedon entered into a treaty with Hannibal, whom he undertook to furnish with an auxiliary force; but before this could be despatched to Italy, the Romans had attacked him in his own land, where Lævinus defeated his army, reduced his fleet to ashes, and compelled him to sue for peace. The Sardinians rose in insurrection, but were quickly suppressed; and the island was evidently destined to remain Roman. These events occurred in 215 B.C.; the auxiliary movement in Sicily belongs mainly to the years 213 and 212.

After the assassination of Hieronymus, in 215 B.C., a republic was established in Syracuse, and a period of disturbance ensued, during which two agents of Hannibal—men of Greek race, named Hippocrates and Epicydes—did their utmost to secure the alliance of the State on behalf of the Carthaginian commander. Towards the end of 214 B.C., the Consul Marcellus was despatched to Sicily, to counteract the intrigues of the Carthaginians. Here he laid siege to Leontini, took the town by assault, and cruelly put to death 2,000 Roman deserters whom he found among the garrison. This ill-judged severity created a strong feeling against the cause of Rome. Hippocrates and Epicydes escaped to Syracuse with their partizans, and, without much trouble, after what had happened at Leontini, persuaded the citizens to declare against Marcellus. The Roman commander then endeavoured to take Syracuse by storm, but, failing in the attempt, blockaded it in 213 B.C. The siege was prolonged during the whole of that year and a portion of the next, and the defence was rendered illustrious by the services of the great mathematician and natural philosopher, Archimedes. That extraordinary man had now attained the age of seventy-five, and had devoted a long life to the pursuit of science. His discoveries in geometry have scarcely been surpassed in later ages, and his triumphs in the province of applied mathematics were no less remarkable. He was

accurately acquainted with the powers of the lever, and is reported to have observed to Hiero, "Give me a place where I may stand, and I will move the earth." For that monarch he built a ship which (according to the account given by Athenæus) contained ten stables for horses, eight towers, and several rooms paved with agate and other precious stones, together with gardens and fish-ponds. He is said to have invented a machine of glass, which represented the motion of the heavenly bodies. The screw-pump, the secret of which he communicated to the Egyptians, is ascribed to him, and by means of another species of screw he moved a ship which all the Syracusans were unable to stir. Many other inventions are attributed to this wonderful genius; but some appear doubtful, and the nature of others it is hard to understand. Certain of his scientific principles may possibly have been learned at Alexandria, where he had resided in early life; but his subsequent achievements far surpassed anything with which the world was then acquainted, and his transcendent abilities proved of the greatest service to his native city during its siege by Marcellus.

Some of the stories related of this Archimedes during this memorable siege are almost incredible; yet there can be no question that his warlike inventions were singularly ingenious. Polybius states that catapults and balistæ of immense power were planted on the walls of Syracuse; that if the Roman ships ventured to approach within a certain distance, the sailors were galled by missiles projected from the ramparts, and through port-holes constructed in numerous places; that machines which threw enormous masses of stone or lead discharged their contents upon the Roman engines, which had previously been shackled by ropes; that hooks attached to chains, and called "iron hands," would be let down from a crane, and, seizing hold of a ship's prow, would lift the whole vessel into the air, and as suddenly let it drop, so that it was plunged stern-foremost into the water; and that the same machines were used to catch the assailants on the land side, and fling them violently to the ground. The story that Archimedes set the Roman ships on fire by metallic mirrors, reflecting the heat of the sun, is doubtful, being first mentioned by two modern Greek writers of the twelfth Christian century. The fact, indeed, is by no means impossible; but it may be that Archimedes fired the enemy's ships by means of combustibles.

It is painful to reflect that, after the exhibition of so much skill in the discharge of a patriotic duty, the defence of Syracuse was unavailing; but at any rate it delayed the catastrophe, and enabled the Carthaginians to send an army to the aid of the besieged. This army was commanded by Himilco, who, landing at Heraclea Minoa, took possession of Agrigentum in 213 B.C. Most of the smaller cities had by this time ranged themselves on the side of Carthage, exasperated, apparently, by the cruelty of Marcellus at Leontini, and the still greater barbarity of the Roman commandant at Enna, who, suspecting an intention to revolt, massacred the whole of the inhabitants. The Roman cause in Sicily looked threatening; but Marcellus hung on to Syracuse with a resolution which nothing could shake, and at length took the suburb of Epipolæ by escalade, while a portion of the walls had been left unguarded during a religious festival. The united armies of Himilco and Hippocrates afterwards advanced to the relief of the city; but their ranks were so much thinned by the vapours of the neighbouring marshes that the survivors dispersed. The Carthaginian fleet also withdrew, and, after a few more vain struggles, the whole city surrendered in 212 B.C. The place was given up to pillage and slaughter, and Archimedes was killed by a Roman soldier who suspected him of concealing treasure, and who was provoked by his neglecting to answer a question which, as he was then intent on solving a mathematical problem, he probably did not hear. Some of the most magnificent works of Grecian art by which this splendid city was adorned were sent to Rome; but Marcellus did himself honour by erecting a mausoleum to the memory of Archimedes outside the gate of Achradina. The place of the philosopher's interment was afterwards neglected; but Cicero, during his Quæstorship in Sicily, discovered the tomb, surrounded with weeds and brambles. Syracuse had forgotten her greatest man; but he deserves to be remembered as one of the brightest intellectual lights of the ancient world.

CHAPTER IX.

SPAIN, ITALY, AND CARTHAGE.

Victories of the Brothers Scipio over the Carthaginians in Spain—The Berber Population of Northern Africa—Numidia, and its Relations towards Carthage—Alliance of the Romans with Syphax, one of the Numidian Kings—Operations of Hasdrubal and Others in Spain—The Two Scipios Defeated and Killed—Preservation of the Roman Power between the Iberus and the Pyrenees—Progress of Affairs in Sicily—Efforts of the Romans and Carthaginians to Obtain Possession of Capua—Roman Reverses—Failure of Hannibal to Relieve the Capuans—He Marches on Rome—Unavailing Demonstration, and Retreat—Surrender of Capua to the Romans, and Stern Treatment of the Citizens—Extraordinary Measures for Meeting the Expenses of the War—The Struggle in Southern Italy—Agrigentum Betrayed to the Romans—Submission of all the Sicilian Towns—Rumours of a Second Invasion of Italy from the North—Discontent of some of the Latin Colonies—Tarentum Recaptured by the Romans—Defeat and Death of Marcellus near Venusia—Preparations to Resist the March of Hasdrubal—Publius Cornelius Scipio the Younger appointed to the Command in Spain—His Remarkable Character—Capture of New Carthage—Hasdrubal Crosses the Pyrenees into Gaul—Movements of Hannibal in the South of Italy—Defeat and Death of Hasdrubal—Retreat of Hannibal—Enthusiasm at Rome—Scipio in Spain—His Visit to Syphax in Numidia—Spanish Troubles—Consulship of Scipio—Opposition to his Policy—Roman Invasion of Carthage—Misfortunes of the Carthaginians—Defeat of Syphax, and Capture of Cirta—Fate of Sophonisba—Carthage Reduced to Extremities—Recall of Hannibal from Italy—Honours to Fabius.

WHILE Hannibal was invading Italy, and Marcellus was pursuing his career beyond the Straits of Messana, the Brothers Scipio (Cornelius and Cneius) were operating against the enemy in Spain and Africa. The command of the Roman forces in the Iberian peninsula was at first solely in the hands of Cneius Scipio, who acted with so much vigour that the Carthaginians were driven back across the Iberus, Hasdrubal was defeated at sea, and the coasts were ravaged to the vicinity of New Carthage. In the course of 217 B.C. Cornelius Scipio joined his brother, and Hasdrubal was disastrously routed on the Iberus. Rome became the master of Northern Spain, and the city of Tarraco (now Tarragona), to which harbours and fortifications were added, proved a good base of operations south of the Pyrenees. Encouraged by the successes of the Romans, the native tribes threw in their lot with the stronger. Many of the Celtiberians, who disliked or dreaded the power of Carthage, enlisted in the armies of the Scipios, and in 215 B.C. the brothers, advancing into Andalusia, gained two important and brilliant victories. In the following year Saguntum — the Greek colony on the east coast, the attack on which by Hannibal occasioned the Second Punic War—was taken by the Romans. A large portion of the country was lost to Carthage, and the good fortune of the Roman commanders was such that they were induced to turn their attention towards Africa itself, and to seek the alliance of some Numidian prince who would espouse the quarrel of the Italian Republic.

Numidia was an extensive region of Africa, lying between the Carthaginian territories and Mauritania, and bounded on the north by the Mediterranean. It was at that time divided between two tribes—the Massæsylii towards the west, and the Massylii in the eastern parts. The first of these divisions corresponded with the modern provinces of Oran and Algiers; the second with the province of Constantine. All the nations of Northern Africa between the mountain-range of the Atlas and the sea were of mixed Semitic and Hamite descent. They belonged, for the most part, to the great Berber race, and, by force of numbers or superior civilisation, pressed the native African communities of Libyans and Gætulians into the interior. It was with members of the Berber race that the founders of Carthage —themselves belonging to an analogous stock— first came in contact; paying them tribute for their lands, but ultimately subjecting them to their own purposes. The more genuine African tribes were encountered afterwards, as the power of the Republic extended farther from the coast. From an ethnological point of view, there are few more interesting races than the Berbers. Though not the aborigines of that part of Africa (with whom, however, they doubtless intermingled in some degree), they have been settled there from a very remote antiquity; and they still form the mass of the population, though qualified with the blood of Arab immigrants and warriors. They are white men, not negroes, and many have hair as light as that of northern Europeans. The term "Berber" is believed to have been first used by Arabian writers in the eighth century of our era, after the Mohammedan conquests in Africa and Spain; the native name is Amazirgh, and the language includes several dialects. At the present day, the Berbers are Islamites in religion; but there is a

tradition among some that they were at one time professors of the Jewish faith, and Jews are received among them with peculiar favour.

The people with whom the early Carthaginians had to deal, and from whom they obtained their lands, were described by classical authors as the Libyphœnicians, being formed by a combination of Phœnician or Canaanitish tribes with the aboriginal Libyans. These Libyphœnicians were spread over all that part of Africa where Carthage afterwards arose, and to which were given the names of Zeugitana and Byzacium, and, by the Romans, that of Africa Propria. The Nomads of the desert long preserved their independence, but at length submitted to Carthaginian authority, and furnished the armies of the Republic with the magnificent Numidian cavalry of which we so frequently read. But these Nomads (Numidæ) existed not merely in the desert country lying southwards of the more cultivated possessions of Carthage: they formed the population of the important country west of Zeugitana to which our attention is now invited. The division of the Numidians into two distinct tribes weakened the power of the people to oppose the giant bulk of Carthage, which nevertheless they dreaded. By working on their mutual jealousies, the one tribe could generally be played off against the other; but the Scipios saw the possibility of turning some at least of these warlike barbarians to the purposes of Rome. The alliance of Syphax, king of the Massæsylians, was speedily obtained, and the native troops, commanded by Roman officers, did good service against the Carthaginians. At the same time, the Libyans began to defy their ancient oppressors, and it was thought necessary to recall Hasdrubal from Spain to crush the rebellion, while Gala, king of the Massylians, was encouraged to attack Syphax. After the remorseless fashion common to Punic generals, Hasdrubal suppressed the insurrection of the Libyans, while Masinissa, the son of Gala, and later on one of the most powerful and faithful allies of Rome, defeated Syphax, and compelled him to sue for peace. These events occurred about 213 and 212 B.C.

During the absence of Hasdrubal in Africa, the two Scipios became masters of nearly the whole of Spain; but, on the return of the Carthaginian commander, followed by large reinforcements under Mago (the brother both of Hasdrubal and Hannibal), and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, the Roman generals found themselves confronted by difficulties with which their means were not adequate to cope. They accordingly enlisted 20,000 Celtiberians, but found that they could not depend on their fidelity. Hasdrubal bribed them to desert, and Cneius Scipio, deprived of a large part of his army, was obliged to retreat in 211 B.C. Shortly afterwards, Cornelius Scipio was attacked by the armies of Mago, and of Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, who, being joined by a number of Spanish auxiliaries, and well seconded by the Numidian horse under Masinissa, were enabled to surround the Romans, and inflict on them a terrific defeat. Large numbers were slain, including the general himself, and the rest laid down their arms. The whole body of the Carthaginian forces was then directed against Cneius Scipio, who was retreating in good order after his late reverse, but was now overwhelmed by irresistible numbers, and cut off from his communications and supplies by the rapid movements of the Numidian cavalry. Cneius Scipio is supposed to have lost his life on that fearful day, and the slaughter of the Roman troops was so excessive that only a very few made their escape. The fugitives, however, succeeded in effecting a junction, north of the Iberus, with a division of the army of Cornelius Scipio which had been left in charge of the camp, and which managed to secure its retreat. Several Roman garrisons were stationed in different parts of Northern Spain, between the Iberus and the Pyrenees; and these, supported by the remnants of the armies belonging to the two Scipios, were able to make a stand, under the command of a good general named Martius. Thus, after a period of marked success, the Roman fortunes in Spain were gravely overshadowed. Yet, as a position was still maintained in the northern part of that peninsula, the ability of the Carthaginians to send reinforcements to Italy was effectually checked.

In Sicily, the war continued favourable to the Roman arms, though even the loss of Syracuse did not deter Hannibal from making still further attempts to secure the island. A leader of the Numidian cavalry, named Mutines, was sent by the great general to the support of the Carthaginian army at Agrigentum, where the Greek Epicydes and the Carthaginian Hanno kept up a desperate struggle. Marcellus, being no longer detained at Syracuse, entered the field against these combined antagonists, but for a time made little progress. At length, however, in 211 B.C., an attack by Hanno, during the absence of Mutines and his cavalry, gave Marcellus the opportunity for a telling blow; and Mutines, being regarded with great jealousy by the true Carthaginians, was shortly afterwards removed from his command. This was an event of importance, serving to counterbalance the failures of the Spanish campaign; and it was

not the only success by which the Romans sustained their credit. In Italy, the fortunes of the war varied a good deal, but Hannibal was unable to obtain any decisive triumph. Tarentum, it is true, was betrayed into his hands early in 212 B.C.; yet the citadel still remained in possession of the adversary, and the Carthaginians failed in all their endeavours to reduce it. Several of the Bruttian towns surrendered to the Romans: it was evident that Hannibal had only a very doubtful hold on the populations of that part of Italy.

The contest raged with great vehemence about Capua. Rome concentrated a large body of troops in front of that city, while her formidable opponent directed his serious attention to its relief. Gracchus, in leading some reinforcements from Lucania, fell into an ambush, and was slain, with the dispersal of his whole army. To make matters worse, Hannibal soon afterwards entered Campania. He had recently been strengthened by the adhesion of Metapontum and Thurii, and the Consuls Appius Claudius and Fulvius Flaccus, who were commencing the siege of Capua, withdrew for awhile, being overawed by the great reputation of the Carthaginian commander, whom they doubted their ability to meet on equal terms. The siege being thus broken up, Hannibal returned to Tarentum, the citadel of which still held out against the most strenuous efforts of its assailants. On his way thither, while passing through Lucania, he entirely crushed a Roman army which endeavoured to bar his passage, and subsequently inflicted a like fate on another force which he encountered in Apulia. Notwithstanding these disasters, the Romans did not lose heart, but, on the retirement of Hannibal from before Capua, resumed the siege of that city, and speedily completed the investment. The military roads, in the construction of which they had long been engaged, made the Romans very expert in the execution of siege-works; and their lines before Capua were protected by a double wall, which rendered any future attempt to raise the siege a matter of great difficulty.

The Capuans, fearful of being reduced by famine, sent off a message to Hannibal in 211 B.C., and the Carthaginian leader, returning by forced marches into Campania, established his camp on Mount Tifata, which he had occupied once before. From this point he overlooked the entrenchments of the Romans; but an attempt to break through their lines, so as to relieve the beleaguered city, proved an entire failure. The fate of Capua was evidently sealed, and Hannibal began to consider that an advance on Rome was the only course left open to him. Breaking up his camp at Mount Tifata during the night, he marched with extraordinary boldness between the lines of the enemy to Tibur, where he crossed the bridge over the Anio, and encamped within three miles of Rome itself. He had approached this spot, however, by a circuitous route, to avoid the important cities which lay on the more direct road; and the delay enabled Fulvius, who was still before Capua in the quality of Proconsul, to communicate with the Roman Senate, which was thus apprised of the approaching danger. Fulvius was therefore recalled, with part of his army, and, marching straightforward by the Appian Way, reached the capital before Hannibal had come within sight of the walls. It is related with pride by the Roman historians that after the Carthaginian forces were marshalled in the position they had chosen, the land occupied by the camp was put up for sale at Rome, and bought at its full value; so unhesitating was the confidence of the Senate and people in their ability to defeat the greatest captain of his age. In an equal spirit of self-reliance, but without equal justification, Hannibal bade an auctioneer offer the silversmiths' shops in the Forum for sale; yet it is doubtful if he ever expected to capture the great city. He perhaps intended nothing more than a diversion for the relief of Capua; but Capua was not relieved. A few engagements, of no great importance, took place before the walls of Rome; and then Hannibal retired, with the mortifying knowledge that he had once more been foiled by the stubborn nature of the enemy. On his way to the capital, he had devastated the whole country through which he passed, driving before him a panic-stricken throng of women, children, and old people. In the immediate neighbourhood of Rome itself, he had destroyed gardens and villages, and had carried off into his camp a large number of cattle, all the crops of the country people, and every kind of booty on which he could lay his hands. At the head of 2,000 horsemen, he had ridden up to the Colline Gate, and passed along the walls to the Temple of Hercules. He had flung his spear into the city, as a token of that undying hatred to which his father made him swear while he was yet a boy. But he could neither take Rome nor relieve Capua; and it must have been in a mood of fierce exasperation that, after a brief incursion into the Sabine territory, he marched once more towards the south. For a portion of the way he was pursued by the Consul Sulpicius Galba; until, finding the Roman forces too close upon his track,

he turned suddenly round, and scattered them with one tremendous blow.

Now that Rome was safe, Fulvius and his forces returned to the lines round Capua, which Hannibal, seeing the hopelessness of the case, made no further attempt to relieve. Scarcity of provisions presently deepened into famine, and every day brought the inevitable catastrophe a step nearer. But a wild spirit of desperation had taken possession of one of the insurgent chiefs, named Vibius Virrius. He gave a banquet (such as the resources of the city enabled him to furnish) to twenty-seven senators, and at the close of the entertainment a poisoned cup was sent round. Some died on the spot; others found strength enough to reach their homes before the mortal climax; but by this act of self-immolation, all of the twenty-seven removed themselves beyond the scope of Roman vengeance. Next day the city surrendered. Appius was for treating the vanquished with some consideration, but Fulvius would listen to no such counsels. Fifty-three of the leaders were beheaded in presence of this relentless Proconsul; and it is said that, while some of his victims were awaiting the stroke, he received letters from the Senate, which (probably suspecting their contents) he set aside unopened till the execution had been completed. When at length examined, these missives were found to contain orders that the prisoners should be reserved for the judgment of the governing body; but Fulvius could now plead that the command had been received too late. Several of the chief men were imprisoned; the commoner sort were sold into slavery; and the city itself was confiscated to Rome. Thus, in 211 B.C., the long resistance of Capua was overcome, and Hannibal, who had established his head-quarters in the extreme south of Italy, looked to the arrival of assistance from his brother Hasdrubal (then recently victorious over the elder Scipios in Spain) as the last means of retrieving his damaged fortunes.

THE TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS AT ROME.

The Consuls for 210 B.C. were Marcellus and Valerius Lævinus. After some difficulty, it was arranged that the Sicilian command should be in the hands of Lævinus, and that Marcellus should operate against Hannibal in Southern Italy. But, before either could set out, it was necessary to make financial arrangements for meeting the extraordinary expenses of the war. The struggle had now lasted eight years, and, while the charges for military operations had been necessarily enormous, the sources of revenue were proportionately diminished by the interruption of the national industries. The price of corn had been vastly increased,

owing to its scarcity; and, although the taxes had been doubled, the Republic was obliged to contract several loans. The fleets had been manned by a somewhat arbitrary measure, which compelled each senator to equip eight men at his own expense, and other propertied individuals to supply sailors in proportion. This had occurred as early as 214 B.C.; in 210, the necessity of the State was even greater. The value of the coinage had been much depreciated; yet the lack of means for carrying on the war was by this time alarming. The invariable Treasury, to register their names for this patriotic purpose. The necessities of the State were thus relieved by an act which excited all the warmth of national feeling and devotion; and the Consuls at once opened the campaign.

Marcellus was not very fortunate in Southern Italy; but he checked the movements of Hannibal, and entered the city of Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands. The Italians of the south were beginning to falter in their allegiance to Hannibal, and to see that their interests would

DEATH OF SOPHONISBA.

effect of measures injuriously affecting the currency is to raise the price of commodities; for the purchasing power of the depreciated coin is no longer equal to what it was. Popular discontent inevitably follows; and such was the case at Rome in the eighth year of the Second Punic War. Impoverished by heavy taxation, and by the losses which Hannibal had inflicted on them, the people showed signs of impatience, and refused to furnish more seamen on the terms which had been quietly accepted four years earlier. A meeting of the Senate was held, to consider what should be done; and Lævinus proposed that all should give up, in the form of a loan, as many of their valuables as they could spare. The suggestion was enthusiastically adopted, and crowds thronged to the

probably lie more in the direction of Rome. Some little time before the arrival of Marcellus, Herdonia had meditated revolt; but Hannibal defeated the Romans before the walls, burnt the city to the ground, and transferred its inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurii. Such acts of severity deepened the disinclination of the Southern Italians to support the Carthaginians any further, and Marcellus would probably have made considerable progress had he been duly supported by an adequate force. As it was, he sustained a battle of two days' duration with Hannibal, and the issue was sufficiently doubtful for both sides to claim the victory. The operations of Lævinus in Sicily were more fortunate. The Numidian leader, Mutines, exasperated by his removal from the command of

the cavalry, determined to betray Agrigentum into the hands of the Romans. He accordingly opened the gates to Lævinus in 210 B.C., and the garrison were put to the sword. Hanno and Epicydes escaped with difficulty by sea; the citizens were sold into slavery, and the town was sacked. This was a crushing disaster to the Carthaginians in Sicily. The whole island presently submitted to the stronger power, and the Numidian horse of Mutines (who was made a Roman citizen) took service with the forces of the Republic. Lævinus returned to Rome, but, before leaving Sicily, despatched his fleet on a reconnoitring expedition to the coasts of Africa. The commanding officer reported that Carthage was about to place a large body of troops under the command of Hasdrubal for a second invasion of Italy from the north, and was also preparing a fleet for the recovery of the island she had so recently lost. Lævinus was therefore sent back in haste, and the aged Fulvius was made Dictator. But alarming symptoms of exhaustion were beginning to show themselves within the limits of the Roman Republic. In 209 B.C., twelve out of the thirty Latin colonies, which had hitherto been faithful in their attachment to Rome, refused to send their usual contingents to the army. Some harsh treatment on the part of the Government had probably contributed to this change of feeling; but it was due in a larger measure to reaction against the excessive demands on the populace, resulting from the necessities of the war. The people of the twelve objecting colonies resisted all attempts to alter their determination. The other eighteen remained true to their allegiance, and the Senate declined to coerce those who were unwilling to make further sacrifices.

Fulvius was Consul in 209 B.C., with Fabius for his coadjutor, and Marcellus as Proconsul. The plan of the campaign was that Fulvius should operate with Marcellus in Lucania, while Fabius endeavoured to recover Tarentum. Very little was effected by Marcellus, but Fabius contrived to take possession of Tarentum during the absence of Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, where a band of mercenaries had been sent across the Straits by Lævinus, to harass the Bruttian territory. The capture of Tarentum was the last service rendered by Fabius to the Roman State; but it was not a very brilliant exploit, for the city was given up to him by a treacherous Bruttian, one of the officers of the garrison. The Samnites and Lucanians soon afterwards returned to their allegiance, and in 208 B.C. the Romans felt strong enough to appear before the camp of Hannibal near Venusia, and offer battle to their terrible antagonist. The Carthaginian commander saw that he was overmatched in point of numbers, and prudently kept within his entrenchments. Marcellus, who was now Consul together with Quinctius Crispinus, acted with a degree of rashness which was hardly to be expected from one of his age and experience. He and Crispinus occupied a hill between the two camps, and, while accompanied by only a small detachment of cavalry, were surrounded by a body of Numidian horse, who suddenly darted out of the woods below. Crispinus escaped to his camp, though mortally wounded; Marcellus was slain on the spot. Hannibal treated the body of the latter with military honours, observing, "Here lies a good soldier, but a bad general." The judgment was correct so far as the recent incident was concerned; yet on previous occasions Marcellus had shown himself a commander of ability. This was the first time in the history of the Roman Republic that both the Consuls had been simultaneously removed. Manlius Torquatus was appointed Dictator to meet the emergency, and, while affairs were in this unsettled state, information was received that Hasdrubal had set out from Spain, and was in full march for Italy. An additional element of uneasiness was discovered in the fact that conspiracies existed in Etruria; and, in spite of every effort to raise funds, the impoverishment of the State proceeded rapidly. Still, nothing could subdue the indomitable spirit of the Roman Senate and people. Twenty-three legions were enrolled; volunteers were called for, and exemptions from military service were no longer permitted. Large arrears of pay were due to the older soldiers; but it does not appear that this fact diminished the willingness of others to serve the country in its time of need.

Between the defeat of the brothers Scipio in Spain, and the resolution of Hasdrubal to invade Italy, some very important events had occurred in the Iberian peninsula, and a man of the highest genius had arisen upon the scene. This was Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of the general bearing the same names who had recently been killed in Spain, together with his brother Cneius. The young man had been accustomed to war from his earliest years, and at the battle of the Ticinus, when he was only seventeen, had saved his father from death, unless, indeed, the credit of that action belongs, as some suppose, to a Ligurian slave. It is also related of the younger Scipio that when, after the battle of Cannæ, some of the nobles desired to abandon their country to the victor, he

compelled them, with his sword in his hand, to vow that they would bear eternal fidelity to Rome, and would slay on the instant any one who attempted to retire. At the unusually early age of twenty-one, young Scipio was made an Ædile; and on the death of his father and uncle in Spain, he offered himself to the suffrages of the people as a candidate for the vacant post, though at that time he was not more than twenty-five, or at the most twenty-seven. No other candidate had appeared, and the youthful Scipio was accordingly elected by acclamation. The choice was almost inevitable, since others shrank from so dangerous a position; but it was not long before Scipio showed how admirably he was qualified for the responsibilities of command. At a still earlier period of life, he had been dissolute in his conduct, and was even now disposed to insubordination to the orders of superior authorities. The laws of Rome were not always treated by him with that respect which the citizens generally evinced, and in the course of his military career he sometimes showed that he considered his own will superior to that of the Senate. But nothing could exceed his sense of duty to the Republic, and his devotion to the gods appears to have been a sincere and earnest principle, guiding every action of his life. Altogether, he was the greatest man that had yet appeared in Italy. His advent as a supreme commander marks a most important era in the history of the Second Punic War, and is indeed the commencement of that turn in the current of events which led to the final success of Rome.

It was in the autumn of 210 B.C. that Scipio arrived in Spain as Proconsul, accompanied by his friend Lælius, and his elder brother Lucius, in the quality of Legates. The three Carthaginian commanders were then at issue with one another, and, as their forces were scattered over a wide extent of country, they were quite unable to take any concerted action. This position of affairs suggested to Scipio the possibility of surprising New Carthage; but he was not ready to set out until the early part of the following year. Crossing the Iberus in 209 B.C., he rapidly marched towards the point proposed, and took up his position on a neck of land by which the city was approached. His first assault, which was on the morning after his arrival, ended in failure; but a renewed attempt in the afternoon led to the capture of the place. This result was effected by means of a feigned attack from the neck of land, while the real attack was made from the harbour, where the water was unusually low, owing to a strong ebb-tide, aided by a violent wind. A picked body of five hundred men, carrying scaling-ladders, dashed through the water unobserved, and got into the town while the garrison were engaged in repelling the false attack. The citadel surrendered at discretion, and Scipio thus acquired a position of great value, together with ships, munitions of war, stores of corn, and an immense treasure, which facilitated his further operations. Among the prisoners were eighteen Carthaginian judges; but Scipio gave the citizens their liberty, on condition of obedience to Rome. The fall of New Carthage was speedily followed by the submission of numerous Spanish tribes, both in the north and in the south; for the Punic rule was no longer tolerated, and a change of masters is always welcome where absolute freedom is impossible. Scipio then returned to Tarraco, whence he had started on his venturesome expedition, and where he now began to form plans for the complete subjugation of Spain. With this view, he broke up his fleet, that he might employ the crews in land service; but the devotion of his mind to schemes of conquest diverted his attention from the designs of Hasdrubal.

When, however, that general began his march to the north, Scipio endeavoured to bar his passage, and a battle was fought at Bæcula, in Andalusia. The Roman commander claimed the victory; but Hasdrubal, leaving behind him a portion of his army, carried off the rest, together with his elephants and treasure, and, rapidly moving towards the Pyrenees, through districts unknown to the Romans, effected his passage into Gaul by one of the western passes. This was near the close of 208 B.C., and the season was too advanced for an immediate crossing of the Alps. Hasdrubal therefore passed the winter in Gaul, and the Romans had time for making arrangements to repel the new attack when it came. The Consuls for the ensuing year were Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator, the former of whom marched southwards to oppose Hannibal, then on his way to Apulia. The adversaries encountered one another at Grumentum, in Lucania; but, although Nero was not defeated, he was unable to stop the progress of his enemy, who shortly after arrived at Canusium, not far from Cannæ, where he expected to receive news from Hasdrubal. The latter general had crossed the Alps early in 207 B.C., and was now supported by numerous Ligurians and Cisalpine Gauls. From the north of Italy, he sent a despatch to his brother in the south; but the communication was intercepted by Nero, who governed his own actions in accordance with what he there discovered to be the Carthaginian plans. Hasdrubal had appointed Narnia, in the Umbrian country, as the place of

meeting for himself and Hannibal. Nero, therefore, at once started for the north, taking care at the same time to leave behind him an army of sufficient strength to stop the advance of Hannibal. Accompanied by 7,000 picked men, he joined the forces of Livius Salinator at Sena Gallica (Sinigaglia), on the Adriatic coast, and soon afterwards encountered Hasdrubal on the banks of the Metaurus. A complete victory was gained by the two Consuls, though not without considerable cost. On the other side, Hasdrubal lost his life, and the invasion from Gaul was at an end. All this while, Hannibal was waiting at Canusium for intelligence of his brother's advance; and his first intimation of what had happened was of a singular and startling character. Nero, whose movements were characterised by extraordinary rapidity, had been absent somewhat less than a fortnight when he reappeared before the Carthaginian camp in Apulia, and flung the head of Hasdrubal within the outposts of his enemy. Hannibal looked at the grim relic, and sadly observed, "I recognise the doom of Carthage." He knew that the last hope of succour had failed him, and, at once abandoning his advanced position, retired into the Bruttian peninsula, where he was seriously opposed by the growing disaffection of the populace.

The expedition of Nero towards the north had been undertaken entirely on his own responsibility. He had in truth no legal right to quit his command in Apulia—if his movement had failed, he would doubtless have been made answerable for its ill-success. While on his march, however, he had written to the Senate, informing them of what he was about, and they appear to have had confidence in his ability to carry through a somewhat perilous adventure. This confidence, as we have seen, was not misplaced. His march was admirably arranged in every detail. Orders were sent forward for providing the army with provisions and beasts of burden at all available points; and the enthusiasm of the people, who pressed ample assistance upon the daring Consul, materially aided him. The issue was eagerly awaited at Rome. The first vague rumours of victory appeared so incredible that when officers arrived, bearing despatches from the Consuls, the people could scarcely restrain themselves from tearing the papers open before they had reached the Senate. Great rejoicings followed the announcement of the news, and a thanksgiving of three days' duration was appointed by the authorities. The victorious generals were allowed a triumph—the first that had been celebrated since the invasion of Italy by Hannibal; yet, notwithstanding his brilliant services, Claudius Nero was not again employed during the war. Later ages, however, acknowledged that Italy was saved by the genius and energy of the Consul who, disregarding the mere letter of his instructions, had foiled the advance of Hasdrubal in the north, and driven the still mightier Hannibal into a remote corner of the south, where, though he contrived to maintain himself four years longer, it became every day more obvious that his cause was hopeless. Had he been properly supported by reinforcements from Carthage, the victor of Cannæ might even yet have succeeded in his great design of shattering the Roman Republic. But the campaign in Italy had always been rather a project of his own than a design of the Carthaginian Government, and he had never received the assistance which he might have supposed he had a right to expect. A commander of less genius would have given up the game in despair; but Hannibal clung to Bruttium with desperate tenacity, and, although he now possessed nothing but a few ports by which he might secure his retreat, the indomitable nature of the man still held his enemies at bay, and defied their utmost strength and prowess.

While Hasdrubal was penetrating into Northern Italy, Scipio was pursuing his career of success in Spain. His noble and chivalrous conduct towards men and women, his handsome person, gallant bearing, and pleasing manners, endeared him to the people, and a deputation of Spaniards entreated that he would become their king. Many a hero would have found it impossible to resist such a temptation; but Scipio was a faithful servant of the Republic which had sent him forth to fight its battles. He declined the offer, saying that he was nothing more than the general of the Roman people; and the war went on as before. The Carthaginians, more mindful of Spain than of Italy, made efforts to recover the ground they had lost in the former country, but without success. Scipio and his lieutenants were fully equal to any general whom the African Republic now possessed in the Iberian peninsula, and in the early part of 206 B.C. a great action was fought on the southern bank of the Bætis, or Guadalquivir, when the Carthaginians were so disastrously defeated that the wreck of their army took refuge within the walls of Gades, the one Spanish city which remained to them. Had Scipio been of a less ambitious nature, he might have been content with the laurels he had already won. But it seemed to his penetrating intellect that only in Africa could the war be finished, and he determined to visit Syphax, king of the Western Numidians, to secure his alliance in an attack on Carthage. We have seen that, a few years earlier,

this barbarian monarch gave assistance to Rome in her contests with the rival Power; but at that time circumstances were not favourable to the concerted design. In 206 B.C. it appeared to Scipio that the alliance might be revived, and he sailed for Africa with no more than two ships. The support of the Eastern Numidians was already secured; for Masinissa, now king of the Massylians, had passed over from the side of Carthage to that of Rome. If the aid of Syphax could also be obtained, Carthage would have a most formidable enemy on her flank.

Full of hope, and in a spirit of romantic daring, Scipio proceeded to the capital of the Massæsylian king, where, strange to say, he encountered Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, who had gone there with a similar intention. The opponents were entertained by Syphax with equal hospitality, and met one another from day to day with every appearance of friendliness. But the fascinating manners of Scipio, and doubtless also the brilliant reputation which his victories had won, prevailed with the Numidian chief, and an alliance was concluded with the Romans. Scipio then returned to Spain, where he found that the cities of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa had declared their independence. The first of these was captured, and given up to massacre and pillage; the second surrendered at discretion; in the third, despair induced the men to consume all their property in a funeral pyre, and to slay their women, while they themselves encountered the Romans in fruitless heroism at the gates. This tragic incident was followed by the revolt of two Spanish chiefs on whose fidelity great reliance had been placed; and, shortly afterwards, 8,000 Italian troops broke out in mutiny, and drove away their Roman officers. These dangers were quelled by Scipio with extraordinary energy and promptitude, although he was suffering from illness at the time; but they showed that, however much the power of Carthage had been destroyed in Spain, the authority of Rome did not rest on any assured basis. The alliance of Syphax, moreover, proved illusory, for the Numidian monarch was tempted to abandon his new friends by the beautiful Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, who on those terms became his wife. On the other hand, Masinissa proved faithful to his word, and Mago, the brother of Hannibal, provoked the people of Gades, by the ferocity of his treatment, into surrendering their city to the Romans.

Towards the end of 206 B.C., Scipio returned to Rome, and offered himself as a candidate for the Consulship. To this high office he was unanimously elected, although under the legal age; and he made it generally known that his intention was to carry the war into Africa. The older senators were opposed to such a risk, and it was at length determined, as a compromise, to make Sicily his province, but at the same time to grant him permission to invade Africa, if he considered it expedient. Additional levies and supplies were denied him; but large numbers of Italian volunteers were forthcoming, and Scipio spent his year of office in making preparations for the great attempt. It would appear that by this time the opposition of the Senate had greatly diminished, for Scipio was continued in his command as Proconsul. Nevertheless, he had many individual enemies, the chief of whom was old Fabius Maximus, whose slow and cautious mind was offended, and perhaps alarmed, by the daring character of Scipio's genius. The young general having left his Sicilian province without authority, to save the citadel of Locri from falling into the possession of Hannibal, Fabius urged the fact against him, together with his previous visit to Syphax in Numidia, which had been equally unsanctioned. He endeavoured likewise to implicate Scipio in certain outrages committed at Locri by the Roman commander in Bruttium; and he discovered a further cause of offence in the fact that the Proconsul frequented the schools and gymnasia of the Greek cities in the south, wore a Greek dress, and was addicted to the study of Greek literature. Few Romans up to this time had shown any inclination for the benignities of art and letters; but Scipio was an exception to the rule. His tastes were elegant and refined, and his manners had that Hellenic charm which to more genuine Romans seemed effeminate and corrupt. It was alleged by Fabius that the troops under Scipio were losing their discipline, and acquiring licentious habits; and he proposed that the hero of the Spanish War should be deprived of his command. A commission was sent into Sicily in 204 B.C., to inquire into the truth of these charges; but it was found that in all respects Scipio had acted as a good soldier and a faithful citizen. He was therefore confirmed in his command, and left entirely free to conduct his expedition into Africa.

Meanwhile, Scipio had been perfecting the machinery by which he hoped to accomplish his design. He assembled an army and a fleet at Lilybæum, in the west of Sicily. The men composing the land forces were old soldiers, who could be relied on for steadiness and valour. For the equipment of the fleet, money was raised by forced contributions from some of the disaffected cities of

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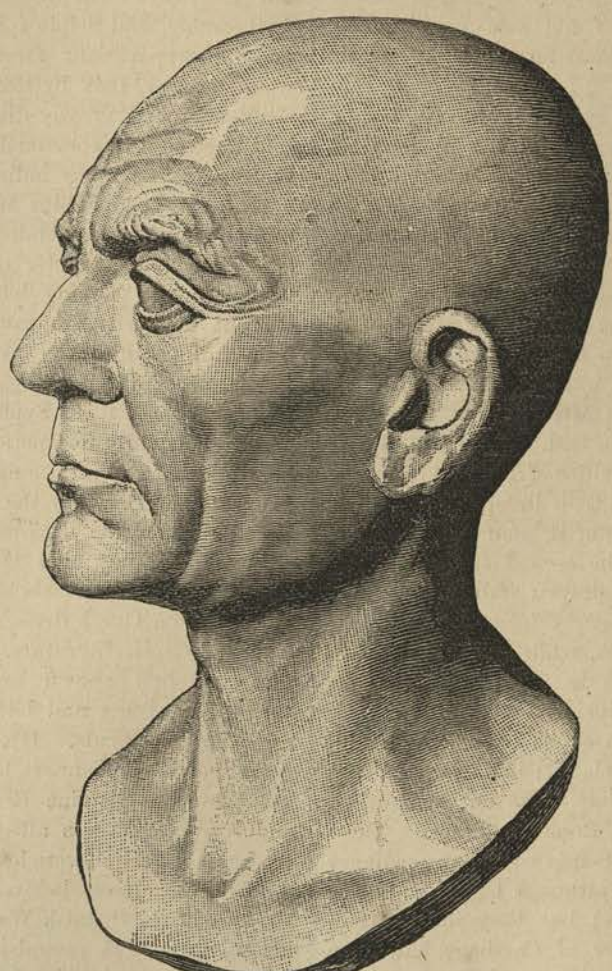
Etruria, and from the Sicilian communities; and in the course of 204 B.C. the expedition was ready to sail. On this occasion, Scipio had for his Quæstor no less illustrious a man than Marcus Portius Priscus, afterwards called Cato (the Wise), and also Censorinus, from his having filled the office of Censor, but at that time a very young man, known only for the valour which, at the age of seventeen, he had exhibited in the field against Hannibal. The Roman ships left the harbour of Lilybæum at daybreak, and, as they passed into the open sea, Scipio prayed aloud to the gods that they would bless his enterprise with supernatural favour. On arriving at the northern shores of Africa, the Roman commander was joined by Masinissa at the head of his Numidian cavalry, and siege was laid to Utica without delay. Scipio had little to fear from external opposition. Hannibal was shut up in Bruttium and Mago, who two years before had descended upon Liguria and Gaul, in the hope of relieving his heroic brother, was not likely to conduct his forces from that distant region to the African shores. The Carthaginian Senate was consequently forced to depend upon its immediate resources, and upon the alliance of Syphax, who had recently driven Masinissa out of his own territory. The army then at Carthage numbered 20,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 140 elephants. A strong fleet was in the harbour, but no attempt was made to oppose the passage of Scipio. The campaign, therefore, opened very favourably; but the siege of Utica was commenced with some precipitation, and the approach of a Numidian army under Syphax induced the Roman general to concentrate his legions within a fortified camp south of the Bagradas. Here he spent the ensuing winter, during which he entered into negotiations with Syphax—not, indeed, with any real intention of concluding a peace, but as a means of covering certain designs which he had formed. These designs were carried out in the spring of 203 B.C., and resulted in a great success for the Romans. Hasdrubal and Syphax occupied separate camps, and the huts of the Numidians were formed of stakes wattled and thatched with reeds, while those of the Carthaginians were built of timber. Preparations were made for a night attack, and Masinissa, who was sent against the camp of Syphax, found little difficulty in setting fire to its fragile structures. The Carthaginians rushed up to render aid; whereupon Scipio assailed their camp in person, and both armies were involved in a common misfortune. Many who endeavoured to escape from the blazing huts of the Numidians were cut down by the soldiers stationed outside to oppose their passage, and only a few got off. Syphax retreated to Cirta, the capital of his dominions; but the place was shortly after. wards taken by assault, and Syphax became a prisoner to the Romans. On entering Cirta, Masinissa, who was acting in combination with Lælius, was met by Sophonisba, to whom he had formerly been betrothed. Fearing that she might be led in triumph through the streets of Rome, he married her, although she was at that time the wife of Syphax; but Scipio sternly rebuked him for daring to take possession of a Roman captive. The fate of Sophonisba is one of the well-known tragedies of Roman history. Seeing that he must



SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

part from his bride, and fearing the consequences of her captivity, Masinissa sent her a cup of poison, bidding her die as became the daughter of Hasdrubal. Sophonisba accepted the potion as a nuptial gift, and drank it with composure and dignity. On hearing of the fact, Scipio appears to have considered that he had behaved with unnecessary harshness to his Numidian ally, and, after reproving him for his haste, loaded him with testimonies to his valour, and added the kingdom of Syphax to his dominions.

The defensive armies of Carthage were almost annihilated by Scipio's night-attack on the two camps; but the Republic still possessed its fleet, and the Roman ships in the harbour of Utica underwent a slight reverse. Succour also arrived from abroad. Four thousand Macedonians under Sopater, and a body of Celtiberians from Spain, swelled the diminished ranks of the African forces; but, in an action with the legions of Scipio, the allies were defeated on the plain of the Bagradas, near Utica. Mago, who had recently been worsted by the Romans in the Gallic territory, was recalled to Carthage, but died upon the way, from the effects of a wound which he had received in combat. The Carthaginian Senate saw that the struggle was one for mere existence, and that all attempts to maintain a position upon foreign soil must be abandoned. Even the expedition of Hannibal, which at one time promised so brilliantly, and which had been kept up with such extraordinary spirit during nearly sixteen anxious years, was now recalled. The great commander started from his head-quarters at Croton with the remnants of his army, and landed on the Carthaginian coast towards the close of 203 B.C. It must have been with feelings of extreme bitterness that this wonderful man quitted the scene of his triumphs and his failure. His vast designs had broken down, but not through any fault of his. He had been abandoned by his own country and his own Government; and if he had not accomplished the purposes with which he had set out, he had at any rate shown that no single Roman commander was his equal in genius and strategy, and that his discomfiture was entirely owing to a combination of circumstances such as no mortal could have overcome. Though long confined to a part of the country far removed from the capital, the Romans were relieved when he departed, and, reckoning up their losses since the war began, found that they amounted to 300,000 men, including many generals of excellent ability, together with others whose aptitude was far less apparent. It is an interesting fact that Fabius Maximus, who was old when the invasion began, still survived at the era of Hannibal's retreat. Though not a man of brilliant powers, he had done much in the earlier part of the war by holding the terrible Carthaginian in check; and now, at the age of ninety, his countrymen bestowed on him an honour which was considered the very highest that a Roman citizen could receive. This was the Wreath of the Blockade—a simple crown of grass, gathered on the spot where a beleaguered army had been shut up, but from which it had been delivered by the action of external force. All Italy had been invested by Hannibal; and Fabius was the first to prove that there was still a native virtue in the Roman Republic, capable of resisting the most splendid inspirations of genius, and of turning its highest triumphs into dust.

CHAPTER X.

WARS WITH CARTHAGE, MACEDON, AND SYRIA.

Hannibal and Scipio face to face in Africa—Negotiations for Peace—Interview between the Carthaginian and Roman Commanders—The War Resumed—Battle of Zama—Defeat of Hannibal, and Renewed Negotiations for Peace—Terms imposed by Scipio—Hannibal's Chief Error—Scipio Receives the Title of Africanus—Effects of the Second Punic War on the Internal Condition of the Roman Republic—Reforms of Hannibal at Carthage—Philip V. of Macedon—His First Contest with Rome—Commencement of the Second Macedonian War—The Roman Armies Commanded by Titus Quinctius Flamininus—Defeat of Philip in Thessaly—The Battle of Cynoscephalæ—Philip Compelled to Accept Terms of Peace—Restoration of Grecian Independence—Action of the Romans against Sparta—Policy of Flamininus towards Greece—Designs of Antiochus the Great on Greece—Flight of Hannibal from Carthage—His Association with Antiochus—Hostilities between Rome and the Ætolian League—Invasion of Greece by Antiochus—Retreat into Asia Minor—Victories of the Romans at Sea—Great Defeat of Antiochus in the Valley of the Hermus—Re-arrangement of Asia Minor—Retirement of the Romans from Asia—Renewed War with the Ætolians in Greece—Attitude of Rome towards the Achæan League—The Achæans and Sparta—Philopœmen, "the Last of the Greeks."

HANNIBAL and Scipio were now face to face in Africa. The two great rivals had hitherto been acting in widely-separated fields, though in reality opposing one another; but the course of events had brought them to one common ground, and it was soon to be made apparent which represented the more enduring strength. Both were men of remarkable ability and power; but, eminent as were the individuals, the true issue of the struggle lay with the States they championed, rather than with themselves. The event was indeed still very doubtful; for both sides were resolute and disinclined to terms. A little before the arrival of Hannibal, the peace-party at Carthage had opened negotiations with Scipio; but, on the presence of the great general being known, the war-party, which comprised the mass of the population, broke off the discussions by plundering a Roman fleet of transports, and capturing a Roman envoy. Exasperated by these acts, Scipio devastated the valley of the Bagradas, and sold the people into slavery. But the hope of an accommodation was not yet at an end. Hannibal, advancing from Hadrumetum—a city on the eastern coast of Africa Propria—took up a position on the higher courses of the Bagradas, and an interview between him and Scipio was held in the vicinity of Sicca Venerea, near the borders of Numidia. The object was to ascertain whether the war might not be brought to a close on terms honourable to both; and it is said that neither general was disinclined to such an arrangement. The veteran troops in the army of Hannibal were now very few, and he had to encounter, not merely the Romans, but the greater number of the Numidian cavalry, which had formerly been at his own disposal, but had now taken service with the enemy. It can therefore be readily understood that Hannibal may have thought a peace essential to the interests of his country. On the other hand, Scipio was apprehensive of being superseded, and was naturally desirous of finishing the war before his powers were withdrawn.

Such were the feelings with which these two great men met one another on the Bagradas, some time during 202 B.C., but at a date which cannot be exactly identified. The interview inspired each with an admiration of the other, but led to no definite result. It was impossible for an old and haughty Power like Carthage to accept, save under dire compulsion, the terms imposed by Scipio. These were—the cession of Spain and the Mediterranean islands; the confirmation of Masinissa in the dominions formerly belonging to Syphax; the surrender of the Carthaginian fleet, with the exception of twenty ships; and the payment of 4,000 talents as a war-indemnity. Even if Hannibal had bowed his head to these conditions, it is very certain that the war-party, then predominant in the Republic, would have refused to ratify them. Their effect was to reduce Carthage to a condition of extreme weakness in the midst of relentless enemies. Hannibal declined to be the means of his country's humiliation, and the two generals prepared for battle on the following day. It is a singular fact that the scene of the conflict—one of the most important in history, both on account of the commanders engaged, and the momentous issues involved—is not known with any certainty. The place, however, has been described as Zama, and may have been the same with what was afterwards called Zama Regia, from being the residence of Juba, an African king, whom, later on, we shall find in collision with the Romans. Near the modern Jama are some ruins, which perhaps mark the neighbourhood of the

contest. Various conjectures have been hazarded; but all we know is that the battle was fought somewhere on the borders of Africa Proper and Numidia.

Both armies were drawn up in three lines. That of Hannibal was very variously composed, and contained some elements on which little reliance could be placed. In the first line were the Ligurian and Gallic mercenaries, Moorish light troops, and slingers from the Balearic Isles; in the second were the Carthaginian militia and the Libyan contingent, together with some soldiers who had recently arrived from Macedon. The third line was made up of veterans who had long served with Hannibal in Italy, and who consisted, for the most part, of Bruttians. The cavalry were posted on the two wings, and the whole line of battle was covered by eighty elephants. The army of Scipio was probably larger than that of his adversary, and contained two veteran legions, together with a number of auxiliaries who had been well trained in the Roman manner of fighting. Masinissa was present with his Numidian horse, and the services of those splendid warriors gave to Scipio an advantage of the most signal kind. Many years earlier, Hannibal's elephants would have been a serious embarrassment to the Romans; but the proper method of encountering such animals had by this time been discovered. Scipio formed his lines so as to leave wide intervals for the passage of the beasts; and when they charged down upon the Roman light troops at the commencement of the battle, some of them rushed through the open lanes without doing any injury, while others, goaded by the Roman javelins, turned back upon their own lines, and threw the Carthaginian cavalry into disorder. This circumstance favoured the attack of the Numidians under Masinissa, and the mounted troops of Hannibal were speedily driven off the field. The contest between the first lines of infantry on the two sides was of a prolonged and doubtful character, and at length both sets of combatants were so exhausted as to fall back upon their second ranks. The Carthaginian militia, forming the second line of Hannibal's army, were struck with panic, and the Libyans, considering that, as on some former occasions, the roughest part of the work was being left to them, cut their way out by slaughtering the faint-hearted comrades with whom they were associated. Seeing the confusion in his front, Hannibal rapidly brought up his third line—the seasoned veterans of the Punic host. These experienced soldiers drove aside the huddled masses of the first two lines, parting them to right and left as they pressed on towards the enemy. At the same time, Scipio planted his second and third lines on the flanks of the first, and the battle was resumed with fresh spirit and determination. Both armies fought for existence; but at length the Roman and Numidian cavalry, returning from the pursuit of the Carthaginian horse, surrounded the troops of Hannibal, and brought the battle to an end. The loss in slain alone on the Carthaginian side was 20,000; vast numbers were taken prisoners, and it was only with a comparatively few supporters that Hannibal escaped to Hadrumetum.

The blow was crushing and final. The long and bitter struggle of sixteen years was at an end: even the genius of Hannibal could now do no more. It is doubtful whether at that time the Carthaginians could have raised another army, and, if they had done so, it would have been an army of raw recruits, totally unfit to meet such men as Scipio commanded. The Roman general saw that the time had come when the African Republic must necessarily make peace, and negotiations were speedily reopened by the Carthaginians. To the envoys who visited him at Tunes, Scipio stated as the conditions of an arrangement that the Carthaginians were to give up all prisoners and deserters, all their ships of war except ten triremes, and all their elephants; that they were not to make war out of Africa at all, nor in Africa without the consent of Rome; that they were to restore to Masinissa his paternal dominions; and that they should pay 10,000 talents of silver (about £2,400,000 sterling) towards the expenses of the war, by instalments spreading over a period of fifty years. On these terms, the independence of Carthage within her own territories would be respected; but it is obvious that an independence so hampered could not be of long continuance, nor of any great value while it lasted. The General Assembly of Carthage met to debate on the proposed conditions, which appeared so hard and humiliating that one of the political leaders advised a continuance of the war. Hannibal, however, knew the risks of a prolonged struggle better than any one who had not been taught by similar experiences; and he pulled the speaker down from the tribune. So unwonted an act caused much outcry; but Hannibal excused himself on the plea that for six-and-thirty years—in fact, ever since he was nine years old—he had been fighting the battles of his country in foreign lands, and that possibly he had forgotten in the camp the manners of the city. The persuasions of such an authority were no more to be resisted

than the Roman arms themselves, and the rulers of the State saw that compliance with the terms dictated by Scipio was an absolute necessity to the exhausted Republic. It was probably hoped that after a while the strength of Carthage would be sufficiently restored to enable her to wage successful battle with her terrible opponent; but, when one considers all the conditions of the case, the chances appear desperately adverse. The great commercial commonwealth of Northern Africa, which had been even more a naval than a military power, was in effect shut out from the sea by the loss of its fleet; while, on the land side, the large kingdom of Masinissa flanked the Carthaginian possessions on the west, south, and east. The battle of Zama was in truth the death-blow of Carthage, and, although a further struggle took place at a later date, nothing more could be effected at the time. The peace was ratified in 201 B.C., and the military career of Hannibal—so far, at any rate, as his own country was concerned—came to a close when he was not more than five-and-forty. His achievements as a general had been of the most splendid and dazzling character; but they had certainly brought nothing but misfortune to his country. This may have been partly due to the sluggishness or jealousy of his own Government, which had never supplied him with the means of victory; but it is doubtful whether, under the best of circumstances, he could have permanently conquered Italy, and subdued the Roman Republic. It may therefore be questioned whether his invasion of the peninsula was not a grave and solid error, however brilliant the light which his genius and heroism have cast about it. Hannibal's was a mind full of magnificent conceptions, and in action abounding in resource; but a less vehement pursuit of his great object—the destruction of Rome—would have served his country better. Nevertheless, failure itself did not destroy his reputation with the Carthaginian people, and after the great reverse of Zama it was to him that the peace negotiations were entrusted. The services of the younger Scipio were equally recognised by the Roman people, and his triumph on returning to Rome was the most splendid that had ever taken place until that date. Carthaginians and Libyans followed his chariot: it is said that Syphax, the Numidian king, was there as well. Scipio brought with him an enormous quantity of silver, which helped to deliver the Republic from the load of debt by which it was encumbered; and the hero of the war was hailed by the title of Africanus, with which his family name has ever since been associated.

Thus ended the Second Punic War, in which the influence of the great Carthaginian was so much more important than that of any commander on the Roman side, even including the younger Scipio, to whom the final honours belong, that Latin writers themselves distinguish the contest by the term "Hannibalic." But, inferior as was the genius of the best Roman commanders to the genius of Hannibal, the European Republic had proved that its inherent strength was greater than the endurance of its African rival. Both commonwealths, however, had suffered terribly, and Rome had discovered, by the painful teaching of events, that her hold upon the populations of Southern Italy was not so assured as at one time she might have considered it to be. The defection of these communities during the invasion of Hannibal was punished after the peace by the confiscation of the offenders' lands, on which several Latin colonies were founded. The Greek or Sabine names of various cities gave place to Roman, and the people underwent a Latinizing influence, which in time left but little of their original nationality. Many of these cities were ruined by the accidents of war, and it was a work of no small labour to restore them. Brigandage sprang up in rank luxuriance on a soil which has always been favourable to its development. In one year, seven thousand robbers were condemned in Apulia alone, and society appeared threatened with general disruption. A large amount of land went out of cultivation, or was inefficiently tilled by slave-labour; for 300,000 free Italians had fallen in the long and deadly conflict. In the north, moreover, the Gauls and Ligurians were still disposed to rebel.

Carthage had of course suffered in a still greater degree, and needed the guidance of a master hand. It was considered that he who had so often led the national forces to victory might now do the State service as a politician. Hannibal was accordingly elected to the chief magistracy, although his enemies among the peace-party had accused him of sparing Rome, and of appropriating the public money to his own use. Throwing himself into his new employment with all the ardour of his disposition, Hannibal introduced many useful reforms into the government of the Republic. He reduced the power of the perpetual judges who formed the Council of One Hundred, and were influenced by oligarchical motives; and it was determined that thenceforward this body should be chosen (at least in part) by annual election. Arrangements were made for the proper collection and use of the public revenue, in which there had been serious embezzlements; and the money thus saved or

recovered was applied to the payment of the war-indemnity. The excellent effect of these measures was made apparent thirteen years later, long after Hannibal had quitted his native land for ever. His successors were enabled to pay off the whole of what was then due to Rome, without imposing any additional taxes on the people of Carthage. In the prosecution of his reforms, Hannibal was supported by the great mass of the people; but the aristocracy, whose power he had destroyed, became his implacable enemies.

For nearly twelve months after the conclusion of the second Punic War Rome enjoyed an interval of repose; but the year 200 B.C. saw the commencement of what is called the Second Macedonian War. It has already been related that in 215 B.C., during the great struggle with Hannibal, Philip V. of Macedon took some steps to aid the Carthaginian invasion of Italy, but that he was speedily subdued by the Roman forces under Valerius Lævinus. This was the beginning of the First Macedonian War, which was resumed at irregular intervals during several years: the Second was much more important. Philip V. had ascended the throne of Macedon in 220 B.C., when he was only seventeen years of age; and it was not long before he showed signs of marked capacity, both as a ruler and a captain. The Macedonian kingdom had by this time recovered from the effects of the Gallic invasion, and Philip appears to have considered that, with a warlike population under his command, and important dependencies in the northern and central parts of Greece—even including the great fortress of Corinth, on the isthmus connecting the two principal divisions of Hellas—he might emulate the achievements of his famous predecessor and namesake, the father of Alexander the Great. The kingdom which he ruled was undoubtedly a compact and formidable power, and some of the most vigorous and soldierly members of the Hellenic race—those who had been least corrupted by the deteriorating influences of recent years—were at his disposal. His support of Hannibal was undoubtedly hesitating and valueless; but it must be recollected that Philip was only two-and-twenty when he first espoused the cause of the Carthaginians, and that he had not yet learned the ways of statecraft or of generalship. He was a man of mature life, yet still in the full vigour of his days, when the second contest with Rome began. Meanwhile, he had been concerned in many wars, during which his operations in the field were often attended by success. In combination with the Achæans, led by their great hero, Philopœmen, he had defeated the rival League of Ætolia, which had been acting as the ally of Rome; and his reputation stood high in Greece. As the antagonist of Rome, he had been less successful. Both by sea and land he suffered reverses at the hands of his powerful adversary; but when peace was made, in 205 B.C., its terms were not unfavourable to the Macedonian sovereign.

Philip was glad of the opportunity to recruit his forces; but he had not abandoned his ambitious designs, and soon entered on a course of policy which brought him once more into collision with Rome. He continued to aggrandize himself, both on the mainland of Greece and in the Ægean islands; he entered into close relations with Antiochus the Great of Syria (the third of that name), and, on the death of Ptolemy IV. of Egypt, showed so evident an intention of acquiring power in that country that the guardians of the infant king, Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes), placed his inheritance under the protection of the Roman Senate. Rome, which was beginning to look eastward, and to desire influence both in Greece and the Hellenistic kingdoms, was offended by the plans of Philip; and when that monarch despatched a force of Macedonians to the help of Hannibal in his final contest with Scipio, a feeling of resentment was created, which was not slow to bear its fruits. Philip, however, either disbelieving in the antagonism of the Romans, or underrating their ability to injure him, pursued his career of conquest, and, crossing the Hellespont in 201 B.C., captured city after city, and made his way into Caria without meeting any foe capable of resisting his power. Here his good fortune deserted him. The fleet of Rhodes, in combination with that of Attalus I., King of Pergamus, blockaded him in Caria, and brought him into so desperate a position that in the spring of 200 B.C. he was glad to escape into Europe. Attalus and the Rhodians then crossed over into Greece, and promised to support the Athenians, if they would renounce their dependence on the Macedonian throne. The military strength of Philip, however, was quite sufficient to hold Athens in check; at the same time, he went in person to Abydos, which he besieged. That famous city on the Asiatic shores of the Hellespont was speedily taken by the Macedonian king, though not without a most heroic defence, in which large numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of the citizens chose a voluntary death, rather than submit to the invader. Some time before this catastrophe, three Roman envoys had been sent to Egypt to conclude an alliance between that country and the Republic;

and after the capture of Abydos, Æmilius Lepidus, one of these envoys, visited Philip to remonstrate with him on the aggressive policy which he had been recently pursuing. Lepidus required of the king that he should make war upon none of the Greek States; that he should restore the places he had taken from Ptolemy Epiphanes; and that he should consent to an arbitration in respect of Attalus and the Rhodians. The Macedonian king received the envoy with external politeness, but observed that he excused him for making such

HANNIBAL IN THE ASSEMBLY AT CARTHAGE.

proposals because he was young, handsome, and a Roman. "Nevertheless," he added, "if you wish for war, I am ready." Shortly afterwards, the Macedonians made an attack on Athens to avenge the slaying of two Acarnanians who had intruded on the Eleusinian Mysteries; and thus, in 200 B.C., the Romans were furnished with an excuse for declaring war against Philip.

The war was at first not very popular with the Roman citizens, and the motion of the Consul, Sulpicius Galba, for commencing hostilities with Macedon, was rejected by the Tribunes in the Comitia. This opposition, however, did not last long. The Senate was in favour of the contest; the Centuries were summoned to a second vote, and it was urged that, if Philip were not attacked, he would invade Italy, and renew the horrors and sufferings of the Hannibalic period. This argument was conclusive, and the Tribunes ratified the war. At the head of two legions and 1,000 Numidian horse, together with a number of elephants taken from the Carthaginians, and now for the first time associated with a Roman army, Sulpicius Galba crossed the Adriatic, and landed at Apollonia. A fleet of one hundred and eighty vessels was stationed at Corcyra, and a division of this force sailed to the aid of Athens, but, finding its presence there unnecessary, made an attack on Chalcis, which was laid in ruins before Philip could arrive to its defence. In revenge for the injury, Philip destroyed the sacred groves and buildings in the suburbs of Athens, including the Lyceum and the tombs of the Attic heroes at Academus. In 199 B.C., Galba (now Proconsul) began his second campaign by advancing through the rugged and woody districts west of the Axius, the principal river of Macedon, which, rising in the range of Mount Scardius, empties itself into the Sinus Thermaicus. The Roman general achieved some successes, but none of a marked or decisive character, and after a time found it necessary to fall back on Apollonia. His successor, Villius Tappulus, opened the campaign of 198 B.C., but, before

he could encounter Philip, whom he found posted in a narrow defile of the Thessalian mountains, was superseded by Titus Quinctius Flamininus, or Flaminius—a young man of thirty, who, like a good many other Romans of his generation, had added Greek culture to more native elements. The position of Philip was too strong to be successfully attacked, and the Macedonian sovereign, confident in his resources and his situation, sought an interview with Flamininus, to make proposals for peace. His offers were extremely liberal; but the Consul demanded that Thessaly should be declared independent, and Philip angrily broke off the conference, saying that no harder terms could be asked if he were beaten.

The Macedonians were posted in a narrow gorge, at a point, it is supposed, where a ridge, striking across the defile, leaves only a very narrow passage for a river which there courses between precipitous walls of rock. After Philip had retired from the interview, Flamininus debated in his mind what methods he should pursue under circumstances of such extreme difficulty; and it is not unlikely that his army would have suffered a crushing defeat, had it not been for the treachery of some Epirote nobles, who revealed a pass by which the Romans were enabled to turn the position of Philip, while at the same time a direct attack was made in front. With a loss of 2,000 men, the Macedonian king hastily retreated, and, destroying all the unfortified towns in his way, withdrew to the Pass of Tempe, that he might defend the outskirts of his home dominions. Flamininus then turned towards the south, where the strength of the Romans, both by land and sea, and the alliance of Attalus and the Rhodians, induced the Achæans, who had hitherto been neutral, to join the invaders. Corinth was besieged, but saved from capture by the Macedonian Governor of Chalcis, who dispersed the assailants, and afterwards seized Argos.

Another attempt on the part of Philip to effect an arrangement with Rome led to no better results than the former, and in the spring of 197 B.C. Flamininus entered on a new campaign. Thebes having been taken by stratagem, the Bœotians found themselves compelled to join the Romans, so that the Macedonian garrison in Corinth was cut off from that in Chalcis. Philip, however, was not overawed by these reverses, but, concentrating his forces for a supreme effort, issued out of the Vale of Tempe into the more open lands of Thessaly. At the same time, Flamininus was advancing northward, and the two armies encountered unexpectedly on the hill of Cynoscephalæ (the Dogs' Heads), near Scotussa. The battle was precipitated by the collision of the vanguards; but Philip himself, with the right division of the phalanx, scattered the Roman legions opposed to him, and would probably have gained the victory, had not his left division been thrown into extreme confusion, and its broken ranks trampled down, by the elephants. The action was at length decided in favour of the Romans by the movement of twenty cohorts to the rear of the right phalanx, which had advanced too far in pursuit of the adversary. The Macedonians made gestures of surrender; but these were not understood by the victors, who committed a frightful slaughter before the sword was finally sheathed. Five thousand prisoners were likewise taken, and Philip, having burned his papers, evacuated Thessaly. Other defeats followed, together with the defection of the Acarnanians. Peace became necessary, and the conqueror's terms were characterized by moderation. The Macedonian sovereignty was still maintained, though the supremacy over Greece, which had been exercised ever since the battle of Chæronea, in 338 B.C., was brought to an end. Philip was forbidden to make war without the consent of Rome; his army was limited to 5,000 men; his fleet was to consist of no more than five decked vessels; and he was no longer to use elephants. A contribution of 1,000 talents was to be made for the expenses of the war, and Philip, who had once treated the Romans with disdain, was now obliged to furnish a contingent to the forces of the Republic. The treaty of peace was ratified in 196 B.C. In the same year, the Romans honoured themselves by giving liberty to the Grecian States. When Flamininus read the proclamation of freedom at the Isthmian Games, his life was endangered by the crowds that pressed forward to touch his garments in the transports of their gratitude. The old sentiment of liberty still survived among the Greeks, but the capacity for liberty had gone. The Hellenes were more disunited than ever; they had ceased to be warlike, and were no longer capable of defending what they now received as a gift.

Before Flamininus quitted Greece, new difficulties were beginning to appear on the horizon. Antiochus the Great of Syria, who, some time earlier, had proposed to divide Egypt with Philip, failed to give the Macedonian sovereign any support in the war which his rashness had brought on. While that war was proceeding, he occupied Asia Minor, and in the spring of 196 B.C. crossed the Hellespont into Thrace. But amongst the Greeks themselves were some troublers of the peace, with whom it was necessary for the Romans to deal

Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, had made himself detestable by his cruelties; but, having acted as the ally of the Romans during the war with Philip, Flamininus had no excuse for attacking him. The Achæans, however, had many grounds of complaint, and the forces of the League were led against his capital by the Roman general. The town was strongly fortified, and the garrison showed a bold front to their assailants. Flamininus considered it prudent to offer honourable terms to the despot, who, while deprived of his external possessions, was allowed to remain the ruler of Lacedæmon. The influence of Nabis, if confined within proper limits, might be useful as a counterpoise to that of the Achæans; for the leading idea of Flamininus was to establish a balance of power amongst the Grecian States, so that none should domineer over the rest. A patrician himself, he favoured the aristocratical party in all the Hellenic commonwealths—mainly, perhaps, because he there found the most enthusiastic adherents of the Roman alliance, and it was now part of the Roman policy to assume towards Greece the same position of superiority, veiled under the title of protection, that Macedon had occupied since the days of Philip II. Flamininus remained two years in Greece, helping the settlement of the country by his advice and sympathy. Deputies from the Greek States assembled at Corinth, and the Roman victor asked of them nothing more than the restoration of certain Italian captives whom Hannibal had sold in their land. This was granted by acclamation, and the Achæans redeemed 1,200 Roman slaves at the expense of the State. Flamininus then withdrew the Roman garrisons from the fortresses of Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth, and, on his return to Rome, in 194 B.C., enjoyed a three days' triumph, even surpassing that of Scipio Africanus.

Shortly after Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont, he was met by commissioners from the Roman Senate, who required of him to quit Europe at once, and to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their former independence. The Syrian king refused compliance; but the discussions were broken off by a false report of the death of young Ptolemy V., and Antiochus at once returned to Asia, to avail himself of the opportunities which appeared to have been offered him. Hannibal was at this time an exile at the Syrian court, and well disposed to give its sovereign the benefit of his large experience and deep penetration. By the oligarchical party at Carthage, he had been accused to the Romans of entering into secret negotiations with that prince. In consequence of these representations (which may, perhaps, have had some foundation in fact), Cneius Servilius had been sent as ambassador to the Punic commonwealth, with secret instructions to obtain the surrender of Hannibal, if not to compass his assassination. When the subject of his alleged intrigues was brought before the Senate, Hannibal remained at his post, and even took part in the discussion; but, being apprehensive for his liberty, and possibly for his life, he rode after nightfall to his marine villa, where, in a little bay known only to himself, he had a ship always ready for sea. In this vessel he escaped to Ephesus in 195 B.C., and was received by Antiochus with every demonstration of delight. To him he is said to have related the story of his youthful vow of undying hatred to Rome; and there can be no question that his commanding genius, and the memory of his past achievements, made a powerful impression on the Asiatic Greeks. With the Syrian monarch he arranged the plan of a compaign, whereby he hoped to inflict upon Rome those mortal injuries which as yet he had failed to wreak, but which the oath he had taken at nine years of age, and the whole bent of his nature, bound him to pursue with unrelenting determination. Hannibal required of his new friend that he should furnish him with 10,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 100 ships; and he promised that with this force he would sail to Carthage, and compel the Government to make war on Rome. Thence he would proceed to Italy, while Antiochus should once more enter Greece, and raise the population against the common enemy. The latter part of the programme might at first sight appear unreasonable, since Rome had just restored the freedom of the Grecian States; but Hannibal was probably aware that the members of the Ætolian League had already created a sentiment of distrust against Rome, and that several of the Greeks, with the fickleness characteristic of their race, had forgotten the burst of gratitude with which, only a year or so before, they had greeted the boon of Flamininus. Ætolian envoys endeavoured to persuade Philip to a renewal of the war; but he wisely refused to encounter further risks in a cause which was not his own. With the Spartan Nabis they had more success. He assassinated the Roman partizans in Lacedæmon, and began to devastate the territory of the Achæan League, from which he was soon compelled by Philopœmen to retire. The faithlessness of the Ætolians appeared shortly afterwards, when they attempted to seize on Sparta, although the ruler of that city was acting in conjunction with themselves. In the ensuing combat, Nabis was killed; but the Ætolian

assailants were defeated and cut to pieces, and Sparta declared herself a member of the Achæan League.

Encouraged by some successes, the Ætolians declared war against Rome in 193 B.C., and Flamininus was again despatched into Greece, to renew the services of a few years earlier. He required of the Ætolian general that he should be furnished with a copy of his manifesto, and the Greek boastfully replied that he would deliver it on the banks of the Tiber. In the following year (192 B.C.), Antiochus entered Greece with a force of 10,000 foot, 500 horse, six elephants, and forty ships of war. This was an armament quite insufficient for coping with the power of Rome, and Hannibal was annoyed at so unprosperous a commencement of the new enterprise. At a council of war held by Antiochus at Demetrias, in Magnesia, he plainly gave it as his opinion that it was a mere loss of time to seek the alliance of the Greeks with so small an army; that reinforcements should be summoned without delay; and that the Romans should be encountered in Illyria, if it were not possible to invade Italy. Nothing, however, was done, and, when the army retired into winter quarters, the king and his troops gave themselves up to sensual pleasures, and squandered the time which should have been devoted to earnest preparation. It is believed that the aristocratic faction at Carthage influenced the mind of Antiochus against Hannibal, and kept him from paying such attention to the advice of his illustrious guest as he might otherwise have shown. The position of the Syrian king in Greece soon became menacing. The Rhodians, and the principal Greek cities of Asia, took part with Rome; Egypt proffered her alliance; and Philopœmen observed that, had he still been Strategus of the Achæan League, he would have cut off the whole army in detail. Philip V. of Macedon not merely refused to join the invaders, but supplied the Romans with the military contingent which the terms of the recent peace obliged him to furnish. The Bœotians, Eleans, and Messenians supported the cause of Antiochus and the Ætolians; but the Thessalians and Athenians took their stand with Rome. A Roman army of 40,000 men was collected at Apollonia, in Epirus, under command of the Consul Manius Acilius Glabrio; and no force of anything like equal magnitude was prepared to oppose it.

The campaign of 191 B.C. was wholly unfavourable to Antiochus. He entrenched himself at Thermopylæ, and awaited reinforcements from Asia; but the Romans were rapidly advancing through the plains of Thessaly, and Philip of Macedon was aiding them in their operations. The mountains by which the famous pass was approached were held by the Ætolians, who offered a very feeble resistance to the Roman detachment sent against them under the joint command of Valerius Flaccus, and of one who was afterwards to become renowned—viz., Marcus Portius Cato. Antiochus, not caring to become a second Leonidas, abandoned the pass with five hundred of his soldiers, leaving the rest to deliver up their arms. He had been wounded in the mouth by a stone, and, embarking at Chalcis for Ephesus, he quitted Greece for ever. The satisfaction with which he found himself again in Asia, where he considered the Romans would be unable or unwilling to follow him, was speedily dissipated by Hannibal, who told him that he wondered his enemy was not already on his track. Before the arrival of winter, the Romans and their allies had acquired complete command of the Ægean by a naval victory over the fleet of Antiochus at Cyssus, on the coast of Ionia; on which occasion, six Carthaginian ships fought on the Roman side, probably as an earnest that the Government of the African Republic was not in any way associated with the action of Hannibal. The Asiatic Greeks now joined the alliance, and Antiochus began to take tardy measures for protecting his dominions. His fleet had some temporary success, and a naval force was collected by Hannibal, in the hope that it might prevent the crossing of the Hellespont by the Romans. The anticipation, however, was doomed to disappointment, for Hannibal's ships were defeated by the Rhodians at the mouth of the Eurymedon. Another sea-fight ended in the triumph of the Romans, who exhibited the highest ability as seamen; and in 190 B.C. the kingdom of Antiochus lay completely open to the invaders.

Even before the arrival of his European foes, the Syrian monarch had been discomfited by Eumenes, King of Pergamus, who successfully resisted the attacks of himself, and of his son Seleucus. It was not long after these reverses that the Roman army reached the Hellespont, under the command of Lucius Scipio, the elder brother of Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him on his expedition. Antiochus endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by offering terms; but it was now too late. The passage of the Straits was effected without opposition, and Antiochus collected his forces in the valley of the Hermus, near Magnesia, a city of Lydia. The Romans were far inferior to their antagonist in the number

of their forces, and were subjected to a further disadvantage in the illness of their general, who had been left behind at Elæa, in Æolia. No fewer than 80,000 men were ready to oppose them; but, for the most part, the Asiatic soldiers were of very inferior quality, and the generalship of Antiochus seems to have been unskilful, though in earlier years he had frequently distinguished himself in the field. The composition of his army was of the most motley order, including Cappadocian infantry, Cretan slingers, Scythian and Galatian auxiliaries, and Arabs mounted on dromedaries. There were also fifty-four elephants, placed between the two main divisions; but it had been shown on several occasions that these creatures might be a greater danger to their own side than to the side of the enemy. The right of the Roman line was led by Eumenes, who contributed more than any one else to the signal victory which was obtained. Soon after the battle commenced, the Gauls and Cappadocians were put to flight by a brilliant cavalry charge. The phalanx, which Antiochus had placed in the middle of his second line, was driven back by the Roman advance, and, after retiring for some distance in good order, was thrown into confusion by the elephants, which, galled by the missiles of the enemy, had turned back upon the Syrian ranks. At one part of the action, Antiochus and his cavalry penetrated to the Roman camp; but this movement simply carried them away from a part of the field where their presence might have been much more advantageous, and the result was a general and terrible defeat, which is said to have cost the Asiatics 50,000 men.

The victory was so complete that further resistance was out of the question. Antiochus was glad to make peace, although he had to purchase it by ceding the whole of Asia Minor as far as Mount Taurus and the river Halys, together with such portions of Thrace as still remained nominally to the Syrian king. With a certain gay cynicism which was not unusual in the ancient world, Antiochus thanked the Romans for relieving him of the government of too large a monarchy. The kingdom of the Seleucidæ, however, was ruined by this fatal stroke, and, although it still continued to exist for many years longer, it never recovered the grandeur and magnificence of its earlier years. The peace with Rome was not ratified until 188 B.C., two years after the great battle on the Hermus; and during the whole of that interval Antiochus had to defray the cost of the Roman occupation of Asia Minor. The vanquished sovereign was also obliged to pay a war-indemnity of 12,000 talents; and the pecuniary distress to which he was reduced prompted him to those acts of sacrilege, in the commission of one of which he was killed at Elymaïs, in 187 B.C. For his services in connection with this war—which, however, do not seem to have been very remarkable—Lucius Scipio obtained the title of Asiaticus; but he must be placed on a far lower level than his great brother who humbled the power of Carthage. He took back with him to Rome an enormous booty, and paid vast sums into the national treasury. Rome was fast becoming one of the richest cities of the world, and corruption, as so often happens, followed in the steps of wealth. Until a recent date, the Roman nobles had lived with dignified simplicity; they now adopted luxurious habits, and soon began to acquire that depravity for which, in a later age, they were conspicuous in an almost unexampled degree.

Although Antiochus was conquered, Asia Minor was not entirely subdued when Lucius Scipio returned to his own country in 189 B.C. His successor, Cneius Manlius Vulso, was opposed by the princes of Phrygia, and by the warlike tribes of Galatia. The former were soon subdued; the latter made a determined stand in the fastnesses of Mount Olympus. It was not the first time that the Romans had found how difficult it was to subdue Gallic warriors fighting for independence on ground with which they were familiar. But the tribes were at length subdued, after considerable slaughter, and the survivors found refuge beyond the Halys. The Romans now extended their influence east of that river, and concluded alliances with Cappadocia, and with the Greater and Lesser Armenia. Bithynia, which was west of the Halys, was left in the possession of its king, Prusias; but that prince became a mere creature of the Romans, whose wishes he was compelled to consult in all the important actions of his life. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, was rewarded for his services by the gift of Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, part of Caria, and some of the Thracian cities; the rest of Caria, with Lycia, was given to the Rhodians; and the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were for the most part placed in a position of independence, which made them the willing allies of Rome. Having thus settled the affairs of Western Asia, the Romans retired from a scene in which they had not merely earned great military fame, but had conferred positive benefits on many of the populations by delivering them from the cruel despotism of the Seleucidæ. On their homeward march, in 187 B.C.,

they were furiously attacked by the barbarians of Thrace, but succeeded in fighting their way through, and regaining the shores of Italy without any serious disaster, though with numerous losses. The reception of Manlius, however, was not exactly what he had anticipated. In attacking the Galatians, he had made war without the authority of the Senate—a fact unparalleled in the previous history of Rome; and his application for a triumph was warmly opposed. Ultimately he obtained what he desired; and the act thus condoned was often imitated in later times, to the injury of the State.

On the European side of the Ægean, the Ætolians brought themselves under the displeasure of Rome by violating the armistice which they had made with Lucius Scipio in 189 B.C. They had been persuaded to this course by false reports of successes gained by Antiochus over the Romans, and, at once taking to arms, they drove Philip of Macedon out of some territories which he had recently acquired to the west of Mount Pindus. Fulvius Nobilior, one of the Consuls for the year 189, marched against the Ætolians, and laid siege to Ambracia, the capital of Epirus, which was at that time held by the offending League. At the same time, Ætolia itself was attacked on all sides by the Achæans, Epirotes, and Acarnanians, and by Perseus, the son of Philip, who afterwards succeeded his father on the Macedonian throne, of which he was the last occupant. The Ætolians were soon reduced to desperation, and compelled to despatch an embassy to Rome, with offers of complete submission. They were required to pay a large contribution, and to give up the port of Ambracia and the island of Cephallenia. The resistance in the latter territory, and in the neighbouring island of Samé, was, however, so determined that the Romans were driven to employ force for their reduction. Cephallenia, Samé, and Zacynthus were retained by the conquerors, to strengthen their position in the Adriatic. On the continent of Greece, the Romans appropriated no territory whatever, and all that had been gained during the war was divided between Philip and the Achæans. The Messenians and Eleans were compelled to give in their adhesion to the Achæan League, and by this arrangement the whole of the Peloponnesus was combined in one Federal State. As the result had been brought about by foreign assistance, the patriotic party regarded it with little satisfaction. The Romans were willing to consolidate the various portions forming one distinct division of Greece; but they were not willing to see the power of the Federation extended any farther. When, therefore, the Achæans laid claim to the island of Zacynthus, Flamininus warned them that their League was like a tortoise, which is safe only so long as it keeps its head within its shell; and that *their* shell was the Peloponnesus. The claim was accordingly abandoned, and Zacynthus, which had recently belonged to Philip, was added to the dominions of Rome.

The Achæan unity was speedily broken. Sparta, which had voluntarily joined the Federation in 193 B.C., broke into revolt in 188, and, being conquered by the other members of the League, was punished by the substitution of the Achæan laws for the ancient system of Lycurgus, and by the execution of several of her citizens. The treatment of the Spartans was so extremely severe that they appealed to Rome, and their cause was taken up by the Consul Metellus, who appeared before the Council of the Achæans at Argos, and made formal complaint. Some members of the Council blamed the conduct of Philopœmen, the great general of the League; but the decision was in his favour, and it was resolved that the decrees concerning Sparta should be maintained. The matter, however, did not end there. The Achæans and the Spartans sent envoys to Rome, to represent their case before the Senate; which despatched Appius Claudius and others as commissioners to the Peloponnesus. It was openly declared to a full congress of the League that the Roman Senate was displeased with the manner in which Sparta had been treated; and, although one of the members had the boldness to retort that the Romans themselves acted in a similar spirit towards the free city of Capua during the Second Punic War, the Achæans finally left it to the Senate to make what changes in the recent decrees might be thought desirable. They had, in fact, been told by Appius that they had better do with a good grace that which they would otherwise be obliged to do against their will. Such was the degradation to which Greece had sunk. Rome imposed a general amnesty, and the restoration of all political exiles; and so the matter terminated.

In 183 B.C. Messene threw off her allegiance, and Philopœmen fell from his horse while attacking the rebels, and was dragged into the enemy's camp. By Dinocrates, the leader of the Messenians, he was thrown into prison, and obliged to drink a cup of poison. Before swallowing the potion, he asked how his countrymen had behaved in the field of battle, and, being told that they had gained the victory, he died with composure and

A ROMAN TRIUMPH.

resignation. The Achæans afterwards marched in force to Messene, to avenge the death of their hero, and Dinocrates, dreading their resentment, killed himself before they had arrived. Others concerned in the death of Philopœmen were sacrificed on his tomb, and the people of Megalopolis, of which city he was a native, paid extraordinary honours to his memory. Philopœmen has been often called "the last of the Greeks." He certainly perpetuated in an age of general decadence some of the better qualities of the days that had gone. Epaminondas was his model, and in some respects he proved no unworthy imitator of the illustrious Theban. He assimilated the arms and discipline of the Achæan forces to those of the Macedonian phalanx, which was founded on the phalanx of Epaminondas. As a general, he distinguished himself in many actions, and the fall of Hellas was doubtless delayed by his energy. But one great man is insufficient to save a nation which has become corrupted to the core; and Greece had now reached that condition which is generally followed by subjection to a stronger Power.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF ROMAN CONQUEST: THE LAST MACEDONIAN WAR.

Wars with Gallic Tribes, and with the Ligurians—Formation of Latin Colonies and of Military Roads—Outbreak in Spain—Character of Cato the Censor—His Success in Quelling the Spanish Rebellion—Troubles in Sardinia and Corsica—Addition of Istria to the Roman Republic—The City of Aquileia—Change in the Character of the Roman Army—Creation of a Bureaucratic Class in the State—Scipio Africanus and Porcius Cato—Extravagant Claims and Insubordinate Acts of Scipio—Prosecution of Scipio Asiaticus—Death of Scipio Africanus and of Hannibal—Efforts of Cato to Reform the Manners of the Romans—His Energetic Rule as Quæstor—Latter Years and Death—Renewed Troubles in Macedon—Philip V. and his Sons Demetrius and Perseus—Succession of Perseus to the Macedonian Throne—Preparations for War with Rome—Delay in the Outbreak of Hostilities—Macedonian Successes—Sudden Inroad of Marcius Philippus into Macedon—Disgraceful Flight of Perseus—Pause in the War—Doubtful Position of the Romans—Appointment of Lucius Paulus Æmilius to the Consulship—The Military Position in 168 B.C.—The Eclipse of June 21st—Defeat of Perseus at the Battle of Pydna—Surrender of the King—Splendid Triumph of Paulus Æmilius—Reconstitution of Macedon, and Abolition of the Monarchy—Treatment of Epirus and Rhodes—Influence of Rome over Syria and Egypt.

It was well that Rome was now strong enough to encounter many enemies at the same time, for the period of the Macedonian and Syrian Wars was also distinguished by some other serious contests, which tasked the ability of Roman generals, and the valour of Roman soldiers, for a considerable space. In 200 B.C.—the year in which the Second Macedonian War began—a general rising in Northern Italy menaced the power of the Republic in that region. The Gallic tribes upon the Po, consisting of Boians, Insubrians, and Cenomanians, made a renewed attempt to regain their independence; and in this they were aided by the Ligurians, who occupied the mountainous district of the Maritime Alps and the Upper Apennines. The war lasted many years, and entailed much hardship and trouble. The Boians maintained the struggle until 191 B.C., when the Consul Scipio Nasica (cousin of Scipio Africanus) received their submission, together with half their territory. Still more prolonged and more onerous was the contest with the Ligurians, whose rocky fastnesses enabled them to hold out against the Romans with extraordinary stubbornness. It was not till 179 B.C. that the last of the rebellious tribes confessed the superior might of the great Latin Power, and laid down their arms. The recurrence of such wars was rendered less probable in the future by the planting of Roman colonies in the appropriated lands, and by the construction of military roads. The Æmilian Way, so called after the Consul Æmilius Lepidus, was a continuation of the Flaminian Way, and passed from Bononia (formerly called Felsina) to Placentia. A branch road from Bononia was carried across the Apennines to Arretium; and the North was thus firmly knit to the central parts of the peninsula. After the restoration of peace, the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, together with Italian Liguria, was formed into a large province, which added to the strength and security of the Roman possessions.

Spain was not subdued without prolonged and painful efforts. The country was of vast extent, and large portions of it were so savage and unreclaimed as to offer the most admirable opportunities for guerilla warfare, in which the natives were particularly skilled. The possessions of the Romans were in the eastern and southern parts of the peninsula; it was there also that the Phœnicians

and the Greeks had formed their settlements. All the rest of the land was in the possession of barbarous tribes (Iberian and Celtic), or of tribes which had received very little impress of civilisation. These communities were strongly disinclined to accept the dictation of Rome, and in 195 B.C. Marcus Portius Cato (then Consul) was sent into Spain with a large army. Two years earlier, Spanish provinces had been formed for the first time, and two Prætors were appointed to govern the country. The Spaniards appear to have considered this arrangement as preparatory to complete subjugation. An outbreak followed; and it was to suppress this formidable movement that Cato was despatched to Spain. Cato was a perfect type of the old Roman ideal of stern and unbending virtue. His temperance was remarkable, even in an age which had not attained the height of luxury; and he earned the confidence of the older generation by the vehemence with which he opposed all foreign influences prejudicial to the simplicity of the Roman nature. His morals were pure and incorruptible, and his character, though hard and narrow, has claims on our respect. In his youth he had fought against Hannibal: now, in the prime of manhood, he seemed the fittest man to deal with Spanish discontent. His connection with the war against Antiochus in Greece was four years later, though the course of this narrative has required that we should allude to it a little earlier.

Landing at Emporiæ, in the north-east of the peninsula, he accustomed his troops to a rigid discipline, in which he shared the hardships of the commonest soldier, and then led them against the enemy. The Spaniards were at once defeated with great loss, and the whole of Spain north of the Iberus speedily gave in its submission. A second rebellion broke out shortly afterwards, when it was supposed that the terrible Consul had returned to Italy; but Cato attacked the malcontents with such energy and promptitude that, after a series of brilliant victories, he found the disturbed districts entirely at his mercy. It cannot be said, however, that there was much mercy in his composition. Several captives who had voluntarily surrendered were either massacred or sold into slavery; many put themselves to death, to avoid the miseries they had too much cause too apprehend. By clever but unscrupulous artifices, the Consul set tribe against tribe, and, while some were induced to demolish their own fortresses, others were taken into the pay of Rome. The struggle altogether lasted only a few weeks, and was far from costly to the State. Cato refused to authorise any contracts for supplying the army with provisions: the war, he said, should support itself; and by heavy exactions from the people it was made to do so. On returning to Rome, the successful commander enjoyed a splendid triumph, shortly before that which honoured the services of Flamininus in the Second Macedonian War. But Spain, though quelled for the time, was not yet permanently subdued. Numerous wars followed that of Cato; but at length a different mode of treatment was adopted by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the celebrated Gracchi, and a relative by marriage of the Scipios. Having been elected Prætor in 181 B.C., he received Hither Spain as his province, and terminated a war with the Celtiberians. He then addressed himself to the pacification of the country, and by moderation and justice, mingled with firmness, effected a satisfactory arrangement. In 179 B.C., the limits of the Upper Province were finally settled, and the people received some measure of self-government. But we shall find further on that the Spaniards made renewed attempts to shake off the ascendancy of Rome.

Some trouble occurred in Sardinia and Corsica in 181 B.C., when the islanders (who had already shown signs of insubordination during the Second Punic War) rose in arms against their powerful masters. The contest continued several years; but, after his return from Spain, Sempronius Gracchus, who had been made Consul, proceeded to the disturbed district, and soon reduced the islands to submission. Vast numbers of prisoners were sent to Rome, and Sardinian slaves became a drug in the market. About the same period, an important territory on the northern shores of the Adriatic was added to the Republic. In 183 B.C., a son of the famous general Marcellus, the hero of Syracuse, marched into Venetia, to guard against an inroad of Gauls, which there was reason to apprehend. At that time, the peninsula of Istria, lying between Venetia and Liburnia, was considered part of Illyricum; but to the Roman commander it seemed a desirable acquisition. He therefore proposed to the Senate that he should seize it; and, the design being sanctioned, the country was conquered in 177 B.C. For the greater security of the new possession, a Latin colony was formed at Aquileia, situated on the coast of the Sinus Tergestinus, or Gulf of Trieste, and therefore somewhat to the north-west of the Istrian peninsula. Aquileia grew in time one of the most important places in the Roman dominions, and was held to be the main bulwark of Italy against the northern barbarians. From its grandeur and dignity, it was often called Roma Secunda, and it was the

central point of the transit-trade between the north and south of Europe. It is now a place of great insignificance, having been ruined by Attila the Hun in the fifth Christian century. The inhabitants of Istria belonged to the old Illyrian stock, and the name of the country is held to have been derived from an erroneous idea of the Greeks, that a branch of the river Ister (the Danube) flowed into the Adriatic near the head of the peninsula.

All these successes tended to produce in the Romans a taste for military glory, which soon affected their whole character. They were no longer fighting for self-defence, or even for predominance in Italy. They were endeavouring to build up an external Empire, which should in time surpass that of Carthage. The prolongation of the Second Punic War over a period of some sixteen years had effected important changes in the nature of the Roman army, which had by this time acquired the constitution and sentiment of a standing force of professional soldiers. The men were formerly enlisted for only a year; they were now retained in service for an indefinite period—an arrangement which may have been necessary during the terrible crisis of the struggle with Hannibal, but which was perpetuated after the justification had ceased. What gave a specially objectionable character to the new military order was the fact that the soldiers were not, in many instances, raised by the State, and subject to the national control, but occupied towards some successful general, such as Scipio Africanus, the position of retainers. An appetite for warlike adventure was readily begotten of such irregular proceedings; and the immense booty which had been brought back from recent campaigns quickened the desire for fresh opportunities of profit. Thence ensued a disposition to make the most of differences with foreign countries, or even to invent causes of quarrel; to interfere continually in the affairs of Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt; and to establish in several places a species of protectorate, as the forerunner of absolute dominion. The excessive influx of wealth created an aristocracy of money, which engrossed to itself nearly all the great offices of State; and this in turn produced a bureaucratic class, where power was almost hereditary in particular families. The aristocrat was the man who could boast the largest number of ancestors in possession of official functions.

The two leading men who, at the period immediately succeeding the Hannibalic War, represented the newer and the older schools of thought, were Scipio Africanus and Portius Cato. The former was the most popular man in Rome on his return to the great city after the conclusion of peace with Carthage. The people did not forget that it was the expedition to Africa, proposed by him, and long resisted by the Senate, which brought the war to a successful close. They desired to make him Dictator for life; they were for setting up his statue in every available place. But Scipio had no political ambition. He was either a soldier, or a recluse and elegant scholar, fond of learned retirement and leisure, and never so little alone (to employ his own phrase) as when alone. This refusal to fall in with the moods of the hour cost Scipio some degree of popularity; yet in 199 B.C. he was elected to the office of Censor. He was also named Chief of the Senate, and in 194 was appointed to the Consulship a second time. While occupying the last-named office, he gave great offence to the commonalty by supporting a proposal of the Censors that the front places in the theatre should be appropriated to the Senatorial order. Scipio was no longer the beloved of the people; but it required a nature as strong as his own to oppose him successfully. Such a person was found in Cato, whose disposition, as we have seen, was the very reverse of Scipio's.

It cannot be denied that the conqueror of Hannibal was largely instrumental in causing his own downfall. His extravagant self-esteem often led him into acts of defiance of the Senate, and of other constituted authorities, which were quite inconsistent with the duty of a good citizen. On one occasion he required the Censors to pay him certain moneys which he had no legal right to demand. They refused, and he then insisted that the keys of the Treasury should be handed over to himself. In 187 B.C., after the Asiatic War, Lucius Scipio, who had had the command, was very properly required to produce an account of receipts and expenditure. Africanus, however, took the books from the hands of his brother, and tore them into fragments in the face of the Senate, observing that it was an unworthy thing to call a man to account for a few thousands, when he had paid millions into the Treasury. Such an assumption is, of course, quite incapable of defence; and Scipio Africanus was impeached for a gross outrage. The reply of the accused consisted of a recapitulation of his services to the State, which had nothing whatever to do with the charge. The second day of his speech was the anniversary of the battle of Zama, and Scipio appeared with a laurel-wreath on his head. He referred to the great event of a few years earlier, and added that he was on his way to the Capitol to thank the gods of Rome for the favour then vouchsafed. Nothing could be

more effective as a theatrical stroke. The impulsive and easily-excited mob followed the orator to the temples of the national deities, and Scipio was virtually acquitted, though sinking immeasurably in the estimation of all men of sense and probity.

During these proceedings, Cato had been acting in the background as the enemy of Scipio. The latter had provided him with only too good an excuse for persistent opposition, and, after the failure of this first attempt at punishment, he urged a renewal of the prosecution in 185 B.C.

SCIPIO'S APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

But before the appointed day arrived, Scipio Africanus had quitted Rome. His brother Asiaticus begged an adjournment, alleging that the accused was ill. The plea was allowed; but it was now determined to proceed against Asiaticus, who, there was too much reason to believe, had appropriated large sums of money acquired in the Syrian campaign, but in reality due to the State. Asiaticus was arrested in the Forum just as Africanus arrived upon the spot. The latter immediately rescued his brother from custody, and a sanguinary riot would probably have ensued, had not the Tribune, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, forbidden the arrest of the offender, in order that his rescue might not be the work of a private citizen. Scipio Africanus then retired to his villa at Liternum, where, in 183 B.C., he died in the fifty-third year of his age. A bust of this remarkable man, together with one of Ennius the poet, his intimate friend, has, in comparatively recent times, been discovered in the Tomb of the Scipios, the ruins of which were unearthed in 1616, and again (after a long interval of neglect) in 1780.* It represents a head of remarkable power and dignity; and power was certainly one of the attributes of Scipio Africanus. He was in many respects a very great man; but egotism and arrogance spoiled the virtues which nevertheless shine out brightly from the dark background of the past.

It is a remarkable fact that the same year which saw the death of Scipio Africanus was also distinguished by that of his great opponent, Hannibal. On the defeat of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia, in 190 B.C., the surrender of Hannibal was made one of the conditions of peace. After many uncertain wanderings, he fled to the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia; but Quinctius Flamininus was sent thither to demand his surrender or his death. Prusias was afraid to refuse anything to so formidable a power as Rome, and the house of Hannibal was surrounded by assassins, waiting for any

* See the Illustration, page 96 *supra*.

favourable opportunity that might present itself. But the Carthaginian frustrated the designs of his enemies by swallowing a poison which it is said he used to carry about with him concealed in a ring. His death took place at Libyssa, on the Propontis, at the age of sixty-four years. An oracle had foretold that the Libyssian soil should one day give shelter to Hannibal; but the only shelter that he found there was that of the grave. For many centuries afterwards a huge mound of earth, existing in that region, was called the Tomb of Hannibal.

The decline of Scipio Africanus gave undisputed predominance to Cato. That predominance, however, was at first shown rather as an abstract influence than in connection with office. He had great difficulty in obtaining the post of Censor, but at length succeeded in 184 B.C., the year before the death of Scipio, and the year after the final retirement of that general. Cato was an effective speaker in the Forum, where he denounced the vices of the oligarchy with unsparing bitterness. What he had simply condemned by word of mouth during his unofficial days, he severely repressed when the Censorship placed in his hands a power that had few limits. He ordered all slaves to be rated at ten times their actual, or at least their usual, value, and then subjected them to a tax in proportion. He laid heavy imposts on the dresses and equipages of women, and in various ways acted with an arbitrary and capricious zeal, which could not fail to give general offence to the wealthy. He had seen the spread of luxurious habits among the Romans of his time, and feared the results which actually ensued in a later age. Though a native of Tusculum, his patrimony lay in the Sabine country, the traditions of which were frugal to the extreme of simplicity. These parsimonious habits he affected himself, and, when working with his slaves, as he frequently did, wore the same dress as they, and partook of the same food. He in fact went to as great an excess in one direction as the rich nobles in another; and this fanaticism prevented his being a safe and really useful reformer. It is the idlest of mistakes to suppose that a great nation, when advanced beyond the low beginnings of barbarism, should maintain the same manners and modes of living as those which contented the rude tribes of a thinly-peopled country. The profligacy of the Roman nobles was undoubtedly a very great evil; but it was not to be amended by the crabbed tyranny of Cato. Such harsh intolerance is always much more likely to increase the error it would correct; and this was undoubtedly the case with Rome. The ethics of Cato, if successfully carried out, would suppress not only luxury and vicious indulgence, but the cultivation of the fine arts, and of all those gentler influences which soften the hardness of a military race. His mistake was the more to be regretted because, in many respects, Cato was an excellent administrator. Whatever was practically useful he appreciated and encouraged. He repaired the aqueducts and reservoirs of Rome, and amended the drainage of the city. Many abuses were remedied by his strong and unflinching hand; but he raised up against himself a host of enemies, some of whom, perhaps, may have had legitimate occasion of complaint. He was accused before the people forty-four times, but was convicted on only one occasion, when the Companies of the Publicani, or farmers of the taxes, charged him with some unfairness in respect of themselves. Cato was as egotistical as Scipio Africanus, without the charm of manner which glossed over the faults of the great captain. In the latter part of his life (which terminated about 149 B.C.), he gave himself to the study of Greek, which he had formerly denounced, and in various ways exhibited a disposition to be a little less repellant in character as his end drew near.

The vices which Cato deplored were in great measure due to the wars in which Rome was continually engaged, to the arrogance arising from success, and to the enormous accumulation of wealth, gathered from many sources, and often by means the most rapacious and unjust. Ever since the conclusion of the Second Punic War Rome, as we have seen, had been engaged in a series of struggles with various nations, and had acquired an appetite for conquest from the frequent indulgence of ambitious designs. While Cato was opposing the Scipios, fresh causes of trouble grew up in Macedon. Philip V. had for some time found it prudent to affect a feeling of great friendliness towards Rome; but, as a monarch who had at one time been triumphant in the field, he chafed against the subordinate position to which the Romans had reduced him. He therefore devoted himself to an active development of the national prosperity, with a view to ulterior operations. The rich gold-mines of Mount Pangæus were re-opened; numbers of warlike Thracians were imported into the kingdom; and an alliance was formed with Prusias of Bithynia. The Roman Senate was suspicious of these movements, and in 185 B.C. sent out a commission of inquiry. Philip was summoned to appear before the commissioners at Tempe, and, although such a demand must have been galling to his pride, he did not consider it safe to refuse. He was required to give up all his

Thessalian possessions; but the demand was too extreme, and he kindled into wrath. He had recently seized Ænos and Maroneia, two Thracian cities; and, on the complaints of the people being submitted to the Roman Senate, it was adjudged that those places also must be relinquished. In a tempest of rage, Philip ordered a general massacre of the Maroneians. Shortly afterwards, dreading the consequences of this atrocious deed, he sent his younger son, Demetrius, to plead his cause before the Senate. That body, however, gave judgment against the king in 183 B.C.; but it was added that Philip would be forgiven for the sake of Demetrius. The young prince had at one time been a hostage at Rome, and between him and the Romans there had arisen considerable sympathy and mutual esteem. This was not likely to advance Demetrius in the affections of his father, and Philip began to regard with peculiar favour the claims of his elder son, Perseus, who, being illegitimate, was out of the right order of succession. Perseus persuaded the king that Demetrius was plotting against him. Confidential agents were despatched to Rome to make inquiries into the charge, and in the meanwhile the king prepared for war. His suspicions and mortifications had by this time transformed him into a ferocious tyrant, and, while his own subjects suffered many oppressions, foreigners were largely introduced into the kingdom. Whether Demetrius was really a traitor may be doubtful; but there were circumstances which threw suspicion on his conduct, and, having returned to Macedon in 181 B.C., he was suffocated in his chamber by his father's orders, after an ineffectual attempt to poison him. Philip afterwards discovered that some of the compromising documents were forged, and the mortal sickness with which he was presently seized was doubtless attributable to the reproaches of a burdened conscience. He died in 179 B.C.; but, for some months before, Perseus had been the virtual ruler of Macedon.

The new king saw that, if he was successfully to resist the power of Rome, he must establish a cordial alliance with the popular party in Greece. He accordingly visited that country, and made friendly overtures to the Achæan League, as well as to some of the independent cities. The Romans, on the other hand, supported the power of Eumenes, King of Pergamus, who was anxious to extend his influence over Hellas. His efforts were secretly baffled by the Achæan League, and in 172 B.C. he appeared before the Roman Senate, to accuse Perseus of hostile designs. On his way back to his own kingdom, he was savagely attacked at Delphi while ascending the steep road which led to the temple. It was only with great difficulty that consciousness could be restored; but it is not certain that Perseus was instrumental in the assault. Nevertheless, he was accused of having prompted it, and war was at once declared by Rome. The alliance of the Grecian States was so much dreaded by the Senate that in 171 B.C. commissioners were sent into Hellas to threaten them with serious consequences if they ventured to take part with Perseus. The chief of these commissioners was Martius Philippus, whom Perseus invited to a conference. Negotiations were opened on the Peneus, but the readiness of Philippus to debate the questions at issue was a mere device for gaining time, which Perseus had not the acuteness to see through. The position of the Macedonian king, both in a military and a financial sense, was extremely favourable, while Rome was to some extent exhausted by the numerous conflicts of recent years; so that her desire to procrastinate can be well understood. Perseus, however, was very naturally incensed when he at length discovered the trick which had been played upon him, and he at once formed an entrenched camp on the western slope of Mount Ossa.

By this time a Roman army, under the command of Licinius Crassus, was making its way through Thessaly, and shortly afterwards the Peneus was crossed at Larissa. The legions were soon joined by Eumenes of Pergamus, and his brother Attalus, with reinforcements amounting to 5,000 men. Achæan and Ætolian auxiliaries were also forthcoming, together with some Numidian cavalry, who arrived at a rather later period; and the Roman forces were then nearly equal in number to those of Perseus. The quality of the men, however, was greatly inferior, and Crassus was signally defeated in front of his camp. He at once retired across the Peneus, but, notwithstanding his discomfiture, haughtily refused the pacific advances of Perseus. A renewed proposal on the part of the Macedonian, offering to increase the tribute paid by his father, was likewise declined, and the war recommenced in 170 B.C. The Consul for that year, Hostilius Mancinus, was no more successful than his predecessor, and an attempt by Appius Claudius to invade Macedon was also baffled. Encouraged by these successes of the Macedonians, several Greek cities began to assert their independence, but, not being properly supported by Perseus, were speedily reduced by the Roman commanders, who treated the inhabitants with extravagant cruelty. In 169 B.C. the Romans began to recover their wonted su-

premacy in the field, and the new Consul, Martius Philippus, who two years before had been the agent by whom Perseus was lured into a postponement of the war, proceeded by a difficult path over Mount Olympus, and, entering the south-eastern corner of Macedon, suddenly descended on the camp of Perseus at Dium. The king and his troops had only just time to escape, and so great was the dismay of Perseus that he sent a confidential minister to Pella to destroy his treasures, and another to Thessalonica to burn his arsenal. Philippus was unable to go far in pursuit, owing to want of provisions; and, on his return to Thessaly, Perseus re-occupied Dium, and sentenced to death the very ministers whom, in the moment of his panic, he had instructed to destroy his arsenal, and dissipate his wealth.

In conducting his hazardous movement over Mount Olympus, Philippus had left strong Macedonian garrisons in the Vale of Tempe, which lay behind him. If Perseus had had sufficient coolness and self-reliance to encounter his enemy, he might have placed him in a most desperate position, with powerful forces both in his front and in his rear. But the pusillanimity of the king caused him to throw away all the advantages which the rashness of his antagonist had placed at his disposal, and Philippus, though unable to pursue his success, found, on returning to Tempe, that the Macedonian garrisons were ready to surrender at discretion. The communications of the invaders were thus restored; but for the remainder of the year the Roman and Macedonian forces did nothing more than watch each other from a safe and convenient distance. In the meanwhile, the Romans made no progress in Illyria, where they were carrying on simultaneous operations against the allies or dependents of Perseus. Their naval force failed to keep command of the Ægean, and the light cruisers of Macedon proved their superiority over the heavier vessels of the enemy. On the whole, the Romans had up to this time been favoured with but few successes, and had expended men and treasure in the prosecution of a very doubtful enterprise. The Senate perceived that the situation was becoming critical, and that they must send out some better general than they had yet selected, if the war was not to end in a serious disaster. In this dilemma they fixed their eyes upon one who had already rendered the State considerable service, but who had for some years been living in retirement. Lucius Paulus Æmilius, the brother-in-law of Scipio Africanus, was now turned sixty years of age; but he was regarded as the fittest man to fill the office of Consul under the existing posture of affairs. He was a son of the Consul who fell at Cannæ, and, at a later date (as we shall see), his own son acquired the highest distinction as the final conqueror of Carthage. He had occupied the position of Consul once before, and was known to be a man, not merely of high military acquirements, but of incorruptible honesty—a virtue which had then become extremely rare among the Romans. It was resolved to elect him again to the Consulship; but, before he would accept the onerous duties of the post, he required that commissioners should be despatched to the seat of war, to ascertain the exact position of affairs. The report of these officials was of a nature to dash any confident anticipations of a speedy victory. Philippus had returned to the south-eastern part of Macedon, where his armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Heracleum. Perseus was again at Dium, at the head of a formidable array. Whether from inaction, or from disease consequent on insufficient feeding, the troops of Philippus were in bad condition, and the fleet was no better off. The alliance of Eumenes had been lost, and both Epirus and Illyria had shown an unmistakable disposition to support the Macedonian king against the Roman invaders.

Warned by these revelations, Paulus took the utmost pains to organize and strengthen his forces, and in April, 168 B.C., quitted Rome on his great expedition. His proceedings were from the first marked by the energy and promptitude which characterized his nature. He travelled with extraordinary quickness from Rome to Brundusium, from Brundusiun to Corcyra on the other side of the Ionian Sea, and from Corcyra to Delphi, where he stayed to offer sacrifice to Apollo. He then pushed on to the seat of war, where he found the antagonists still idly watching one another from their old positions. At the same time, the Prætor Anicius pressed the Illyrian king, Genthius, back to Scodra, where he compelled him to surrender. This deprived Perseus of an important ally; but the position of the Macedonian sovereign was in many respects very good, being guarded by entrenchments passing along the bed of the Enipeus, from the base of Mount Olympus to the sea. Paulus considered this position too strong to be attacked in front, but, under cover of a feigned assault, was able to effect a turning movement, the result of which was that Perseus was compelled to fall back on Pydna. Here a decisive battle was fought on the 22nd of June, 168 B.C.* The

* According to the Romans, the struggle took place on the 4th of September; but their calendar had wandered far from scientific accuracy.

ground, being flat and open, was favourable to the peculiar evolutions of the Macedonian phalanx; and this was doubtless the reason why the neighbourhood of Pydna was selected by Perseus for his supreme effort. While Paulus was taking measures to secure his camp in case of the worst, an eclipse of the moon occurred, which struck dismay into the Macedonian ranks, where it was regarded as a portent that the fall of the monarchy was at hand. The incident would probably have affected the Romans with equal dread, had not Sulpicius Gallus, one of the Legionary Tribunes, taken advantage of his superior knowledge to explain to the soldiers that the unwonted darkness was due simply to natural causes. It is even said that he announced the eclipse beforehand to the army; at any rate, he made its true nature clear. When, therefore, battle was joined on the following day, it was under the influence of vague apprehension on the one side, and of assured and quiet confidence on the other.

Once more, and for the last time, the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion came into fierce collision. The issue long hung doubtful, and Paulus Æmilius, glancing at the massive and bristling ranks of his opponents, experienced a degree of alarm which he had afterwards the courage and honesty to acknowledge. The battle, which took place on the day following the night distinguished by the lunar eclipse, was precipitated by an unforeseen incident. A Roman horse broke loose from its fellows about three o'clock in the afternoon, and, rushing into the stream which separated the two armies, was followed by a few soldiers, who endeavoured to recover it. Their efforts were resisted by the Macedonian outposts, and this paltry scuffle drew large numbers of men from both sides, until at length the entire forces were marshalled by the antagonistic commanders. The long and compact array of pikes protruding from the Macedonian lines presented a terrible aspect to the Romans; but, with dauntless valour, they flung themselves upon the solid masses, only to be shattered and driven back. This very circumstance, however, proved a source of disadvantage to the Macedonians; for, being drawn forward on to more uneven ground at the base of the neighbouring hills, the phalanxes became less solid, and, parting here and there, allowed the Roman soldiers to penetrate into the heart of each square. The formation being broken, the whole virtue of the body was gone, since every soldier, when thus reduced to a unit, was encumbered and rendered almost helpless by the immense length of his spear, which was formidable only when used in combination with the rest. The disorganization of the phalanx was followed by a panic in the cavalry. The Macedonians were cut down in vast numbers. Eleven thousand were made prisoners, and the rest followed Perseus to his capital, Pella, which was reached at midnight. The select body of three thousand perished to a man, and it was not until some time after the flight of Perseus that the others gave up the contest in despair.

The whole of Macedon submitted in little less than a fortnight after the arrival of Paulus Æmilius. The victory at Pydna had been too decisive to allow the possibility of prolonged resistance; and Perseus, having put his treasure on board ship at Amphipolis, sailed with his children to the island of Samothrace, which was regarded as a holy asylum. A few of his adherents accompanied him, and he was speedily followed by the Roman fleet under Octavius. His followers might have supported his cause to the last, but for a piece of treacherous cruelty by which he now disgraced himself. In the hope of propitiating the enemy, he put one of his friends to death, as the instigator of the attempt to murder Eumenes of Pergamus. The rest then deserted him, and carried off his treasure beyond the seas. His younger children were betrayed to Octavius, and a letter which he sent to the Roman commander was scornfully returned, because he still spoke of himself as king. At length he surrendered with his eldest son, and was conveyed to the head-quarters of Paulus near Amphipolis. The conduct of the victor was dignified and humane; that of the captive was rendered contemptible by the abject manner in which he begged that his kingdom might be restored to him. He was told that no Macedonian kingdom would thenceforward be suffered to exist, and, being carried to Rome some months later, was compelled, according to the usual custom, to take part in the conqueror's triumph, where his grand and stately person excited interest and commiseration. This spectacle, which occurred towards the end of November, 167 B.C., was the most gorgeous that had ever been beheld at Rome. Ancient writers describe in detail the splendid exhibition of statues and paintings, set forth on two hundred and fifty cars; the magnificent display of arms and accoutrements; the profusion of gold and silver coin, of plate and jewellery; the processions of bulls with gilded horns; the four hundred crowns of gold given by the cities of Greece, and borne before the chariot of the conqueror; the march of the legions who had taken part in the war; and, in the midst of all this light of triumph, the discrowned monarch and his queen,

riding heavily in a stupefaction of grief. The king was for some time kept in a noisome prison at Alba Fusensis, together with his son Alexander. Paulus, who had himself suffered severely from domestic sorrows at the very period of his great success, and who was never an ungenerous man, procured his liberation from this dungeon; but the stories that have been related as to the infliction of systematic cruelties appear to be fabulous. It is believed that Perseus starved himself to death, and Alexander, on regaining his freedom, earned his living as a scrivener at Rome, after having served as the assistant of a carpenter. In little more than a hundred and fifty years from the time of Alexander the Great, the proud sovereignty of Macedon had fallen into dust.

Before the return of Paulus to Rome, the new settlement of Macedon was formally announced to the people. The country was divided into four districts, the capitals of which were to be Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia. Each district was to constitute a species of republic entirely separate from the rest, and the citizens of each were forbidden to enter into any marital or commercial relations with those of the others. The people were prohibited from working their gold and silver mines, importing salt, and cutting timber for ships; but, as a compensation for these disabilities, it was decreed that the tribute to Rome should be only half what had previously been paid to the native kings. A code of laws for the government of the four little republics was drawn up by Paulus before he left, and, although a certain show of independence still remained, it must have been clear to all that the country existed simply by the sufferance of Rome. Rhodes was severely punished for having exhibited some disposition to take part with Perseus during the course of the war; and Epirus was overrun by Roman soldiery, who made heavy exactions on the national wealth, destroyed towns, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. In Western Asia and in Egypt, the supremacy of Rome was now firmly established—not, indeed, as a governing, but as a controlling, State. The terror of the Roman name is best shown by the anecdote told of Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria. This monarch invaded Egypt in 170 B.C.; but in 168—the year in which the battle of Pydna was fought—three Roman commissioners were sent to inform Antiochus that his designs on Egypt would not be tolerated. The king was found near Alexandria; and when Popillius Lænas, the chief commissioner, sternly presented to him the decree of the Senate, he required time for deliberation. Thereupon, Popillius drew a circle round him in the sand with the point of his staff, and told him that he must give an answer before he stepped beyond that boundary. Antiochus at once submitted, and withdrew his troops. Both Syria and Egypt were now at the bidding of the mighty Italian Republic; and events were in progress which were destined in time to draw them within the full orbit of its power.

CHAPTER XII.

EARLY ROMAN LITERATURE AND ART.

Late Development of Roman Literature—Early Dramatic or Semi-Dramatic Performances—Ballad Poetry—The Saturnian Metre—Influence of Greece on the Roman Mind—Livius Andronicus—Cneius Nævius—Quintus Ennius—The Comedies of Plautus—Terence and his Writings—Quintus Fabius Pictor, and Cincius Alimentus, Historians—Cato the Elder: his Character and Writings—Artificial Nature of Early Roman Literature—Art at Rome—Pillage of Greek Cities—Architecture, Aqueducts, and Military Roads.

THE Romans had no literature worthy of the name until after the conquest of Lower Italy and Sicily; that is, towards the end of the third century before Christ. At the period of their greatest moral development, in the days of their Golden Age, the compatriots of Cincinnatus and of Regulus, though they had attained a very high state of civilization in matters pertaining to the well-ordering of society, and were at once good citizens and good sons, were still unlettered and unpolished, and, in their supreme disregard of the feelings which prompt men to give expression to the intellectual growth of their race, either in the grand march of epic verse, or in the prose poetry of uncritical history, they were, as the Greeks openly accused them of being, barbarians. The cause of this failing to appreciate those things which are essential to true beauty of life is to be found in the commonplace and practical cast of the national character. The Roman was strongly impressed with the seriousness of life; he was before all things an administrator; he had to conquer his neighbours

and to frame laws for the government of the conquered territory; his time was occupied in devising rules for regulating the conduct of his fellow-citizens, and that of subject races around him. Every Roman was a warrior, and every Roman was a politician; but they despised poets, and looked upon dramatists as men of no account. Their religion was unlovely; it had no mythology, and was regarded as a duty to the State, which was conscientiously performed, no doubt, but which aroused little elevation of feeling, and found expression in intricate ceremonial. The necessities of their life, the position of their city, with its hand against every man, made the early Romans confine their intellectual energy to those pursuits which were calculated to assure social stability. They were orators—untaught, no doubt, but genuine—because fluency of speech was an indispensable acquirement for the politicians of an age when diplomacy was unknown; they were legislators, because, unless principles were rigidly defined, and detail was scrupulously observed, the continuance of the Republic, having its origin in chance, and occupied in a daily struggle for power, if not for existence, would have been rendered impossible.

Although the Latin race, until a comparatively late date in its career, was without a literature, in the usually accepted sense of the term, yet there were germs of culture which might have come to maturity, had not their growth been suddenly arrested in the days when Tarentum fell before the Roman engines, and Sicily became a province of the Republic; when, as Horace expresses it, "captive Greece led captive her rude conqueror." The Romans had their rough masquerades, or carnivals—the "Stories of Atellæ" they were called—the popularity of which may be guessed from the fact that freeborn citizens did not think it beneath their dignity to take part in them, and to adopt the language of the common people.*

Now, considering the lowly origin of Greek tragedy, it is within the range of possibility that these vulgar exhibitions of the actor's art might, if left to the process of self-development, have attained to considerable and permanent ability. The Romans had also their written registers and records, from which a school of critical history might possibly have arisen, for they preferred fact to fiction, and would not have adopted that false subordination of the true to the attractive, to which Herodotus, "the father of history," was to a considerable extent a slave, and from which the more penetrating mind of Thucydides was not entirely free. It has been thought—and Lord Macaulay is perhaps the most popular exponent of the theory—that the Romans also possessed a ballad literature of some merit and originality; for poetry is anterior to prose, and of poetry the earliest form is the ballad, which, nurtured by kindly circumstances, and finding its home in a race of beautiful mind, develops into the epos, the fairest of intellectual creations. But the widespread tendency to over-estimate the worth of early civilization—such a position of mind, for instance, as caused the patriotic Irishman of a century back to regard his race as having attained the height of greatness in its mythical stage, from which it had fallen suddenly and finally—makes it necessary to receive such a supposition with caution, and even with incredulity. We may grant that such a form of literature existed—indeed, the analogy of the poetical history of the Greek race would seem to prove this conclusively; we may argue that the fragments of Nævius, the last singer of this school, seem to show that it was written in the Saturnian metre;† and since this was a rhythm in its later stages peculiar to Italy,

* There were four kinds of dramatic or semi-dramatic performances in vogue among the earlier Romans.

(1.) The Fescenninæ, so called from Fescennium, a town in Etruria, which seem to have been rude verses sung alternately, chiefly on subjects of a personal character, and in the spirit of repartee. They were afterwards restricted to a single speaker, and became epigrams, which were uttered at weddings and other festive occasions. From the Fescenninæ came—

(2.) The Saturæ, or Satires, which were, as the name denotes, a "medley" of dancing, singing, and acting. They were first performed about the middle of the fourth century B.C. They subsequently lost their dramatic form, and became far more famous, in the hands of Lucilius, Horace, and Juvenal, as essays in verse, containing severe and caustic comments on men and things.

(3.) The Mime, a kind of prose dialogue of a comical and also coarse character, of which the name and idea was borrowed from the Sicilian Greeks. The imitation, however, was far more vulgar than the original. Under the Republic, these dialogues were usually played as after-pieces; but they were produced by themselves in the days of the Empire.

(4.) The Atellanæ, otherwise known as the Oscian Games, which were of a far more dignified character than the preceding, and were written in metre. At first they delineated the life of a country town, but gradually the characters became conventional. They received their name from Atellæ, a village in Campania.

† The Saturnian metre was probably, though not certainly, of Greek origin, although the name seems to imply that the Latins regarded it as distinctly Italian, the reign of Saturn being associated with Italy. The line consisted of six beats, preceded by a single syllable, and with a marked division in the middle. Thus, to quote Macaulay's instance of a Saturnian line—

The—que'en was | i'n her | ch'amber, || e'ating | bre'ad and | h'oney.

But it does not seem that the rules of this metre were ever strictly observed.

it may to a certain extent claim to be original. The beauty of the stories which are to be found in the first pages of the historian Livy demonstrates that these old bards were not hampered, at any rate, by poverty or scarcity of subject. But it is extremely improbable that their song soared on an ambitious wing. Success may not always be a true test of merit; but nothing of acknowledged worth sinks utterly into oblivion, especially, as has been well remarked, among a people so conservative of all that was ancient.* The poet was looked on as one who held no exalted rank in the social order; indeed, down to a much later date, his profession had no name: he was known only as the scribe, or the writer. From these circumstances the conclusion seems to be inevitable, that the lost ballads of old Rome were at the best plain and uninspired productions, which may be regretted by the antiquarian, but not by the critic, and that they have met with no very harsh treatment at the hands of fate.

Such were the rude beginnings of what might have become an original native literature, had not the Romans, in the brief interval of tranquillity which ensued after the First Punic War, found ready to their use a culture which, though it had passed its meridian, was still glorious in its decline. Like the Normans of the Middle Ages, they always adopted whatever of good they could perceive in the nations around them, and thought it less trouble to imitate than to create. Hence the singular want of originality in all Latin literature, which should be called, not Roman, but Græco-Roman. Now, the Greek character and the Roman were directly opposed to one another on all points of vital importance; and therefore Latin literature, being opposed to the true national mind, was always directly and consciously artificial, and its foundations were laid in the sands of popular favour. Nor was it introduced under favourable conditions. The pedagogue wanted to teach the Latin tongue, and was obliged to convey his instruction through a Greek medium; the caterer for the public amusements saw in the Greek drama a means of supplying entertainment to a people who for the first time were in enjoyment of leisure. As Mommsen has acutely remarked, "the schoolmaster and the *maître de plaisir* of the great Roman public, in close alliance, created a Roman literature." It says much for the power of knowledge that prose and verse should under these circumstances have not only survived their first birth, but, in the Augustan age, should have flourished with a luxuriance which caused that time to bear some faint resemblance to the age of Pericles.

Livius Andronicus was always regarded by the Romans as their forerunner in literary pursuit; but, as a matter of fact, his claim to the "awful bays" is very slight. It is remarkable that he was by birth a Greek; at the capture of Tarentum, in 272 B.C., he became the slave of one Livius Salinator. Eventually he received his freedom, and, as the custom was, assumed the Gentile name of his late master. Being at a loss for employment, he set up a school, and translated the "Odyssey" of Homer, very dully and incorrectly, as a text-book for his pupils. He then proceeded to translate Greek tragedies—his versions are ridiculed by Cicero and Horace—which were produced on the stage, and in which he himself took part. These plays were read in the Roman schools even as late as the time of Horace, so that they must have had the merit of coherency and simplicity; but they were disfigured by blunders, and full of barbarisms, some of which are embalmed in those fragments which have survived the writer. Towards the end of his life, honours were bestowed upon the dramatist, and he was chosen to write a poem on the battle of Sena Gallica (207 B.C.). Shortly after thus reaching the zenith of his fame this plodding dullard died, having, before he passed away, secured from the State the recognition of poets and actors as a guild or profession.

The poet's mantle, which Livius had worn with such indifferent grace, was assumed during his later years by a far more capable man. Cneius Nævius was the son of a Campanian gentleman, and a soldier in the First Punic War. After its conclusion he came to Rome, and attempted with some success to gain his living by his pen, working, according to the fashion set by Livius, in translations from the Greek, both tragic and comic. Unfortunately for the poet's material comfort, he seems to have had that taste for prison walls which is so conspicuous in Daniel Defoe, and his talent in writing squibs was productive of evil consequences. He lampooned Scipio Africanus, though it does not appear that the great soldier took active measures against his assailant; but, for a subsequent attack on the powerful family of the Metelli, whom he accused of having gained civic honours by luck, and not by merit, he was imprisoned. The imprisonment does not appear to have affected his spirits, for he employed the period of enforced seclusion in writing two comedies. Nævius was pardoned, only to offend again; he had a second collision

* C. T. Cruttwell's "History of Roman Literature," where an exhaustive discussion of the subject may be found.

with the authorities, and died about 204 B.C., an exile in Utica. It was probably during his later years that he wrote an epic poem on the First Punic War, which was regarded as of high excellence by the Romans, and to which Virgil, the greatest of Rome's epic poets, was in all probability largely indebted. It has been said that the loss of this poem may be considered as the greatest blow which Latin literature has sustained. The epitaph which Nævius composed for his tomb is characteristic of the man in its genial audacity: —"Could immortals weep for mortals, the divine Muses would weep for the poet Nævius; for so it is that, now he is gone, men have forgotten at Rome how to speak in the Latin tongue."

This bold protest against the Hellenising tendencies of Roman writers is not without dignity. Nævius seems throughout to have wished to represent himself as a man of the past age, and not of the present, and it should be noted that his epos was written in the native Saturnian metre. But he was never able to shake himself free from the trammels in which the Roman taste for imitation had involved him. Most of his dramas, which were chiefly comedies, were mere translations; in some he adopted the poor compromise of giving the characters Latin names, retaining all the while the Greek environment. His chief claim to renown is that he is always Italian. Besides his epos, he wrote two dramas on patriotic subjects, in which are to be seen the beginnings of a national tragedy, while even in his comedies there is a full volume of wit, which is not entirely a poor mimicry of the Greek, but aims direct at its object, like a blow from a Roman sword. To the style of Nævius much praise can be given, although we have but slight materials on which to found our judgment. It is not at all boorish, but has a decided polish of its own, while at the same time it shows a freedom from conventionality, and a mastery of language, from the study of which his more correct but less inspired successors might well have taken a lesson.

A ROMAN COMEDY.

Quintus Ennius, a younger contemporary of Nævius—in thought and style belonging rather to the age that was to come than to that which closed with the Second Punic War—fixed and confirmed those Hellenising tendencies of Roman literature against which the former poet had protested in vain. Born about 239 B.C. at Rudiæ, in Calabria, he seems to have been Greek by education, though Italian by birth, thus reversing

the elements of that cosmopolitanism which is to be found in Livius. At an early age he removed to Sardinia, where he served in the army, and was thence brought to Rome by Cato the Censor, who was thus destined to promulgate that anti-nationalism against which he so ardently contended. At Rome, Ennius gained a living by teaching Greek to the young nobles, dwelling the while in a little house on the Aventine. At one period of his life, fortune smiled upon him. He became a citizen of Rome, and went into Ætolia with the general, Fulvius Nobilior. As the chronicler

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of that general's deeds, he was honoured with the friendship of Scipio Africanus. But association with the great is not a panacea for all the ills of life. Ennius was a *bon-vivant*, and was hence tormented with gout; he was lazy and improvident, and therefore poverty was not unknown to him. It is to the credit of his noble friends, the Scipios, that their dependent was buried in the family tomb; it is greatly to his own credit that he was conscious of his immortality. "Let no one," ran his epitaph, "lay me out in weeping, nor shed tears at my burial; and wherefore? because I am not dead, but hover in the mouths of men."

Ennius was right: the men of after times felt that they owed a debt to him, as the founder and definer of their language, which could not be lightly discharged; and they combined to sing his praises with a unanimity which is broken only by the cavils of Horace, who is himself of doubtful mind on the subject. His greatest work, unquestionably, was his epos, the "Annals of Rome." The subject of the poem was mainly the Second Punic War, to which ten out of its eighteen books were devoted. To this work Virgil, as is well known, was under some obligations, and the fragments of it that remain enable us to concur, on the whole, with the verdict of antiquity. Essentially absurd in its choice of subject, and moving occasionally on very creaking hinges, the poem was a grand creation, and had greater effect on the writings of subsequent ages than any other Latin book. Its chief beauty is to be found in single lines, which are sometimes exquisite. "On the other hand," says Mr. Cruttwell, "Ennius sometimes falls into pure prose. . . . The one or two similes which are preserved are among his least happy efforts. Among battle-scenes he is more at home, and these he paints with reality and strength." The effect and idea of the "Annals" were distinctly anti-national: the work was written in a Greek metre, not in the native Saturnian; and, though the artistic result was fairly satisfactory, men like his patron Cato must certainly have regretted that, by the deliberate choice of a foreign form of versification, the poet had pulled up a flower of the Italian soil. Besides, whole passages are mere translations from Homer, and he has recourse to the Homeric gods to keep up the interest of the plot. Yet was the poem something better than a mere imitation. In its faith in the Roman mission, which it traced from the remotest ages, and through the most critical period of the national life, it conveyed a purer idea of national patriotism than was known to the Greeks. Ennius set before his countrymen, to use the fine words of Mr. Sellars,* "the best image of themselves—an image combining the strength and commanding features of his own time with the proud memories and traditional traits of the past." His characters were delineated with the fidelity of portraits, and he reproduced the oratory of the ancients with a scrupulous fidelity which must have been most welcome to his successors.

The efforts of Ennius were by no means confined to epic poetry, though they seem to have been absolutely restricted to verse. Among his works was a translation of a Greek author of an anti-religious tendency—for Ennius, like his friend Scipio, had a mind of a sceptical cast. Another was on good living; a third was a philosophical poem. These and other works, chiefly of a didactic nature, are known as the *Satires* of Ennius; for the word had not

* The Roman Poets of the Republic.

then attained its acquired sense, but implied writings which we should now call miscellanies. Ennius also wrote dramas; his comedies were bad, but his tragedies were not those of a mere poetaster. They treated entirely of the events of the Homeric age, and in some instances were mere translations; but, as far as we can judge, he treated ethical questions with considerable versatility and skill, and sometimes sounded the wild note of passionate emotion with no uncertain touch. Far superior (so ancient critics held) to Nævius, Ennius may be considered as the greatest genius among the poets who lived before Lucretius.

From Ennius, who wrote indifferent comedies, to Plautus, who was the author of plays which, in their own peculiar line, were almost unsurpassed, the transition is fairly easy. Of the life of Plautus very little is known, and that little is not very interesting. He was an Umbrian from Sarsina, and was born about the close of the First Punic War. During his life he underwent some vicissitudes: at one time he had earned a competency; at another, he laboured for his daily bread in a corn-mill, until, having gained enough by his pen to enable him to take to writing as a profession, he became able to give up the uncongenial pursuit of manual labour. Though the author must have gained a considerable income, he appears throughout his career to have had a taste for humble life, and did not care for the society of the rich or great. No fewer than a hundred and thirty plays are attributed to this industrious writer; but only twenty-one were thought genuine, even in early times, and, of these, all save one have been preserved.

The school of dramatists to which Plautus belonged did not claim him as a founder. It has been shown that Livius, Nævius, and Ennius all wrote comedies which were either translations or adaptations from the Greek. Plays of this kind were known to the Romans as *palliatæ*, from the "cloak" (*pallia*) which its actors wore. Whatever was not Greek in these productions consisted chiefly of topical allusions, which were usually of no very refined character. The particular Greek authors to whom Plautus, and Terence after him, applied for inspiration, are those described as the new Attic writers, of whom Philemon of Soli, and Menander of Athens, were the best known. These pieces treated chiefly of domestic intrigue, and resemble the plays of our post-Restoration dramatists, both in the pungency of their wit, and their unbridled indecency. Based on real life, they held virtue and age up to ridicule; the personages consisted of knaves and slaves, of parasites and courtezans; they were anti-Roman in their disregard of moral precepts, in their mockery of the old, and in the interest they displayed in the slave-world, which to the Roman was a matter outside the range of his observation. In presenting these dramas to Latin audiences, their adapters were obliged to resort to several modifications in order to render them palatable: political allusions were rigidly excluded, from fear of the law; the comic servant was apologised for, or even omitted altogether; the conversation became far more homely; the plot was often twisted into a strange shape, because the translators thought that in its remodelled form it would be more acceptable to the Roman public. Some, however, were most ingenious; and perhaps the general reader can obtain no better idea of the usual drift of Plautus's plays, and of the characters represented in them, than from a brief description of the plot of the *Menæchmi*, which is perhaps, after the *Trinummus*, the most popular of his plays. The idea is that of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. Two brothers are exactly alike. One of them is lost, and educated at Epidamnus; the other remains at home at Syracuse; and the interest hangs on the confusion that arises when one brother is mistaken for the other. The play opens at Epidamnus, where we find the lost Menæchmus in a state of married opulence. Unfortunately, he is a gentleman of loose morals, and robs his wife of her finery to bestow it on his mistress, Erotium. On giving this woman a cloak belonging to his unwitting spouse, he proposes a supper with her and the parasite Peniculus, and hereupon takes his departure. As she is awaiting his return, Erotium spies before her door the Syracusan Menæchmus, who is travelling about in search of his long-lost brother. She mistakes him for her lover, and invites him into the house; whence, having eaten the supper, he departs, carrying with him the cloak, which she gives him for purposes of alteration. On his way he meets the parasite, and the latter, taking him for the other Menæchmus, and enraged at not being recognised by his supposed friend, at once goes to the wife, and tells her the affair of the cloak. Accordingly, when the Epidamnian Menæchmus returns home, he is bitterly reproached by his wife. He flies to Erotium, but the door is shut in his face. Meanwhile, the offended wife calls in her father, who falls furiously on the Syracusan Menæchmus, who is again mistaken for his brother, and, when he declares that the wife and father are both unknown to him, is pronounced a madman. However, he gets off. The

Epidamnian appears, and is about to be seized by the slaves as insane, when the servant of the Syracusan, who mistakes him for his master, comes on the scene, and rescues him. Finally, both brothers come on at once. Their relationship is discovered through the servant, and all ends happily. Here is material for laughter enough, marred, no doubt, by the painful indelicacy of the subject. But this is only too prominent in most of the plays of Plautus, except the *Captives*, and one or two others. The *Captives* has been styled by Lessing "the best piece that was ever produced on the stage." It deals with strictly moral people, and throughout aims at exciting sympathy rather than ridicule. Of the general characteristics of the Plautine drama, perhaps, it is unnecessary to dilate further. They all occur in the play of whose plot a sketch has been given above. We have the slave and the parasite, the mistress, the lover, and the old man: the boastful soldier, who is made the butt of practical jokes, is alone absent.

It may be said that the extreme coarseness and *abandon* of Plautus are faults which cannot be overlooked; but it should be remembered that he sinned with his generation. Nor is the polished immorality of Terence a whit more easy to digest than the Billingsgate of his predecessor. On the other hand, the positive merits of Plautus are many and various: his language is most opulent in its volume; his metre is occasionally loose, but never heavy; his dialogue is always amusing, and often so much more than amusing as to be almost exquisite.* But above all things the listener feels as if the author enjoyed the fun, and wished they could laugh together. He fires off his jokes and puns with no affected zest; he revels in nicknames; he takes delight in coining words. He has fixed his mark on comedy, and it will never be obliterated. To this day, the dramatist, in his most sparkling jests and in his most ingenious *dénouements*, is often but an imitator—for the most part, no doubt, an unconscious one—of this fine old Italian.

* A good instance of the wit of Plautus is to be found in his description of the parasite in the *Menœchmi*:—

"For me they have employed the name of Sponge,
For when I eat I sweep the table clean.
Those who confine their captives or their slaves,
When they would fly from them, with heavy chains,
According to my notion are not wise.
For, if we add one evil to another,
The wretched man is more inclined to flee;
And from his bondage he will find a way,
Whether by file or stone he break his chain.
Ay, this is folly! Would you keep him safe,
Bind him well down with victuals and good wine,
And fix his sharp nose to a groaning board."

From the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, April, 1843.

Publius Terentius Afer, whose name is far more familiar under the Anglicised form Terence, belonged to the second and not the third century B.C. Still, in any account of Roman literature his place is by the side of Plautus, rather than among the illustrious conclave of the reign of Augustus whose footsteps have left so much deeper an imprint on the sands of time than those of their predecessors. This great dramatist was a Carthaginian by birth, and was brought when a boy to Rome, where he became the slave of one Publius Terentius Lucanus, from whom he received a good education, and by whom he was set free. He seems to have been an intimate friend of Scipio Africanus the Younger, and others of the cultured nobles of the time; but how close the connection was is open to doubt: it has been even argued, from a passage in one of his prologues, that these accomplished *littérateurs* aided him in the composition of his plays; but this is mere hypothesis, nor can the stories of aristocratic neglect, similar to the facts related concerning Dr. Johnson and Lord Chesterfield, be received without a considerable amount of reserve. Terence produced the *Andria*, the first and best of his plays, in 166 B.C. Here again legend steps in, and covers the nakedness of fact with a garment that one would fain believe to be tangible. It is said that the poet, when poor and in rags, offered the play to the Curule Ædiles for representation. They referred him to Cæcilius, a dramatist held in high honour by his contemporaries, whose works have since perished. Terence found this ancient representative of the modern Lord Chamberlain at dinner with some friends, and was bidden to seat himself, and commence reading his work. He had not proceeded far, when Cæcilius, delighted with the excellence of the composition, invited the youth to take his seat at table; and when the rest of the play had been recited after the meal was over, he sent to the Ædiles so high a recommendation of the comedy that it was at once accepted; and thus his generous recognition of a rival's genius laid the corner-stone of the reputation of one of the greatest of Roman dramatists.

Five other comedies followed: the *Hecyra*, or *Mother-in-law*, which was produced in the following year; the *Heautontimorumenos*, or *Self-tormentor*; the *Eunuch*; the *Phormio*, so called from one of its characters, who, like the parasite of the *Menœchmi*, would do anything for a dinner; and the *Adelphi*, or the *Brothers*, which was produced at the funeral games of Paulus Æmilius. In spite of the popularity of these works, and the considerable sum which it is known that one of his plays fetched, Terence was always represented by the Romans of

after times as an extremely poor man; but there are several facts which would seem to prove that he possessed considerable means. His daughter, we are told, married a Roman senator, and that in days when the barriers between rich and poor were not often overlapped. He never condescended to pander to the tastes of a Roman audience; on the contrary, he took up an attitude of reproof and contempt towards it, which could only be assumed by one who was superior to the ills which assail a scholar's life: a piece of independence which on one occasion the lower classes repaid by deserting the theatre, and betaking themselves to a show of gladiators. It is said that at the age of thirty-five he left Rome, and travelled into Greece, where he died in the following year, before he had been able to gain that thorough acquaintance with Greek thought and life which he desired. According to one account, his death was caused by grief at the loss of some manuscript which he had sent on to Rome—a story about as credible as that which ascribes the death of Æschylus to the unfortunate mistake of an eagle, which tried to break the shell of a tortoise by letting it fall on his bald head as he lay asleep in the sun, under the belief that it was a stone.

Terence, according to Horace, was deficient in comic power, but excelled in art—that is, he was a polished writer; and the truth of this criticism is borne out by an examination of his comedies. In the less important elements of true poetry, his metré shows a great improvement in point of precision and music over that of Plautus; he uses more than one form of verse, and shows great taste in changing from one kind to another as the feeling of the play changes; as, for instance, when an excited dialogue is followed by a long narrative, or in working up to a wild mixture of metres in the strong situations with which the curtain falls at the close of the earlier acts of his comedies. The same perfection of construction is to be found in his style, which was elaborated with extreme care, and conformed to rigid rules: Terence was the Pope of his age. It was the elegance of his diction which caused him to be regarded as a model of pure Latinity, and as such his writings were more popular among the higher classes of Rome than those of almost any other author. He would have scorned to attempt any of the tricks of language, puns, and similar devices, which made Plautus the delight of the lower orders. Terence is an Addison, and Plautus a Swift. The same power of restraint is to be traced in his choice of subject and method of treatment. The dramas of Terence, unlike those of Plautus, who laid nearly the whole of the new Attic comedy under contribution, were taken exclusively from Menander, who was the most classical writer of that school. To him Terence owed all; he was, as Cæsar in an epigram accused him of being, a "dwarfed Menander." There is every reason to suppose that this choice of model was deliberately made; nay, that the Roman dramatist took pride in it, and suffered considerable obloquy from literary men of an opposite habit of thought. The friend of Scipio the Younger, and of Lælius, who were the representatives of the innovators among the new nobility, deeply imbued with reverence for things Greek, students of philosophy, and admirers of culture, he protested with a vehemence which was sincere, but which was certainly mistaken, against sanctioning that Roman element which was so strong a characteristic of the dramas of Plautus, himself the champion of the rival faction, which was represented in the political world by Cato the Elder. Accordingly, Terence stuck far more closely to his originals. He allowed himself, indeed, to borrow incidents from more than one play, but he fitted them carefully together so that the juncture should not attract notice; he gave his characters Greek names and Greek surroundings, in some cases he followed the parallel Greek passage with the fidelity of a translator, and by no means permitted himself the license in adaptation which his rival adopted whenever it suited the bent of his wild fancy. And this exactness of imitation proceeded not from lack of originality (for Terence undoubtedly possessed and displayed that quality even when copying most closely), but from a high sense of duty. Through the brief years of his literary career, Terence never forgot that he was a teacher, while Plautus never cared to be more than a chartered libertine. Through evil report and good report, undismayed by empty benches, and undeterred by the clamours of an angry audience, the former poet pursued with unflinching vigour what he regarded as his mission upon earth—the transference of the beauties of the Greek language and thought to the Roman tongue.

The personages of the Plautine drama are in the main to be found in that of Terence too, but they are changed and chastened. The colours are no longer laid on with the broad brush of a scene-painter, such as is to be seen in the stock-characters of the former writer, but are drawn with the minute attention to detail of a miniature: even the subordinate personages have an individuality, although, like Molière, his stock of names is limited, and Chremes and Dromo occur as often as Célie and Sganarelle; whereas there is the likeness of

twin-brothers between one of the dotards of Plautus and another. The natural result of such careful workmanship is that his characters have no tendency to become caricatures. "The Parasite in Plautus," it has been said, "tickles his master's vanity by a coarseness of flattery that would have put Falstaff to the blush: the Parasite of Terence falls into his lord's vein with such easy assentation that a less stupid man might be deceived."* And the same spirit of sobriety is to be found in the construction of the play. Strong attention is always paid to probability; the action in Terence never flags, but always avoids the wild excesses of a modern farce. He treats of high life; Plautus of low. On the other hand, there is a certain insipidity about it all, and a feeling of satiety comes over the reader after the perusal of two or three of the plays of Terence, unless, indeed, he should happen to light upon one of those passages of a sentimental tinge, in which Terence displayed a beauty of feeling rarely surpassed. "I am human myself," ran his most popular line, "and think that nothing human is foreign to me." In favour of the general tone of the poet's morality, however, not much can be said. The sentiments of Terence are more decent than those of Plautus; he is capable of some veneration for womanhood, and does not openly scoff at age; but his morality could be assumed or laid aside at pleasure, and he never fails to let the reader know that his private opinion is that virtue is a sham.

With Terence closes the list of poets and dramatists who flourished during the period which terminated with the Second Punic War; but it remains to consider the prose writers of this epoch, who were small in number, and nearly as small in intellectual stature. Among the historians were Quintus Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus. Before these, nothing worthy of the name of history had been composed in Rome. The annals of the priests were mere records, in which were given the names of the yearly officials and some of the incidents of the day. There were also other records kept by the civil magistrates; but, from a literary point of view, they were worthless. The metrical history of Nævius was the earliest attempt at writing true history, and it was not until after his date that the Romans at length became alive to the value of their past, and to wish that a man could be found to rescue it from the clutch of oblivion. Yet such was the positive indifference of their contemporaries, and so backward was the condition of the Latin language, that we find both Fabius and Cincius writing in Greek. They were of the Senators' senatorial; and it is to the fact that prose writing was taken up first by men of noble family, and not by the Bohemians of society, that Latin prose owed its strength, and its freedom from that artificiality which was too prominent a characteristic in Latin poetry. It is therefore because these men, being Patricians, did not disdain to follow a pursuit which must have been at least a novelty to men of their rank, that Roman posterity owed them so much, rather than because their works had any intrinsic merits. Very little is known about either of these authors, or their writings. Fabius was the grandson of the Fabius who received the name of Pictor (the Painter), because he painted the Temple of Safety in 312 B.C. He flourished about the period of the Hannibalic War. Of the value of his work we have no means of forming a certain opinion. He was probably a painstaking writer, possessed, if we may judge from the legends which the historian Livy reproduced from him, with no very critical spirit, but relating the abstract and chronicle of the time which fell within his personal knowledge with scrupulous fidelity. It has been thought by Mommsen that we owe either to him or to Nævius the amalgamation of the two legends, one of which connected the foundation of Rome with Alba and Romulus, and the other with Troy and Æneas. Cincius seems to have displayed more capacity than his fellow-labourer for antiquarian investigation. He attained high civic honours, becoming Tribune of the people in 214 B.C., and Prætor in Sicily five years later. Some time after 208, he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, who treated him with great kindness, and gave him information as to the crossing of the Alps. Cincius appears to have possessed great independence of opinion. He did not disdain to tell the truth about the precarious condition of his native city at the outset of its career; and if his chronological investigations led him to extraordinary results, they smacked of decided originality. He was certainly of the stuff from which historians are made.

To Cato the Elder belongs the honour of creating a national prose, as well as that of introducing his countrymen to the elements of scientific culture. Properly speaking, this man belongs in date to a later age, as regards his achievements in the realms both of government and of knowledge; but, as the object of this Chapter has been rather to introduce the pioneers of Roman literature in its various branches than to describe the men of a particular epoch, circumscribed by a rigid line, it may not be

* Liddell's History of Rome.

improper to give some notice of him here. Such an arrangement will be the more appropriate because Cato, throughout his life, represented, in its most dogmatic form, that anti-Hellenic spirit which Nævius breathed, and may therefore be fitly placed in the same group with him. Even in his old age, when Cato was driven, against his will, to read Greek authors, he expressed his opinion that "Greek literature must be skimmed, and not thoroughly studied." In thought and feeling, therefore, Cato belonged far more to the previous age than to that in which he lived; and, since he was the most original of Roman writers, he might, had he lived half a century earlier, before the tide of Hellenistic influence had begun to run so strongly as to overcome even his brawny arm, have prevented Roman literature from becoming a pale shadow of the Greek.

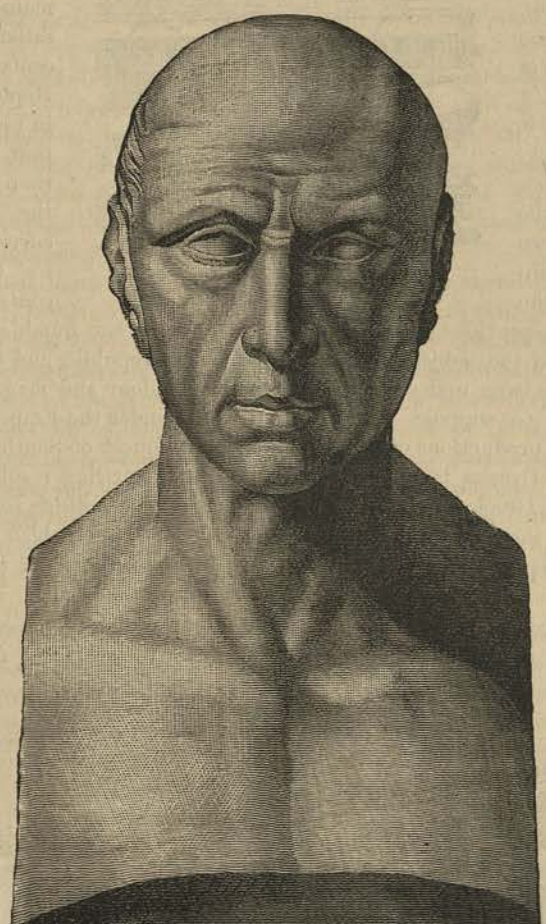
In later years, when the Romans, tossing restlessly under the oppressive pageantry of the Empire, looked back with regretful longing to the more substantial reality of their Republican past, they were accustomed to uphold Cato as a model of pristine virtue. And, no doubt, he was a grand example, in real life, of the virtues portrayed in the Cincinnatus of legend. Throughout his career—as the simple farmer, as the successful soldier, as the upright pleader, as the incorruptible magistrate, the vigorous statesman, and the laborious author—he represented in himself the lives of men of nearly all the Roman professions at once, and represented them not without honour. Yet it is impossible really to like the man. His virtues were those of the Spartan and Mediæval anchorite combined: they cast a hard and sombre shadow on all around him. He was free from the taint of corruption; he was superior to the foibles of birth; he had great talents for administration, could feel sympathy for the afflicted, and hated a lie. On the other hand, he was narrow-minded, and fond of giving unnecessary offence; he was devoted to gain, and cruel to slaves. Plutarch has compared him to Aristides; but it cannot be said that he was in any respect so complete a man. Cato's patriotism took the form of reiterating, "Perish Carthage!" He was called "the Censor," not "the Just;" and he certainly would never have dreamed of asking any one in what respect he had wronged him. It has been said that the summary of his life and character shows how little the world had to hope from the domination of Rome; but this is too sweeping a view of the whole course of Roman history.

Such was the character of the man who, at the close of his long and laborious life, undertook to write a book on Roman and Italian history, which he dubbed the "Origins," probably because the three books which first appeared treated of the beginning of things. Of this great work only fragments remain; and it is from other sources we learn that it consisted of seven books, of which the first treated of Rome under the kings, the second and third of the early history of the Italian States, the fourth and fifth of the Punic Wars, while the seventh terminated with the year 151 B.C., when Servius Galba was Prætor. It was thus divided, as it were, into three periods, treating of legendary, early, and contemporary history. The first, or mythical, period was described in a very sketchy way. Cato adopted the Æneas legend, but appears to have employed it somewhat differently to the method subsequently authorised by Virgil. His description of the growth and origin of the Italian communities was certainly an original feature in his work. With characteristic bluntness, he said that he would have nothing to do with the meagre records that existed of the period before the Pyrrhic War; so he filled up the gap in history by relating the beginnings of those nations which were overcome by Rome: in truth, Cato belonged more to the provinces than to the capital. The latter part of the work, which concerned contemporary history, was treated with greater fulness of detail. Cato preserved several of his speeches, and introduced them at appropriate intervals; and in his account of the Greeks he displayed some knowledge of their historians. It is a proof of the sincerity with which oratory was admired by the Romans, that the speeches in the "Origins" continued to be read long after the work as a whole was forgotten.

Of Cato's miscellaneous works, only one has descended entire to posterity: a treatise on agriculture, in which there is much shrewd good sense, much dogmatism, and a great deal of brutality. Besides this, he wrote a series of treatises to his son, one of which, like the "Letters" of Lord Chesterfield, treated of conduct, although its spirit was probably not that of the English courtier; while others dealt with medicine, war, and jurisprudence. These works, though no doubt full of prejudice, and marred by conclusions drawn from insufficient data, must have had great educational value in an age which had only just awakened to the necessity of imparting knowledge to the young.

These men were the intellectual forefathers of the men of the Augustan age. It is necessary, now that their lives and creations have been passed in review, to attempt to answer the question

whether, from the circumstances in which they were placed, it can be said they received justice at the hands of Fate. Of purely native literature it has been shown there was none, or next to none. With but little creative power, though with no small faculty of appreciating the beautiful, the Romans had barely thought of committing their ideas to writing at all, and had hardly produced anything superior to the babble of the nursery, when the influx of Hellenic civilization transformed them into another people. The unkindly soil had just produced some plants of stunted and straggling growth when the flood came and destroyed them. Instead there rose up an artificial literature, with "that mechanical poetry, destitute of all distinct productive power, that uniform imitation of the very shallowest forms of foreign art, that stock of translations, that changeling of an epos."* But it is improbable that without the advent of Greek poetry the Roman poets would have become anything more than the rude purveyors of enjoyment at rustic feasts. The nation had passed its poetic age; it had little religious legend from which its bards might cull the subjects of their song; its language was harsh and rough; the metre in which its first rude efforts were made was quite incapable of attaining high excellence. Now, the poetry of imitation is better than none at all: it never has much of the divine gold in its composition; but it may have great beauty of rhythm, great delicacy of sentiment, and much ingenuity of construction. Perhaps Ennius and his successors saw this; at any rate, there was deliberation in their choice, for they selected as objects of imitation those Greek writers who were in spirit most in common with the outside world. The Romans of the day protested against this, but in vain; it was a conflict between reason and force, and the latter was conquered. Yet, in spite of the decisiveness of the victory, the Roman national spirit was by no means dead: it still lived on in verse, like a native jewel set in foreign metal; while prose literature, in the hands of the reactionary Cato, assumed a form which, if not absolutely exempt from foreign influences, yet stood on its own foundation, defying the blasts of criticism.

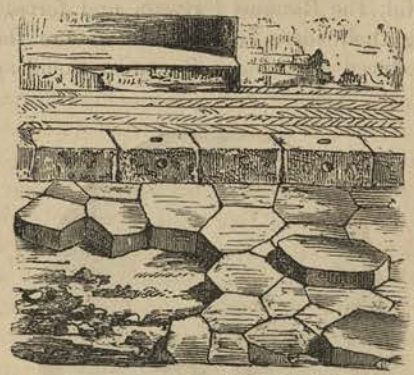


TERENCE.

In the domain of art, the Romans were, in some respects, far more dependent upon the Greeks than they were in that of literature. Before they came in contact with the Hellenistic civilization of Lower Italy, the æsthetic faculty chiefly developed in them was the enjoyment of colour, which, indeed, always had a greater hold upon the Italians than it had upon the Greeks. The painting of the Temple of Safety, which was highly estimated in the Augustan age, has already been incidentally noticed; and we find also that the walls of the Senate House were adorned with a picture of the battle in which the Romans conquered Hiero. They were also great admirers of sculpture: the Forum was adorned with statues of old worthies; the images of their ancestors stood in the hall of every noble family, and were not unfrequently embossed in wax. It is probable, however, that these works of art, simple as they were, and crude in execution and design, were, as a general rule, the brain-children, not of Roman, but of

* Mommsen.

Etruscan artists, though the statement has been stoutly contradicted. The oldest example of Roman statuary which has escaped the destroying hand of time is the bronze she-wolf set up in 296 B.C., and still preserved in the Museum of the Capitol. This celebrated figure is said to bear "the well-known marks of the archaic Greek art in the sharp, rigid forms of the limbs and muscles, the peculiar expression of the face, and the regular knots of hair about the neck and head."* But the probability is that it was executed, not by a Greek, but by an Etruscan artist. The curious similarity of the art-workmanship of the two nations, and the probable indebtedness of the one to the other, have been noticed in a previous Chapter, and it is unnecessary to recur to the subject. Suffice it to state that, as Etruria was under Hellenic influence, it is reasonable to suppose that the resemblance of the earliest productions of Roman artists to those of ancient Greeks is due to the example not so much of the Greeks directly, as of the Greeks at second hand, through the Etrurians. Indeed, when it is considered that the Greek sculptors had, at the time that the Capitoline wolf was produced, reached a very high pitch of progressive excellence, it would seem more than probable that they would have left behind them at Rome something in which could be traced some feeble reflex of the glory which shone from the works to which the master-hand of Phidias gave life and truth, and not creations of which they would have been ashamed at a much earlier date.



ROMAN PAVEMENT.

In regard to most of the other arts, both the useful and the beautiful, the Romans were in a very backward state before the date of the conquest of Southern Italy. Their current coinage consisted solely of copper money, which, as late as the Second Punic War, weighed no less than one-sixth of a pound, and on which the rough image of a ship's prow was the only attempt at ornamental workmanship: in Latium, however, the coinage exhibited marks of considerable taste. They had no means for the measurement of time until 293 B.C., when Papirius Cursor set up the first sun-dial; and their domestic architecture long remained in a condition of unsatisfactory stagnation. For centuries, the citizens of the Republic were content to live in mean and squalid dwellings that were in fact little better than huts; nor was it until the age of Cato that it occurred to them to devise means for their improvement. No contrast can be greater than that between the humble domestic architecture of the earlier republic, and the palaces, unequalled in their splendour and magnificence, which abounded in Rome under the Emperors.

The conquest of Southern Italy produced immediate and startling results; art reigned in Rome, but there was nothing in it of Roman. As might be expected, the nobles were the first to become alive to the interests of the civilization with which they were now brought in contact, and they gratified their desire to possess things of beauty, while satisfying their love of ostentation as well, by the simple process of plundering the conquered towns of all the works of art on which they could lay their sacrilegious hands. Marcus Marcellus, at the capture of Syracuse, was the first to introduce the evil practice of pillaging, which reached the acme of ignorant rapacity at the capture of Corinth, in 146 B.C. It is true that men were to be found to protest against such an attractive form of robbery. Quintus Fabius would not allow his victorious soldiers to plunder the fanes of Tarentum; yet the practice soon became universal. It brought with it its own revenge: no attempt was ever made to develop a school of native Roman art; the only names of artists recorded are

ROMAN AQUEDUCT.

* Liddell's History of Rome.

those of Greeks; and though in numismatics, indeed, there seemed to be a sudden outburst of creative energy, and, in the decided improvement which took place in Roman coinage after the influx of Greek ideas, national influences are to be traced as well, yet it was not to be compared to that of Sicily, and the coinage of the Empire was even more inferior than that of the later Republic.

To architecture, looked at from a utilitarian point of view, and to the kindred science of engineering, the Romans naturally turned, with none of that indifference which they displayed towards the works of the sculptor and the metallurgist. To the beautiful they also awoke at a later period. It was in the time of the censorship of Cato that the instinct of refinement first became evident; before that date, it was subservient entirely to the useful; and, as far as we can judge, the Tuscan order of architecture, which prevailed in early Rome, was merely a debased form of Doric. The Temple of Ceres, in the Circus, was its only building of importance. The chief claim of the Roman builders to the gratitude of posterity is this—that they were the first to perceive the value of arcuated as opposed to trabeated architecture, and, with an adaptive power that amounts almost to originality, to use the arch (which, as Etruscan, Assyrian, and Egyptian monuments prove, had been invented long previously) in the construction of works of immense service to Italy, and hence to mankind. The building of the Cloaca Maxima was followed, about 313 B.C., by the great aqueduct of Appius Claudius, which ran for about seven miles Romewards from the foot of the Alban Mountains; and within the period embraced in this account of Roman art, a second of these triumphs of engineering skill was commenced by Curius Dentatus, and completed by Papirius Cursor. Both these great feats of masonry were mainly subterranean. The noble arches of the aqueduct of Martius, which still run for miles across the now deserted Campagna, were a conception of the next generation; but even while burrowing in the earth, the Roman seemed impressed with the idea that he was labouring at works which were for all time, and that by his daily toil he was doing good service to the State to which it was his pride to belong. A similar spirit of conscientious thoroughness is to be seen in the tunnels which drained the Alban Lake, and in the passage from Lake Velinus, through which the rushing water flows to form the falls of Terni. But perhaps the constructions most characteristic of the golden age of Rome were the roads. Appius Cæcus, who designed the first aqueduct, also constructed the first road. The Appian Way, along which Horace journeyed to Brundusium, and which ran for nearly a hundred and fifty miles southwards to Capua, is a worthy monument of the man: the huge rocks of which it was composed are typical of his boldness, while the carefulness of their juncture testify to his resolve. Northwards ran the Æmilian and Flaminian roads, which were made soon afterwards. Unswerving in their direction, halting before neither swamp nor stream, climbing lofty mountains, descending into the depths of valleys, these roads foreshadowed the march of a nation which might, indeed, be wanting in refinement, but which was nevertheless destined to promulgate the doctrines of law and order, and to declare the greatness of citizenship to the ends of the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE UNDER THE EARLY REPUBLIC.

The Early Social Life of Rome Obscure—Composition of the Family—Mutual Relations of Fathers and Sons—Position of Women—Sanctity of the Marriage Tie—Patrons and Clients—Institution of Slavery—Change in the Character and Composition of the Army—Development of Agriculture—The Class of Farmers, and the Laws that Affected it—Increase of Large Estates—The Freedmen and their Political Privileges—Business and Commerce—Decay of the Patrician Order, and Rise of the Plebeians—Creation of a New Nobility—Spread of Political Corruption—Civic Government of Rome—The Ædiles—Nature of the Roman Religion—Public Festivals—The Theatre.

It is somewhat difficult to obtain a connected view of the social history of Rome in the days of her unalloyed purity. For the contemporary records are meagre in the extreme, and the writers of the following ages, feeling that they had fallen upon evil days, and sighing for the old integrity of life and uprightness of conduct with an ardour which would no doubt have sensibly diminished if their wishes had had any chance of realisation, were induced, in telling the tales of the establishment of their city, to paint the ancients as beings of ideal virtues, and, in some cases, to spread before the facts of the time a gauzy curtain of myth which greatly obscured their reality. Besides, the social

part of history was never scientifically studied by the ancients; statistics were unknown to them, and it is only from isolated statements, scattered about the pages of men who paid far more attention to romance than to accuracy, that modern writers of the German school have been able to construct a patchwork picture of this distant age. For the investigator of the life and manners of the early Romans, there are no remains of Herculaneum or Pompeii, those buried cities which, with the fidelity of an instantaneous photograph, image to the mind the life of the nation when enervated by luxury, and cloyed with the lust of conquest.

It is impossible to over-accentuate the value of the family tie in preserving a code of honesty and morality. This formed the basis of the State; and, in order to preserve its force, the Roman legislators fenced it in with a rigidity of ordinance which is quite without a parallel. The elements of which the family was composed were, in the words of Mommsen, the free man, who by his father's death had become his own master, and the spouse, whom the priests, by the ceremony of the sacred salted cake, had solemnly wedded to share with him water and fire, with their sons, and sons' sons, and the lawful wives of these, their unmarried daughters, and sons' daughters, along with all goods and substance pertaining to any of its members.* Thus, the word family in Roman usage bears a far wider sense than that commonly given to it, which is confined to a man, his wife, and their increase of children. In the Roman family, the father was invested with absolute power, and that power was life-long. It was, however, confined entirely to the relations of private life. The son, when he had come of age, was his father's equal in all his relations to the State: he could, as Sir Henry Maine points out,† vote with him in the city, and fight by his side in the field. In spite, however, of the irksomeness of restraint on the one side, contrasted with the liberty on the other, such was the power of custom over the Roman mind that the paternal authority continued to be exercised with much of its original severity down to the period of the Empire. Over his wife and children, the father had power of life and death. The son was in the eye of the law his slave: he could be sold as a slave; he could not hold property; he could not, without permission of his father, take a wife, or establish a separate household. On his father's death, the son stepped at once into his place, and exercised the same despotic power. If there was no heir to the family, it was customary to adopt a child from another. The law of the Twelve Tables, embodying customs which had existed long previously, enacted that a son twice sold by his father should be free; and this, in course of time, was construed to mean that fathers had a right to emancipate their sons. But before that time the son could obtain his freedom only by going through a complicated legal form. It would seem at first sight as if no man of spirit, however sincere might be his reverence for usage, would be content to remain bound by the chains of such a thraldom. There are several considerations, however, which would show that, as regards the paternal authority, theory differed considerably from practice. In the first place, it was a privilege which was in all probability seldom exercised to its full legal limits. The father was restrained by public sentiment from suffering his child to grow up untaught or depraved; and as he was responsible for his crimes, and therefore would be restrained by motives of prudence as well, he was allowed by law to cast him out, but was restrained by the feeling that by so doing the continuity of the race might be endangered. Besides, by the ordinances of religion, the man who committed acts of undue severity to his children would be held accursed. Other circumstances would seem to show that the custom must have undergone considerable modification in real life. It could not have been exercised in the case of men in high official authority, or in the case of the soldier who was fighting in the service of the Republic in the extremities of Italy, though these men were not set free by law until after the establishment of the Empire, and it should be remembered that nearly every Roman was a soldier. Nevertheless, it is evident that the relations between father and son can never have been satisfactory, according to modern ideas. They inculcated feelings of respect, no doubt, and kept the passions of youth under control; but the sentiment of filial love must have been almost unknown, and it is a significant fact that the Romans, when they wished to describe one who was a good son, could only characterise him as a "pious" man, thus placing the father on a level with the gods.

The position of women in the early Republic was extremely creditable to the good sense of the nation, and a most powerful agent in preserving a high tone in the relations of social intercourse. Even if the letter of the law had been followed, and not its spirit, the lot of the Roman matron would have been far happier than that of her sex among the surrounding nations. It is true that

* Mommsen, Book I., chap. 5.
† Ancient Law, chap. 5.

she became by wedlock the property of her husband; she passed at once into his family, and, as one of its members, was subject to his will and pleasure; in the same way, if unmarried, she passed, on the death of her father, under the power of her nearest male relations. She could inherit property, indeed, but could not manage it in the days before the close of the Punic Wars—a restriction which was evaded in the time of Cato by various artifices, among which mock marriages were not the least discreditable. But, though her civic status was small, the strength of woman's influence in the days of ancient Rome lay in the honour in which she was held in the family—a sentiment not by any means so purely modern as we are apt to imagine. Exempt from all manual labour, except that of the distaff, which in all ages has been thought an ornament to women, the wife of the Roman citizen moved about the house, nursing her children, directing and admonishing her servants, and preparing for her lord's return from the field or the forum. Moreover, the education of her children was to a considerable extent entrusted to her; and Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, was probably only one out of many Roman matrons who passed every department of their sons' studies under careful review, and who, with justifiable pride, could boast that they were their only ornaments. In a State where women were held in such just esteem, it is natural to find that the marriage tie was regarded with great respect. The stories of Lucretia and Virginia probably contain a large admixture of fable; but the fact embodied in those stories, that chastity was universal among their women when the Romans were Romans indeed, was not the less real and true. Girls were brought up as far as possible in ignorance of evil. It was not until they came in contact with the degenerate elements of Greek life that the golden bond of domestic sanctity was broken, and that divorce and degrading forms of vice penetrated the Roman household. Before that time, women, by their unseen but omnipotent power, might be said with pride, as Cato the Elder complained in disgust, to "rule the rulers of the world."

Such was the Roman household, which was the nucleus whence was created the race or clan. Around it gathered the menials, composed of clients and slaves, to whom brief allusion has been made in a previous Chapter. It is difficult to get an idea of the Roman client, for he belongs in origin and station to the past, and not to the present: the Russian serf, to whom he has been appropriately compared, has now ceased to exist. The word means one who *hears* or obeys, and the relation between client and patron was that of service rendered for protection received. The class included, says Mommsen, refugees who had found foreign protectors, and those slaves in respect of whom their master had for the time being waived the exercise of his authority, and so conferred on them practical freedom. The position of clients was therefore distinctly better than that of servants; and when, as was often the case, the bond was continued for generations, there was every tendency to produce affection and community of interest between the great and the humble. Frequently they were small farmers, cultivating outlying portions of the landowner's estate, and paying him tribute in kind. Still, it is evident that the client did not lie upon a bed of roses. Originally he had no political status, and, although his food and bodily wants were secure to him in the case of a kind patron, a capricious man could seize what little he possessed, reduce him to slavery, and even put him to death. Such customs, however, were doubtless often allowed to lapse, and a man might hesitate to exercise, in the case of one who was all but free, the severities which he would have readily inflicted on one whom he regarded as a mere chattel. As time went on, the relation of the clients and their patrons changed considerably: the former became absorbed in the rapidly-increasing class of freedmen, of whom more anon; and this was especially the case in the last days of the Republic, when clients were attached to Plebeians as well as Patricians. Still later on, the word has a more restricted meaning: the clients were foreigners, who, on coming to reside at Rome, placed themselves under the temporary protection of a magnate of the Republic.

Slavery, an apparently indispensable institution in the ancient world, existed at a very early date among the Romans, and, as soon as it comes within the ken of history, appears in a very harsh and pitiless form. At first, slaves were few; in the fields they were outnumbered by the free tenants of the landowner, and, at a period when the power of Rome did not extend much beyond her walls, slave-owning was a luxury of the rich, and its victims were chiefly drawn from that criminal class which had lost its civil status from debt. It was in the latter days of the Monarchy and the commencement of the Republic, when Rome first entered upon her career of annexation and conquest, that the practice began of bringing home great flocks of miserable captives, and putting them up to auction. At once, slaves increased in numbers at an enor-

mous rate: 30,000 prisoners were sold after the subjugation of the Samnites, and so universal became the practice of employing slave-labour, with all its wastefulness, that the Licinian Laws attempted in vain to put a stop to the evil, by ordering that landlords must not employ in agriculture more slaves than free labourers; an instance of interference between employer and employed which, if advocated in our days, would excite the wrath of the political economist to an incalculable degree. It would seem, indeed, as if the greater part of the slave population was employed in rural labour; but they multiplied with dangerous rapidity in the towns as well, and more than one serious outbreak occurred in the capital during the period under review, though the evil was not so dominant then as it ultimately became in the outlying country districts, where, owing to the draining of the Roman population by the Punic Wars, the slave-herdsman became practically his own master, and naturally enough made use of his new liberty by resorting to brigandage and other excesses, until the Roman legions came and hunted him down. The civil position of the slave can best be realised by recalling to mind those harrowing descriptions of the sorrows of our African brother which Mrs. Beecher Stowe made so popular several years ago. He could not contract a legal marriage; his children were his master's property; the latter had power over life and limb, and the slave had no remedy against him in the courts of law. When it is remembered that the captives were in many instances men of equal, and in the case of the Greeks of far superior, civilization to their owners, it is clear that the iron must indeed have entered into their souls. The slave in a prosperous farm was little better than a beast of burden under the steward, who was himself a slave, though with considerably better prospects than his subordinates, for as a rule he sooner or later obtained his liberty. The common thrall was bought in the market, whither, when no longer fit for work, he returned; and

ROMAN MATRON.

ROMAN CITIZEN.

THE APPIAN WAY AT ROME (RESTORED).

though, from motives of economy, he was supplied with the bare necessaries of life, and chains were not generally used otherwise than as punishments, his lot, without change and without relaxation, was no whit superior to that of his fellow-labourer, the ox. The daily life of the slave was characteristically summed up by Cato in the maxim that he must either be at work or asleep. In the towns, however, the fortunes of the slaves wore by no means so dark a hue. It is true that the Romans affected to regard them as beyond the pale of consideration, and were disgusted at the prominent part they played in the home-life of the Greeks; still, the power of immediate contact is infinite, and it is impossible for master and servant to live long under the same roof without some relaxation, however slight, of the barriers of class interest and social prejudice. An educated Greek, for instance, was often allowed considerable privileges; in return for his services in keeping the family accounts, and for acting as his master's secretary, he was allowed to accumulate his savings, although they were not legally his own; and in the end he obtained his freedom. So general, indeed, became the custom of manumission, that as early as 357 B.C. a tax of five per cent. on the value of the slave who was to be emancipated was imposed on the rich, and it is in the infancy of the growth of the Republic that we find the freedman becoming a prominent feature in town life. In many households, however, the slaves were treated with brutal severity. Cato the Elder used to flog his servants cruelly for the slightest offence; and such was the terror exercised over his domestics by that rigid moralist, that one of them, on being detected in the purchase of an article without his master's orders, promptly hanged himself. However, it was not until slavery was consistently employed to minister to the vices of the Romans that it proved, as each successive decade showed, to be the plague-spot whence corruption and moral death spread over the whole frame of the Republic.

The Roman hero—take Coriolanus as an example, whose virtues were extolled by the poets and historians of the Augustan age—was not a dweller in cities, but a soldier and an agriculturist. It was long before the army became recognized as a profession at Rome. Every free citizen was from the first liable to serve in its ranks; when war was declared, he took up his shield, sword, and javelin, and departed for the camp, leaving his farm to the care of his wife and children. And this custom continued in vogue, in spite of the changes in the constitution of the army, from a body of cavalry to a phalanx, and from a phalanx to a legion with three battalions of the line, each armed in its own fashion. But, as fighting became more scientific, and as the campaigns were carried into distant lands, the tendency towards the creation of a standing army became more and more clearly marked. The veteran was given advantages over the recruit; the third battalion (the *triarii*), which formed the reserve, and was regarded as the most important body in the force, was composed, not, as before, of men of the largest property, but of the longest service. Gradually the infantry lost its distinctive character; the poor and the freedmen were admitted to its ranks; the cavalry, on the other hand, became converted from a body recruited from the free citizens to a close corps, composed entirely of nobles, who played so very ill-defined a part that the want of harmony between the two branches of the service caused dissensions to arise in more than one campaign. Thus everything combined to make the mass of the army, not, as before, a body recruited from a special class, but a caste whose members were drawn from all conditions of men. At length, during the occupation of Spain in the Second Punic War, the nucleus of a professional soldiery was formed. It became impossible to keep these warlike and distant tribes in subjection by men who returned home after a year's service; and accordingly a permanent garrison was formed of 40,000 men. The change, however, worked gradually, and it may roughly be said that the victories of the early Republic were gained entirely by the citizen soldier.

The campaign being over, the farmer returned home, and betook himself once more to the plough, or perhaps to the culture of the vine and olive. As one might expect, the agriculture of the Romans, though carried on with an enormous amount of industry, was in a very crude state. After the expulsion of the kings, it is probable that the country was almost entirely occupied by small farmers, whose little plots of land, about six acres in extent, were cultivated by the labour of themselves and their families. The fields consisted almost entirely of arable land, for the cattle were fed on the common pasture: a privilege for which the Roman citizen paid a small tax. It must have been a hard life, enlivened only by the market-days and the few religious holidays which custom had enjoined, and liable in the summer months, when the harvest was at hand, to be broken in upon by the demands of military service: a call which, considering the terrible severity of discipline prevailing in the military camps, cannot

have been obeyed with much alacrity. Nevertheless, these petty farmers struggled on, in spite of difficulties. As land was acquired in Italy, the size of the holdings increased. The agriculturists bought slaves, from whom their personal supervision probably extracted a great deal more labour than the steward of the landowner; and when fear of the Roman arms had reduced the neighbouring tribes to subjection, their lot must have been one of considerable happiness. The household, as a rule, supported itself, or, if the sons became too numerous, they departed to the extremities of Italy, as members of one of the new colonies. It was among this simple society that the old Roman virtues of honesty, chastity, and frugality lingered on long after they had ceased to exist at the capital; and the cardinal virtues were observed in the provinces when Rome herself had become a seething mass of iniquity. The sudden extinction of small estates was due to the unscrupulous merchant-princes, who took to farming in the third century B.C.

The landlords of the earliest times were probably, for the most part, men who had acquired wealth by trade, and had invested that wealth in portions of the land belonging to the Clan. These formed the first Roman nobility. They dwelt on their estates, a part of which they cultivated themselves, while the remainder was let out to free tenants, with whom they lived in relations of cordiality, if not of intimacy. Gradually this favourable state of affairs was changed for the worse by the enlargement of properties, and by the curses of absenteeism and slave-labour. By the latter evil, the free labourer was either extinguished altogether, or lingered on, managing to eke out his existence by working as a hired reaper, or gatherer in of the olives and grapes. The capitalists soon began to add field to field, unscrupulously filching from the public land large districts of pasture, their fraudulent claim to which was usually allowed to pass unchallenged by the unfortunate Plebeians. In other cases, these occupiers of the public land neglected to pay the State their rent, which was collected in the form of a contribution in kind, and, in consequence, the deficit in the public exchequer had to be made up by extra taxation, which fell, as it always does, with double severity on the poor. It was to remedy this evil that numerous agrarian laws were introduced which culminated in the Licinian Statutes of 367 B.C. Their effect was, however, at the best, merely temporary, and was considerably counterbalanced by the feeling of insecurity and unrest created in the public mind. Large properties continued to increase in size, and the class of yeomen rapidly disappeared. So desperate had the evil become, that for more than two hundred years after Licinius no statesman could be found bold enough to grapple with landlordism. The sufferings of the lower agricultural classes, meanwhile, were sensibly increased by the economic change which was rapidly coming over Roman cultivation. Pasturage became more profitable than husbandry, both from the smaller quantity of labour it entailed, and because Italian corn was being rapidly driven out of the market by foreign competition. At first appropriated for the soldiery, this foreign corn was, during and after the Second Punic War, sold in large quantities to the poor of the capital at an absurdly low rate. Already the Roman Government had discovered that the wants of the masses consisted chiefly in "bread and the public games." The result was what might be expected. The small farmer was compelled to throw up his estate, and betake himself to the crowded capital; the country fell out of cultivation; desolate sheep-walks took the place of ploughed fields; the absent merchant supplanted the resident gentleman-farmer; and population decreased. "Large estates," wrote a philosophic observer in the later days of Rome, "have been the ruin of Italy."

Perhaps the most prominent feature of the town life of this period was the freedman, who dwelt, as a rule, in the streets built on the low ground at the foot of the hills on which the nobles had built their great houses, that they might not be attacked with impunity. Even under the kings, these men had, by their numbers and intelligence, become an important and, at times, a dangerous class in the community. The Romans were of kindred race and customs to their Volscian or Æquian slaves, and in consequence, as we have seen, emancipation was at first the rule, rather than the exception after severe and honest service. It was not long before the custom threatened to become an abuse, especially as, with the development of trade, the Romans found that it was more advantageous to employ an intelligent captive as a freedman in the management of a shop than to confine his abilities to the manual labour of a slave. The freedmen threatened to overpower the citizens of the capital; and when Appius Claudius at one blow proceeded to grant them the privilege of voting in all the Tribes at the Comitia Tributa, instead of keeping them, as before, confined to the four urban Tribes, he effected a sweeping change which might have produced a revolution, had not the prompt measures of the subsequent year

reduced them to their former political status before they had time to feel their strength. Nevertheless, their position in the State became more and more influential. Their admission to the suffrage in the Comitia Centuriata, indeed, was temporary; but the right to serve in the army, which was conceded to them at this time, was a privilege of great value.

It was to the freedmen and to the more educated slaves that the management of business was entrusted by the Romans; and nothing can indicate the importance of the former class more than the fact that they carried on nearly all the retail trade, and were at the same time the only regular artizans in the city. In some instances, no doubt, they opened shops with their own capital; but in most cases they became, as it were, middle-men between their masters and the general customers. They acted also as clerks in the banks and mercantile houses that were established at this time, and, no doubt, worked the trading vessels which now ran from port to port along the coast of the Mediterranean. It would seem that the presence of these intelligent and industrious men in Rome went far to supply the want of a lower middle-class, which was frequently a great defect in the political organizations of the nations of the ancient world.

The Roman nobles lived in their walled houses on the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Palatine Hills, and, though the Plebeians had gradually won their way to honours and office, they had by no means ceased, at the close of the third century B.C., to exercise a predominating power in the Republic. Left by the downfall of the Monarchy as the sole possessors of authority, that authority was suddenly menaced by the establishment of the Tribunate of the Plebs; and when the counter-blow struck by the Decemviri had failed, they were doomed as a separate order. At once their most cherished privileges were destroyed; marriage between a Patrician and Plebeian was no longer illegal; office was slowly, but surely, thrown open to both classes alike; and in 367 B.C. the first Plebeian Consul was appointed. Their political existence now closed; even the priesthood became possible for the Plebeian. The nobles, therefore, of the third century B.C., were not the nobles of the fourth. The exclusive spirit of the old aristocratic caste lingered on for many years—as long, indeed, as a single member of the ancient order survived; but gradually a new nobility was formed, and the old political distinctions ceased to exist, though the continuance in vogue of the old names still awoke at times the echoes of a strife of which the details and significance had been forgotten. And now it is that we can perceive the origin of the social classes into which the State was divided at the close of the Punic Wars, and it becomes possible to summarise the conclusions which have been drawn in the course of this Chapter. The old Patricians had dwindled into a caste, and the more aristocratic of the Plebeian families became a new nobility: these were the merchant-princes whose introduction of the spirit of usury into husbandry was attended with such evil consequences. Of the rest of the Plebs, one may fairly assert that their position had deteriorated. Originally agricultural in character, they had been divided into small farmers and free labourers. Of these, the small farmers were gradually being forced out by the capitalists, the labourers by the slaves. Those who had good stuff in them could become members of the new colonies; but the greater part were drawn, as if by magic, into the turmoil of the city, where they herded with foreign residents, the lower sort of social parasites, and freedmen who had failed to make good use of their liberty: a sufficiently dismal state, though the industry and enterprise of the merchants and better class of freedmen must have made the material condition of the people, as a whole, appear fairly satisfactory.

It was not long before the new nobility displayed in every direction their acquisitiveness of power. Times, indeed, had changed, and the class privileges which had existed in a former age had been rapidly swept away. Still, much could be done by a little good management. Accordingly, the nobles began by degrees to get all the offices of State under their control; the government passed from the hands of the sovereign people into the hands of a few, and became concentrated in particular families, which, singularly enough, were those which had been the most prominent members of the old Patriciate. Political and social revolutions had not been able to crush the influence of the Cornelii or the Valerii. The Consulate was as often as not enjoyed by one, if not both, of these families, and thus an hereditary nobility of office grew up, composed both of Patricians and Plebeians, but in which the former class carried by far the greater weight. The support on which this clear-sighted and compact body of men relied was the authority of the Censor, who was almost always one of themselves, and through whom they packed the Senate with men of their order, and filled up vacancies in the ranks of the Knights.* In legislation, their cue was to proceed

* Mommsen, Book III., chap. 11.

cautiously, confining the authority of the popular assemblies, and making the ascent of the social ladder more difficult year by year. Against such a consistent policy the Plebeian farmers could do little. Scattered over Italy, there was none of that unanimity in their counsels which was so great an element of strength in their opponents' position. Nevertheless, a party of reform—perhaps it would be more correct to say, of repeal—arose among them, and, towards the close of the third century and the beginning of the second, it found a worthy mouthpiece in Cato the Elder, and was able to stay the growing corruption to an appreciable extent by measures of considerable practical utility. The views of this body of men, however, were somewhat inconsistent and rather narrow, so that they could effect no permanent cure for the maladies of the community; they were hampered, besides, by an ill-omened alliance with the proletariate, which caused their opposition at times to assume an appearance of factiousness. Frequently they were compelled, in times of extreme peril, to propose and carry as candidates for the Consulship men whose abilities were not those of soldiers, but of mob-orators. Hence, Varro commanded at Cannæ, and Flaminius at Lake Thrasimenus. They found, however, a worthy scope for their eloquence in the growing venality of the Government. "At Rome," ran a proverb in after times, "everything and everybody has his price." That corruption and mismanagement should be greatly on the increase in these latter days was inevitable; for, when administration became a family affair, office was bestowed not on merit, but on rank, not on statesmen of long standing and approved competency, but on aristocrats with the down of youth upon their cheeks. The Military Tribunate was now frequently bestowed on some young dandy who had never seen a camp in his life. It was a fact of unhealthy significance that Scipio was an Ædile at the early age of twenty-three. How great the corruption was liable to become, can be appreciated when it is remembered that year after year added new provinces to the Roman Empire, where officials exempt from supervision had every inducement to be dishonest, and none to walk uprightly. Laxity of official honour is, as a rule, the mark of a degenerate and debased society; and, whether it was the cause or the effect, there can be no doubt that the growing immorality of the Romans, caused partly, no doubt, by the adoption of the unhealthy elements of Greek civilization, was at the same time kept in countenance by military insubordination, and peculations from the national treasury.

In no instance was the decay in the administrative abilities of the Romans of the third century B.C. more conspicuous than in the carelessness and want of thoroughness which was visible in the police arrangements of the capital, and the supervision of public works. From the earliest times, the cleanliness and order preserved in the Roman streets had been a source of pride to the citizens; the construction of the great sewer in the days of the kings proved that sanitary laws were understood at a time when epidemics were in most nations submitted to without an attempt to check their ravages, and were looked on as all-powerful visitations of fate, rather than as misfortunes due to natural and preventible causes. This care for the well-ordering of the city did not die out under the Republic, and to the office of Ædile,* whose duties at first consisted in the guardianship of the public records, and in aiding the tribunes in their judicial functions, became attached the responsibility of keeping the streets and public buildings clean and under repair, looking after the drainage and the water-supply, and exercising an effective control over the order and decency of the populace. At first, this magistracy was confined to the Plebeians; but about 365 B.C. two additional magistrates were created, known as the "Curule Ædiles," or Ædiles of the judgment-seat, who were chosen at first exclusively from the Patricians, although the levelling process then in full activity among the social orders of Rome caused the office, after no long interval to be thrown open to the Plebeians as well. Originally, it would seem as if the functions of the Curule Ædiles had been confined especially to superintending the markets—where they controlled the price of grain, and saw that every man had his just measure—and the management of the great festivals; but they were soon invested with the authority over the police and sanitary affairs exercised by their Plebeian colleagues, and all four magistrates worked hand in hand for common ends, the only distinction observed being that the Curule Ædiles superintended the Great Games, while the Plebeian Ædiles looked after those of the Plebs. Under their fostering care, Rome ceased to be a collection of villages clustered round each of the seven hills, and became a city distinct in itself. Public buildings, in which usefulness was consulted more than ornament, sprang up, partly through their zealous activity, partly through that of Censors of the stamp of Appius Claudius; the

* The Ædiles were so called, either because the Temple (*ædes*) of Ceres was committed to their care, or, more probably, because they looked after the houses (also *ædes*) and streets.

drainage system was kept in careful repair; and the division of the capital under four police districts, where strict dicipline was maintained, reduced to a minimum the danger of street rioting which is so common an occurrence among the hot-headed nations of the south. The excellence of the local government of Rome, during the period from the abolition of the Monarchy to the union of Italy, has been a theme of admiration even among modern writers, who live in days when State supervision is pushed to extremes; but after that date considerable abuses were allowed to spring up unchecked. Private houses encroached upon the streets; private individuals diverted the water from the public aqueducts for their own purposes; and upon the public buildings appeared the dinginess which accompanies decay. The Plebeian Ædiles seemed to think that their duty was done when they had filled the maw of the rabble with gratuitous corn; while the Curule Ædiles spent their ingenuity and exercised their patriotic zeal chiefly in providing spectacles and games, whose tendency could not but be detrimental to the public good, and whose expense must seriously have impoverished the caterer.

The intimate connection between these national holidays and the religion of the Romans makes a short account of the influence of the latter a necessary prelude to any description of the amusements of the citizens of the Republic. The Roman gods were personifications of very simple ideas, and round them gathered no beautiful nimbus of myth, such as shrouded the deities of Greece from mortal eye. The sacredness of home life was typified by the Lares, the gods of the household, to whom a separate chamber in the house was dedicated. Hercules, the guardian of the homestead, was also an important personage in the eye of the pious citizen. Other ideas, equally elemental, are to be traced in the names of other deities. Ceres was the goddess of the harvest (Cerialia, whence our word cereals); Saturn was the god of sowing; Neptune was the god of the sea, Mercury the god of traffic. Of the two chief deities of the Roman theology—if, indeed, they can be said to have had any theology at all—one, Mars, represented war, the favourite occupation of the citizens; the other, Jupiter, presided over the festive board, and gave smiling skies and fruitful seasons to the husbandman. Such were the gods whom the ancient Romans worshipped. Their creed, if it had little beauty of allegory and little grandeur of mystery, was yet pure and benevolent, and elevated their minds, if ever so slightly, above the grovelling thoughts of material gratification. The Roman did not live in terror of supernatural punishment; there was little of fetishism about his religion, and human sacrifice played little, if any, part in it: nevertheless, there can be no doubt that his faith was sincere and real, though its wants were too frequently satisfied by the conscientious performance of elaborate ceremonial. Especially

A ROMAN SACRIFICE.

is this to be seen in his reverence for the sanctity of an oath, and the salutary power which fear of the divine wrath exercised over the father of the family in preventing him from exercising to a merciless extent the despotic powers which custom had placed in his hands. The persons of priests and augurs, the interpreters of the language of the gods, was held in great reverence, until, in an evil hour for the State, the Consuls began to tamper with the oracles, that they might give what answer they wished. This child-like earnestness was attached to the Roman religion for many years, in spite of the foreign elements which that imitative race, conscious of the barrenness of its creed, had gradually introduced into it. When the Republic conquered a nation, it conquered their gods as well; and with the admission of a people to Roman citizenship, the gods of that people were admitted among the divinities of the Roman religion. But the influence of the Greek faith began long before the date of conquest, and was due entirely to its superior spirituality. Castor and Pollux are said to have been worshipped from the time of the battle of Lake Regillus, and soon that process began which, by identifying the Greek Zeus with the Latin Jupiter, Ceres with Demeter, and Neptune with Poseidon, resulted in the association of the beautiful stories of Greek legend with the gods of Italy. In many cases the result was absurd: the hybrid deity was but little removed from a monstrosity; but, as long as the pure influence of the old national faith lived on, religion gained rather than lost by its Greek superstructure. Presently, however, a restlessness came over the Roman mind. First this found expression in the demand for more elaborate and costly ceremonial; then it became inquisitive, and rushed eagerly after Greek agnosticism; then it became superstitious, and grasped at any wild form of observance that came in its way. The higher classes of the time of Cato had become educated enough to be sceptical, but not educated enough to be philosophical. They laughed at the auguries, but they trembled before the mysterious rites of the Eastern nations. At the very close of the third century, the degrading worship of Cybele was introduced from Asia Minor, and in a very brief interval it was followed by the still more disgusting rites of Bacchus.

FLORA.

The earlier national faith was of an extremely cheerful character. As the duties of the Romans were personifications of the kindly powers of Nature, so their prayers were chiefly that their wants might be gratified, and their ceremonies had little or nothing in them analogous to modern penance. Thus the priests of Mars were called Salii, or dancers; the old-established festival of the shepherd-god Faunus, known as the Lupercalia, was a day of mirth and jollity, though it retained its sacerdotal significance even when the extravagance of fun was at its height. The religious holiday was associated in the mind of the people less with worship in the temples than with banquets given in honour of the gods. Thus religion was intermingled with amusement, and amusement with religion; worship became less austere, from the joyous ideas which it naturally conveyed; the theatre and the circus were, for a century or two, preserved in some slight degree from becoming mere vehicles for amusement and excitement by the fact that the occasions on which dramas and chariot-races were first presented to the public were days of religious celebration as well. As the characteristics of the national drama, and of the imitations and translations from the Greek, have been described in the previous Chapter, it is unnecessary here to do more than give a short account of the actors and the stage. The first professional

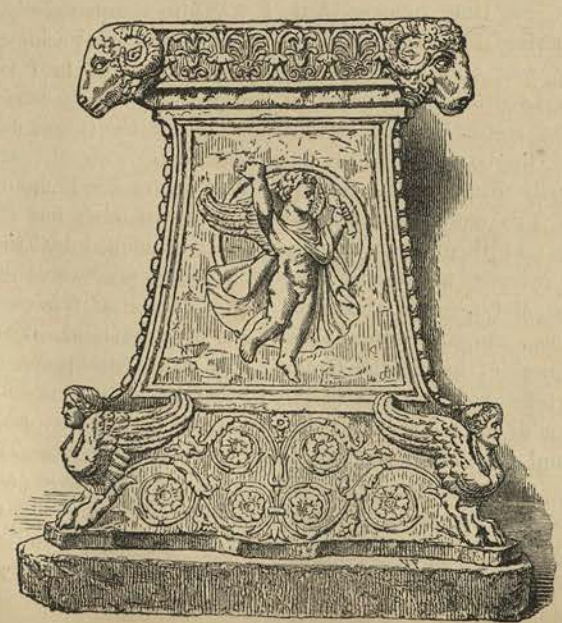
actors appear to have been Etruscans, who played in Rome in 364 B.C.; but eventually the officials who managed the theatres and other public amusements found that the natives of Southern Italy and Greece were more capable interpreters of the histrionic art. The Romans held the practice of acting in great contempt, and no citizen of the Republic would condescend to appear on the stage. The players of this date were slaves, owned, as a rule, by freedmen, who gained a scanty livelihood with much toil. Thus, with little to encourage them, it would seem as if these despised men could hardly have attempted to rival the Greek actors, any more than Latin drama could rival Greek drama; and the efforts of Julius Cæsar to raise their profession came too late. The dress of the actors varied according to the kind of play in which they appeared. Thus, in Roman tragedy they wore a robe with a purple border; in comedies like those of Plautus, which were adapted from the Greek, they wore a cloak; in those professing a native origin, they wore the native toga. Female parts were performed by boys; and it is a characteristic trait of the simplicity of Roman taste that the actors wore no mask, and that their scenery was nothing more ambitious than a rough representation of a street. The *ensemble* of the early theatres was of the roughest possible character. They were built entirely of wood, and consisted of an elevated stage for the actors, surrounded by a semicircle, occupied by the audience between whom and the stage there was no orchestra to create a barrier. The first stone theatre was not erected until the second century B.C. At first, no seats were provided; but this want was in course of time supplied, and distinctions were observed, senators occupying the best positions, and women the worst. As the entertainments were given gratuitously out of the public funds, the audience consisted in the early days of the lowest class of citizens; but when it became fashionable to imitate the Greeks, the theatre became popular with the better classes of the Romans as well.

The remaining recreations of the early Romans seem to have been extremely limited. Their only game was the dice; and it is probable that all except the rich regarded hunting more as a means of supplying the larder than as an excuse for wasting time. It was therefore in the popular spectacles, the triumph of a victorious general, the banquets of the gods, and even the funeral procession of a deceased senator, that they found relief from the monotony of their daily life, and in none more so than in the public games. Chief among these were the *Great* or *the Roman Games* in honour of Jupiter of the Capitol, probably held originally in imitation of the Greek Olympian festival, and observed among the Romans at an early date. Tradition, indeed, assigned their institution to Romulus. The spectacle took place in the Circus, a depression between the Palatine and Aventine Hills, where afterwards arose the amphitheatre to which the name was afterwards attached, constructed probably under the Tarquins. The festival commenced with a solemn procession, in which the citizens who were going to take part in the games, and the statues of the gods, formed the most distinctive features. After the spectators had taken their places in the arena, the games began. They consisted, as among the Greeks, in foot-races and chariot-races, wrestling and boxing, to which was added a sham-fight. The reward was a laurel crown. At first, these games lasted only a day, the contests being followed by professional dancing and rough dramatic representations; but soon they were prolonged over four, and eventually over six, days. The character of the athletes also changed. Roman citizens gave way to freedmen, and, in consequence, the exhibition, which was at first a friendly competition, tended rapidly to degenerate into a real contest, in which blood was shed. The extension of the games over a considerable space of time implied the introduction of new items in the programme, and a great increase of cost. In 364 B.C., a law was passed to the effect that the cost was not to exceed more than about £2,000; additional expenses must be paid out of the pockets of the Ædiles who superintended the management of the show; but, as the demand for excitement became a more and more strongly-marked trait in the Roman character, a magistrate would not unfrequently, to make a strong bid for the popular vote, involve himself in a prodigious expense.

Exhibitions on the stage became part of the entertainment in 364 B.C., and, though at first the performers on it consisted of dancers, jugglers, and singers, it was not long before the actors appeared there too, and gave simple dramatic representations. Such continued to be the chief sights provided for the people down to the close of the second century, when a striking change in the idea of what constituted amusements showed how surely the taint of cruelty had impregnated a nation originally magnanimous and brave. The first gladiators appeared in Rome in 264 B.C., and with the delight of seeing men butchered, there grew up a popular demand for wild beast fights, and other devices for the destruction of life. One circus and one great festival soon became

too few to satisfy the citizens. In 220 B.C. Flaminius built another circus, in which the Plebeian games, thanks to the extravagance of the Ædiles, soon began to rival in magnificence those of the Patricians. Other festivals, in honour of Ceres, Apollo, Flora, and Cybele, followed in their train, and every month soon threatened to be filled with days of idle holiday. It was not long before the magistrates discovered that it was dangerous to leave unsatisfied the craving of the populace for recreation and excitement.

The evil effect exercised by the increasing temptations to idleness which were rapidly being thrown in the way of the Roman was, however, to a certain extent, counterbalanced by the wider interests in life which were now supplied him by education. The original acquirements of the young Roman were, as might be imagined, of an extremely limited character. He was kept in a good state of bodily training, and taught the simple code of morality to which the early Romans were so loyally true; but of learning he knew little, though he could read and write, and in most cases had some knowledge of law. It was thought enough for him if he was the constant companion of his father, and learnt from him the ways of the world. Gradually, however, it came to be seen that the knowledge of the Greeks was a better thing than the ignorance of their conquerors; and so it became customary to learn the Greek language—not, however, with any marked results at first. In course of time, schools sprang up, and for them educational works were written. We have seen how Livius translated Greek authors for the use of his pupils; and towards the close of the Punic Wars the value of education began to be generally appreciated. The Roman alphabet was fixed about 234, and to the care with which the grammarians of a rather later period moulded and fixed the language may be attributed its precision and artistic beauty. Cato was the most zealous student of Greek learning, and the subjects on which he wrote for the education of his son showed that the horizon of the national intellect was becoming rapidly extended. As yet, however, the Romans had delved but little in the mine of Hellenic culture. Its influences were only beginning to make themselves felt, and that in the most obnoxious manner: the Romans copied Greek luxury and effeminacy long before they were penetrated by Greek philosophy and art. Two hundred years had to elapse before the Augustan age, when the educated gentlemen of Rome formed a society which has seldom been equalled for its brilliance and versatility. But, in the age of the wars against Carthage and the peoples of the Grecian peninsula, the Romans were in a transition state: they had lost their old simple morality, their chivalry and honesty, but still retained much want of sensibility, and that evil national pride—the parent of innumerable acts of injustice and cruelty—which argues that it is a sin to cheat a fellow-citizen, but that no faith need be kept with the foreigner.



ROMAN ALTAR.

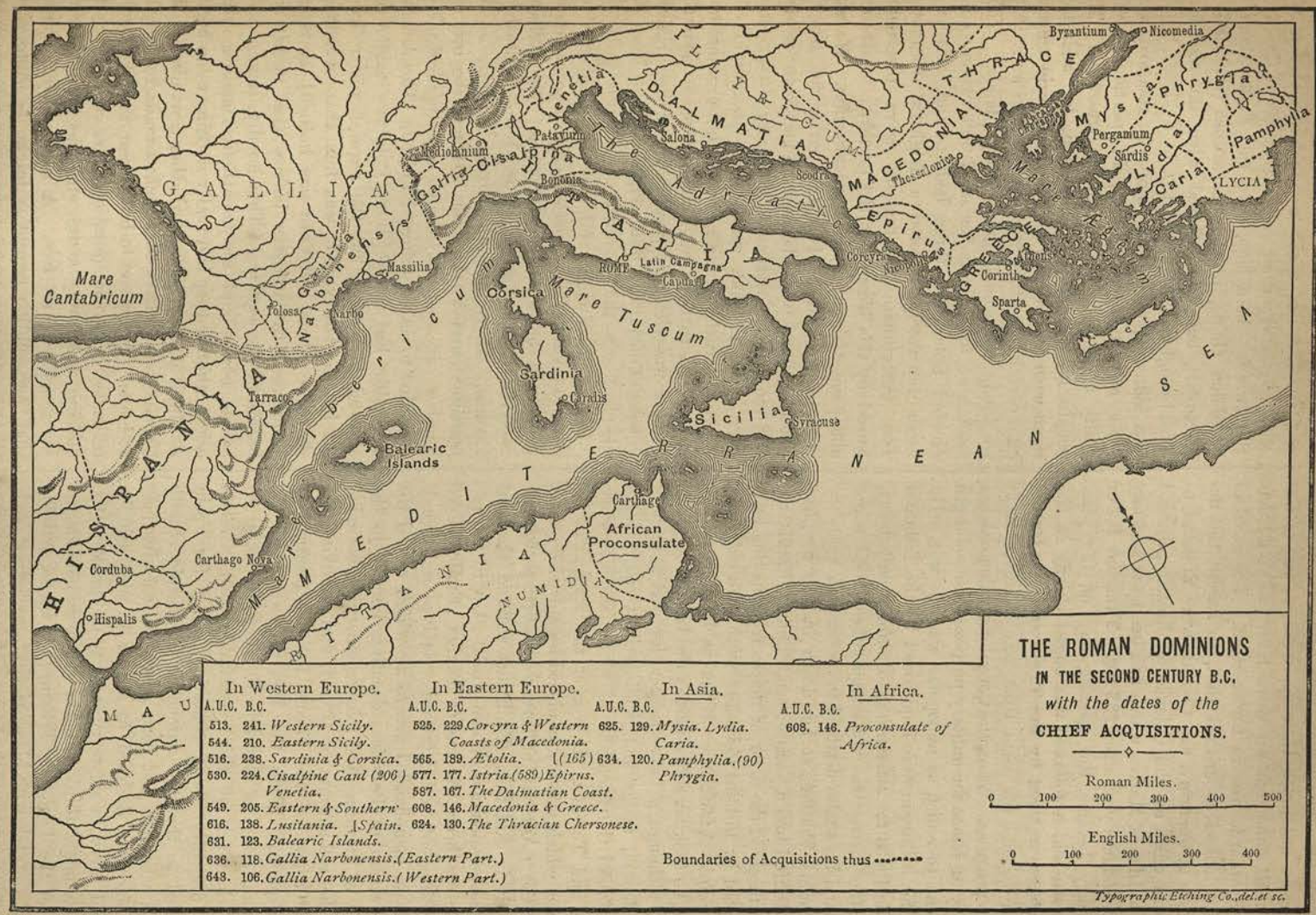
CHAPTER XIV.

THE SUBJUGATION OF GREECE.

Gradual Subjection of Greece to Rome—Arbitrary Treatment of the Achæan League—Imprisonment of several Members in Italy—Revolt in Spain—Scipio Æmilianus and the War—Treacherous Conduct of Sulpicius Galba to the Lusitanians—Return of the Achæan Captives to Greece—Their Unfortunate Influence over their Countrymen—Prevalence of Faction and Violence—The Pseudo-Philippus Lays Claim to the Throne of Macedon—Attack by the Achæan League on Sparta—Interposition of Rome—Attempt of Critolaus on Heraclea—War Declared by Rome against the League—Landing of Mummius with a Roman Force on the Isthmus of Corinth—Diæus, Commander of the Achæan Forces—Battle Before Corinth, and Rout of the Achæans—Pillage and Destruction of the City—Corinthian Brass—Character of Mummius—His Severe Measures for the Subdual of Greece—Settlement of the Affairs of Greece and Macedon—Moderating Influence of Polybius—The New Hellenic Institutions—Causes of the Fall of Greece—Decay of Population—Testimony of Polybius—Liberal Treatment of the Greeks by some of the Roman Emperors—Progress of the National Decline—Continued Influence of Athens as a Centre of Intellect—Preservation of the National Traditions—The Religious Feeling as Expressed in Works of Art—Modern Changes in the Population of Greece.

ROME became the one great power of Southern Europe shortly after the conclusion of the Second Punic War. Her influence extended even over the whole of Hellenised Western Asia, together with the African kingdom of the Ptolemies; and it was manifestly growing with every successive year. Greece was not yet subdued, in the strictest sense of the word; but her fate was rapidly approaching, and in the meanwhile the people were made to understand that they stood in a subordinate position to the dictators of the Tiber. The Achæan League declined in power after the death of Philopœmen, though Lycortas, the successor of that eminent man, did his utmost to maintain the credit of the body, and even brought back Sparta and Messenia to the confederacy they had deserted. Its day had gone by; the re-awakening of the national spirit, which at one time quickened it, had passed. Lycortas obtained little support; but in 180 B.C. an embassy was sent to Rome, to advocate the views which Lycortas had carried in the Assembly against the restoration of certain Spartan exiles supposed to be hostile to the League, but who were patronised by the Senate. Callicrates, the chief of this embassy, intrigued with the senators, and told them that if they would procure his appointment to the principal office of the Confederation, and openly countenance the adherents of the Roman cause who were to be found in considerable numbers in all the Greek cities, he would undertake that the Achæans should give no more trouble. The required support was forthcoming, and Callicrates soon afterwards succeeded to the office of Strategus. In that position, he of course acted in the interests of Rome, and for twelve years the Achæan League played no important part in the history of Greece. After the final defeat of Perseus, in 168 B.C., the Romans accused certain members of the League of having assisted that monarch in his prosecution of hostilities, and, without mentioning any names, demanded that the Assembly should sentence to death all whom the Senate suspected of such acts. So extravagant a mandate was resisted: it was declared imperative that the names of the alleged offenders should first be revealed. This was at length done, though with reluctance; and finally Callicrates drew up a list of more than a thousand suspected persons, including Polybius the historian, a son of Lycortas, who was then dead. These unfortunate persons were sent into Italy, and distributed among the cities of Etruria, with the exception of Polybius, who was hospitably received into the home of Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Macedon. Their captivity was not stringent; but any attempt to escape was punished with death.

While comparatively disengaged in other quarters, Rome was pushing her conquests beyond the Maritime Alps into Gaul, advancing her power over the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic, and protecting the Greek cities of the northern Mediterranean from the attacks of a Ligurian tribe. War once more broke out in Spain, about 153 B.C., and led to some important events. The arrangement concluded by Tiberius Gracchus in 179 B.C. had been productive of very good effects, because of its essential fairness; yet it left several grievances unremedied. Formal complaints, having reference to the oppression of the Prætors and the extortion of the tax-collectors, were laid before the Senate in 171 B.C., and courts were appointed to hear the charges. The persons chosen by the Spaniards for their advocates were Cato, Scipio Nasica (the conqueror of the Boian Gauls), Paulus Æmilius, and Sulpicius Gallus. Nothing could surpass the appearance of fairness with which the Spanish petitioners were heard; but, in effect, redress was not forthcoming. Despite the remon-



In Western Europe.		In Eastern Europe.		In Asia.		In Africa.	
A.U.C.	B.C.	A.U.C.	B.C.	A.U.C.	B.C.	A.U.C.	B.C.
513.	241. *Western Sicily.*	525.	229. *Corcyra & Western Coasts of Macedonia.*	625.	129. *Mysia. Lydia. Caria.*	608.	146. *Proconsulate of Africa.*
544.	210. *Eastern Sicily.*	565.	189. *Ætolia.*	[(165) 634.	120. *Pamphylia.(90) Phrygia.*		
516.	238. *Sardinia & Corsica.*	577.	177. *Istria.(589)Epirus.*				
530.	224. *Cisalpine Gaul (206) Venetia.*	587.	167. *The Dalmatian Coast.*				
549.	205. *Eastern & Southern*	608.	146. *Macedonia & Greece.*				
616.	138. *Lusitania.* [*Spain.*	624.	130. *The Thracian Chersonese.*				
631.	123. *Balearic Islands.*						
636.	118. *Gallia Narbonensis.(Eastern Part.)*						
643.	106. *Gallia Narbonensis.(Western Part.)*						

Boundaries of Acquisitions thus .....

THE ROMAN DOMINIONS
IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.
with the dates of the
CHIEF ACQUISITIONS.

Roman Miles.
0 100 200 300 400 500

English Miles.
0 100 200 300 400

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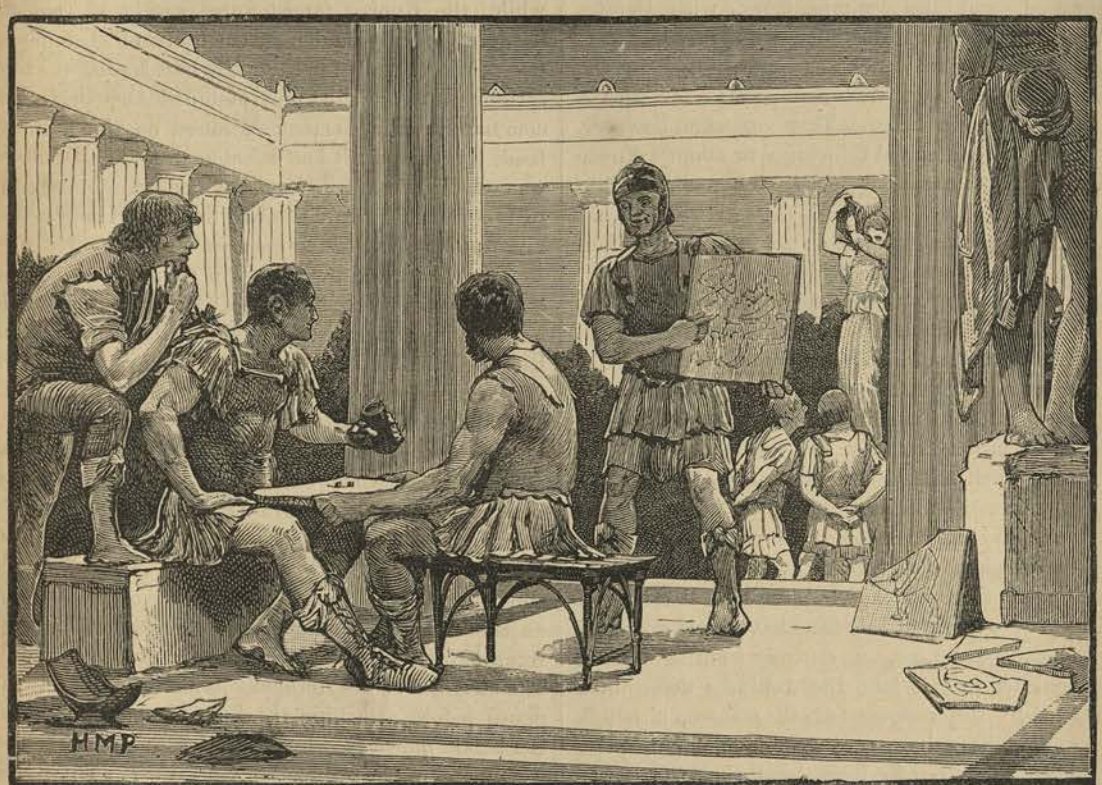
strances of the people, the Prætors and tax-collecters continued their oppressions; yet it was not until some eighteen years later (153 B.C.) that the Spaniards rose in insurrection. The state of affairs looked so critical that, to hasten the departure of the army, the Consuls were directed to assume office on the Calends of January, instead of the Ides of March, which had been the first day of the official year since 223 B.C. Thus the 1st of January became the opening day of the year. The war which followed was waged chiefly in the provinces watered by the Tagus and the Durius (Douro), and for some time the Romans made little progress. When the Consul Lucullus ordered a levy at Rome for military purposes, he could get no one to enlist, so unpopular was the war. He and his colleague were imprisoned by the Tribunes of the Plebs for attempting to enforce enlistment, and the matter was not compromised until taken in hand by a man destined to be famous.

Paulus Æmilius, at his death in 160 B.C., had left behind him a younger son, Publius Æmilianus, who received the name of Scipio from having been adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, the elder son of Scipio Africanus. When in his seventeenth year, he took an active part in the battle of Pydna; but, although a brave soldier, he was a man of intellectual tastes, and, while still young, sought and found the friendship of writers such as Polybius and Terence. It was at the funeral of his father, which was distinguished by splendid games, that the "Adelphi" of Terence was first performed, and it is said that Æmilianus assisted the poet in the composition of that work. Up to the age of thirty-three, the son of Paulus Æmilius lived in retirement, acting towards relatives and friends with an open-handed generosity which moved the admiration of Polybius, devoting himself to the study of literature and science, enlarging his mind by the refinements of Greece, and forsaking the disputations of the Forum for the pleasure of field-sports. None the less, however, was the Roman sense of devotion to duty developed in the character of this remarkable man. When the difficulty about obtaining levies for Spain seemed to threaten serious results, Scipio Æmilianus, who had just been offered a lucrative post in Macedon, declined to accept it, and said he would serve in whatever capacity or direction the Senate might think fit. He was thereupon elected one of the Legionary Tribunes for Spain, and the people, struck with his patriotism, no longer made any difficulty about the levies. Marcellus, the commander in Spain, had by this time agreed on terms of peace with the insurgents; but Lucullus, the new Consul, refused to recognise the arrangement, and in 152 B.C. made a cruel attack on the Vaccæans, and put all the inhabitants of Cauca to the sword. At a later date, the Prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, invaded Lusitania (the modern Portugal), but was defeated with immense loss. This brought the year 151 B.C. to a close; but in the following spring the war was renewed with even greater fury. Galba, in particular, was guilty of a piece of abominable treachery. The people having offered submission, he addressed them with hypocritical kindness, and said that if, on a certain day, they would meet him at a place specified, he would grant them lands. They assembled to the number of 7,000, when Galba divided them into three bodies, and, attacking these separately, effected a frightful slaughter. The unfortunate Lusitanians were thoroughly cowed by this blow; but the perfidy of Galba did not pass without severe condemnation. He was brought to trial in 149 B.C., partly for his inhumanity, and partly because he had kept for himself too large a portion of the booty. Cato, then very near his end, spoke with indignation of Galba's breach of faith, which he characterised as opposed to the true Roman nature. But the Prætor was rich and powerful, and he obtained a vote of acquittal, followed, five years later, by his election to the Consulship.

From these disgraceful facts, it is a relief to turn to an act of bare justice which was at length performed by the Roman Senate. The Achæan captives had for several years been confined in Etruria. Many had died from sickness or ill-treatment, and by the year 151 B.C. the original number of one thousand and upwards had dwindled to scarcely three hundred. The Achæan Assembly had asked that Polybius might be allowed to return; but the request was refused. At length, however, it was felt that something should be done, and Cato was induced by Scipio Æmilianus to intercede before the Senate on behalf of the captives. This he did, though in a rather coarse and unsympathetic manner. He asked whether they had really nothing to do but to sit there all day debating whether a number of old Greeks were to have their coffins made in Italy or at home. It appears to have been thought by the majority that the question was hardly worth making a difficulty about, and the three hundred survivors were set free. A request by Polybius, that he and his comrades might be restored to their former rank and honours, met with a refusal, and the unfortunate men returned home, with a very natural feeling of animosity against the

Power which had treated them with such unfeeling oppression. Their influence over Greece was not a happy one. They took counsel too much of their revenge and hatred, and were doubtless instrumental in bringing about that series of events which led to the final extinction of liberty in Hellas. They had not even the virtue of honesty; for, while they opposed the corruption of the Romanising party, they were equally corrupt themselves. During the period of their enforced seclusion in Italy, Callicrates maintained his attained the most extravagant proportions; and, to an acute observer like Polybius, it was plain that a catastrophe was approaching, from which he separated himself by accompanying Scipio Æmilianus to Africa in the final war against Carthage.

A few incidents were to occur before the last struggle between the two great nations of classical antiquity. In 149 B.C.—two years after the return of the Achæan exiles—a pretender laid claim to the throne of Macedon. A young man named Andriscus stated that he was a grandson of Philip V.;



THE ROMANS AT CORINTH.

ascendancy in the Achæan legislative body, though very generally hated as a mercenary traitor. On the occasion of a war between Crete and Rhodes, which broke out in 152 B.C., and in which each belligerent solicited aid from the Achæans, Callicrates told the Assembly that they ought not either to wage war or furnish succours without the approval of Rome. Such were the abject counsels which provoked among the returned exiles a spirit of furious opposition. Unfortunately, their action was characterised by little wisdom or honour; and when Polybius returned to Greece, some time after the rest of his countrymen, he found the land distracted by reckless violence. Faction, which at the best of times was rife in these communities, had

but he met with few supporters, and, having fled to the court of Demetrius, King of Syria, was by that monarch despatched to Rome. The matter, however, was regarded with such little gravity that the young man was allowed to escape, and soon afterwards entered Thessaly at the head of some Thracian warriors, by whose aid he defeated and slew the Roman Prætor, Juvenius Thalna, in 148 B.C. The chief of the Achæan League at that period was a man named Diæus, and to this person it appeared that the fitting time had arrived for making an attack on the Lacedæmonians, between whom and the Achæans there had never been much community of sentiment. War was accordingly declared; but it was against

the policy of Rome that the independence of Sparta should be broken down. Metellus, the new Prætor in Thessaly, having vanquished Andriscus (the Pseudo-Philippus, as he was called by the Romans), attention was directed to the doings of the Achæan League. A commission, headed by Aurelius Orestes, proceeded to Corinth, and informed the chiefs of the Confederation that they must relinquish all sovereignty over that city, Argos, and Lacedæmon. At the next meeting of the Assembly, the utmost violence prevailed, and the commissioners, with Orestes at their head, were threatened with personal outrage. On the matter being represented to the Senate, it was seen that some notice of such a defiance must be taken. There appears, however, to have been an actual reluctance to adopt extreme measures, and a second commission was sent into the Peloponnesus, to require satisfaction for what had just occurred, but to do so in moderate language, so as to spare the pride of the Achæans.

Nothing like a satisfactory answer could be obtained, and Metellus, who was then in Macedon, despatched some of his chief officers into the south, to see whether the Achæans could be either cajoled or menaced into submission. All these attempts ended in failure, and by 147 B.C. the exiles had acquired such a hold over the majority of their countrymen that it was evident a collision with Rome could not be long delayed. Callicrates had now been dead about two years, and the moderating force which, whatever the baseness of his motives, might at this time have been exercised with some advantage, was entirely wanting. As if inspired by an evil fate, the Achæans determined to attempt the conquest of all Greece, although they might have been sure that no such enterprise would be permitted by Rome, and that the power of that State was immeasureably greater than any which they could bring into the field. In the opening days of 146 B.C., Critolaus, the Strategus for the year, marched against Heraclea, in the Maliac Gulf, which had given offence by defying the anthority of the League. Although joined at this spot by the Thebans, Critolaus felt his courage unequal to encountering the Roman force, under Metellus, which at once marched towards the threatened point. He withdrew before the arrival of the enemy, and, abandoning the defence of Thermopylæ, which might have been held for an indefinite period, was overtaken and defeated at Scarphea, in Locris. The Senate had already declared war against the League, and in Metellus the Republic had an able and vigorous commander. Marching south towards the Isthmus of Corinth, he passed through Thebes (which he found in a state of extreme misery and desolation), and continued his progress without delay. The command of the Achæan forces was now in the hands of Diæus, one of the chief leaders of the war-party; but he was ill-seconded by the people, who, from a mood of reckless provocation, had passed into one of abject terror. He emancipated 12,000 household slaves, hoping in this way to swell his attenuated ranks, but at the most could not get together more than 15,000 men. In the meanwhile, the Roman forces were largely increased; for another army, under the command of Mummius, one of the Consuls for the year, had landed on the Isthmus of Corinth, and assumed the principal command. The Romans stationed on the neck of land, however, kept but a feeble watch, and Diæus was enabled to surprise one of their outposts, and to return safely to his own lines, carrying with him five hundred of the enemy's shields.

Absurdly elated by this slight affair, Diæus drew out his forces before the city of Corinth, and offered battle to his antagonist. Metellus had now been sent back to Macedon, together with his army, so that it was only with Mummius and his legions that Diæus had to contend. A disgraceful panic fell upon the Achæan cavalry, who fled before the Roman horse could reach them. The infantry behaved better, maintaining their ground until attacked in flank, where the dispersed cavalry should have given them support. Nevertheless, the slaughter does not appear to have been great, as the Achæans, finding themselves overmatched, retired into Corinth, which was close at hand. The strength of the Acropolis induced Mummius to pause before attacking it, and the fugitives from the battle quitted Corinth the same night, together with many of the citizens. Diæus did not enter the city at all, but fled to Megalopolis, where, having killed his wife with his own hand, he put an end to his existence by poison. The Corinthians remaining in the town determined upon making no defence. Trusting to obtain better terms by submission, they left their gates open, and informed the Roman general that such was the case. Mummius, however, suspected treachery, and waited a day or two before entering the city. Then, although no resistance was offered, a horrible sack and massacre took place. All the men were slain; the women and children were sold by auction; the pictures, statues, and other works of art, as well as all the treasures, were carried away; and, at a signal given by blast of trumpet, the whole city was committed to the flames. It is said that the Senate had expressly decreed this detest-

able crime; and when the growing disposition of the Romans to acts of savage violence is taken into account, the assertion seems but too probable. Corinth was one of the most prosperous and magnificent of Grecian cities. The works of art existing within its walls at the period of the siege were almost priceless in value, and the statues, moulded from what was known as Corinthian brass, were famous all over the civilised world. A story was at one time current that, during the conflagration lit by Mummius, all the metals in the city were fused into one mass, and formed a new species of composition, which afterwards became famous. The statement, however, has since been doubted, and it is certain that long before the sack of Corinth a species of metal was produced there, which seems to have been a mixture of copper with small quantities of gold and silver, resulting in a compound of remarkable brilliance. This was the celebrated Corinthian brass, which is held to have nearly resembled the metal called aurichalcum. Of aurichalcum we read that it was composed of either copper and zinc, or of copper, tin, and lead; presenting in the one instance a pale yellow lustre, and in the other a darker colour, though still with a likeness to gold. By means of calamine, this mixture was rendered tough and malleable; and it was doubtless from some such amalgam that the famous statues of Corinth were cast.

Mummius was a man of humble origin and boorish nature. Neither he nor his soldiers understood the value of the great works of art which the fortune of war had placed in their possession, and it was some time before they came to a knowledge of the fact that these marbles and bronzes were capable of fetching an enormous price in money. The soldiers made dice-boards of the finest paintings; but when, for one of the works, Attalus II., King of Pergamus, offered an enormous sum, greater care was taken of the rest, because it was apparent that they represented so much wealth. The ignorant Roman general conceived that the painting desired by Attalus must be a talisman, and accordingly sent it, together with many other productions, to Rome. To the seamen who undertook to carry the pictures and statues to Italy, he gave the celebrated caution that, if any should be lost, they must be replaced with new pieces of equal worth. Let us not forget to add that, whatever his faults and shortcomings, Mummius was at any rate not avaricious. He reserved little for himself, and, after his death, his daughter found that his whole estate was not sufficient for her dowry. Having completed the ruin of Corinth, Mummius travelled through the Peloponnesus to punish those who had taken an active share in the war. The walls of several towns were dismantled, and their populations disarmed. Such of the Achæan cities as had contributed to the war were condemned to pay two hundred talents to Sparta. The adherents of Diæus were sentenced to death or exile, with the confiscation of their property; and the greater part of the Corinthian territory was annexed to Sicyon, which undertook the superintendence of the Isthmian Games. Afterwards proceeding into the north, Mummius acted with great severity towards the people of Bœotia and Eubœa, and at Chalcis condemned a large number of the principal citizens to death. In his later acts (which were characterised by increasing equity and moderation), he was aided by the valuable and mature advice of Polybius, who, after being present at the siege of Carthage, arrived in Greece in time to witness the miserable destruction of Corinth. It was beyond the power of Polybius to avert the doom of his country, and we have no ground for supposing that he behaved in other than a patriotic spirit when associating himself with the Roman conqueror. He declined to accept any part of the confiscated property of Diæus; and when it was proposed to destroy the statue of Philopœmen, the influence of Polybius was successfully exerted to prevent so shameful an act.

Corinth was long before it rose again; but about a hundred years after its destruction by Mummius, the city was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, and, when visited by St. Paul in the first Christian century, appears to have been a flourishing place. The affairs of Greece generally were settled by Mummius, acting as Proconsul, and by a body of ten commissioners, specially sent out from Rome. Polybius was admitted to their counsels at the particular request of Scipio Æmilianus, with whom he had lived on terms of great intimacy and affection. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was formed into a province under the name of Achaia. Corinth became the residence of a Roman Governor; but, for the present, the other communities were left in a state of nominal freedom, instead of being ruled by a Proconsul. None the less, they paid an annual tribute to Rome, and were obliged to submit all disputes to the Governor of Macedon. With the latter province, Thessaly and Epirus were now incorporated; and the new arrangements were to some extent carried out before the return of Mummius. Strange to say, this rough and violent soldier became almost popular before he quitted Greece. The damage done to the public buildings on

the Isthmus of Corinth was repaired by his order; the temples of Olympia and Delphi underwent adornment at his hands; and, on making a circuit of the principal Greek cities, he received tokens of the national gratitude. Polybius was left in Hellas to settle various matters of detail arising out of the changed political condition. His countrymen raised a statue to his honour, on the pedestal of which they placed an inscription, testifying that Greece would not have fallen had she followed his advice. This was doubtless the fact, though the long association of Polybius with the Roman Republic was hardly calculated to recommend his counsels to the Greeks. Now that the first bitterness of subjection was over, it was perhaps felt that, severe as had been the treatment meted out to particular cities, the country generally might have fared still worse. The witty Greeks expressed their relief by the phrase, "If we had not been ruined betimes, we should not have been saved;" and, paradoxical as the words may appear, they touched upon the truth.

The new institutions of Greece were decidedly oligarchical—a character which they always retained during the predominance of Rome; but the stringency of the first regulations was greatly relaxed a few years afterwards. The Achæans, Bœotians, and Eubœans were relieved of their fines; restraints on commerce and intercommunication were removed, and the federal unions of former times were revived. The Romans appear to have regarded these concessions as a restoration of liberty to Greece; but, although undoubtedly valuable, it cannot be said that they amounted to a gift of freedom in any complete acceptation of the term. Greece had fallen before a power stronger, sterner, and better organised than her own; and for this deplorable catastrophe she had in a great measure to thank herself. The jealous subdivision of the country into a number of antagonistic commonwealths had so weakened the general strength by continual wars and tumults that little remained for encountering a foreign enemy. The national vices, moreover, had contributed to the national ruin; and in this respect it does not seem that the misfortune of conquest had any chastening effect. From the period of the Roman subjection, the nation continually wasted away; the population in many parts being so slight, that places which had once been remarkable for their numbers were, in the time of Strabo, almost desolate. This was a little before the Christian era, and therefore after Rome had been the governing State for more than a century. Many cities had then entirely vanished; whole districts which had formerly been in tillage were given up to interminable sheep-walks, and to pasturage for herds of cattle. Thebes was a mere village, and nearly all the other Bœotian towns were reduced to ruins and to empty names. These results are doubtless to be attributed in part to the exacting nature of the Roman government, which wrung such heavy taxation from the people as to leave them scarcely any means of livelihood. But the effect was also due to another cause, viz., to the habits of the people, who, whether from profligacy or despair, reared only the smallest families, and in some instances none at all. The tendency increased in a marked degree after the Roman conquest, but it originated before that date. We have the testimony of Polybius that in his day the evil had already gone very far. "In our times," he writes, "all Greece has been afflicted with a failure of offspring—in a word, with a scarcity of men; so that the cities have been left desolate, and the land waste, though we have not been visited either with a series of wars, or with epidemic diseases. . . . When men gave themselves up to ease, and comfort, and indolence, and would neither marry, nor rear children born out of marriage, or at most only one or two, in order to leave these rich, and to bring them up in luxury, the evil soon spread, imperceptibly, but with rapid growth; for when there was only a child or two in a family for war or disease to carry off, the inevitable consequence was, that houses were left desolate, and cities by degrees became like deserted hives. There is no need to consult the gods about the mode of deliverance from this evil; for any man would tell us that the first thing we have to do is to change our habits, or at all events to enact laws compelling parents to rear their children." It was as if the Greek, in the despondency which had seized upon his nature, had resolved on waging war with human existence itself. Infanticide was employed to diminish the population actually born; and, as the number of births was not allowed to be large, the rapid depopulation of the country followed with the inexorable certainty of fate.

For several generations, Rome was certainly a hard taskmaster to the Greeks; but towards the close of the Republican period a milder spirit appears to have arisen. Pompey settled a colony of pirates in the neighbourhood of Dyme, a city of Achaia. The country was devoid of inhabitants; but the lands were fertile, and the opportunity was a good one for restoring the former state of prosperity, while at the same time giving the freebooters a chance of settling down to honest work. Julius Cæsar, as we have said, restored the pros-

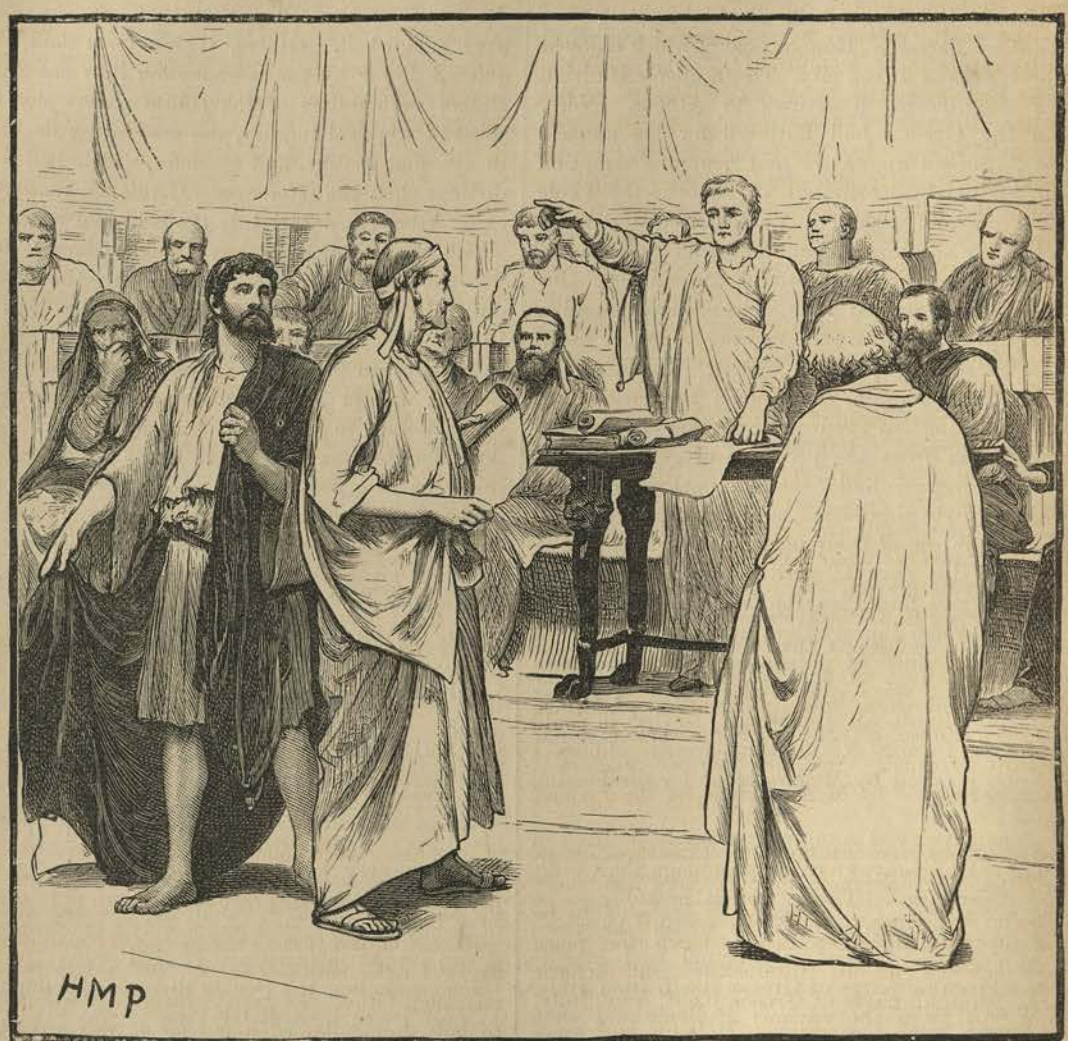
perity of Corinth, and contemplated opening a canal through the isthmus, which would doubtless have brought back much of the commerce that in former times had made Corinth one of the richest cites in the world. Under the Empire, Greece was treated with much greater consideration than in the days of the Republic. Augustus founded at Patræ a Roman colony which enjoyed the privileges of a free city. The Emperor Hadrian added magnificent structures to Athens. Nero, whom the Greeks had flattered for his musical talents, decreed an entire and general exemption from provincial government throughout the whole of Greece; and although Vespasian restored the Proconsular administration, and again required the payment of tribute, it would appear that this severity was provoked by a succession of tumults, which proved that the Greeks were no longer fitted for the exercise of political liberty. Down to the end of Trajan's reign, the Roman Emperors were always willing to redress any complaint that reached them from the province of Achaia. The Greeks, therefore, had excellent opportunities for recruiting their population, and rebuilding to some extent the fabric of their national glory. "Yet at the end of this period," writes a modern historian of Hellas, "we find Plutarch declaring that Greece had shared more largely than any other country in the general failure of population which had been caused by the wars and civil conflicts of former times over almost all the world; so that it could then hardly furnish 3,000 heavy-armed soldiers—the number raised by Megara alone for the Persian War."*

Athens preserved a more respectable position in these days of enslavement or patronage than most of the other cities. The reason is probably to be found in the high reputation which the place always enjoyed as an intellectual and artistic centre. From all parts of Greece itself, from Italy, from Egypt, from the various Hellenic and semi-Hellenic populations of Western Asia and Northern Africa, students of philosophy, and admirers of sculpture and painting, flocked to Athens as to the metropolis of the world of mind. This influx brought some degree of prosperity to the famous Attic city. It was not wealthy, as of yore; at times there were seasons of poverty, which were relieved by special bounties; yet Athens still retained an aspect of dignity, and even of some grandeur. Its population was recruited by the free and unstinted manner in which the franchise was granted to aliens. The privilege, indeed, was carried to such an extent that the Athenians were at length described as a confused mixture of nationalities; and to the same cause was attributed a decay in the purity of the language, observable in the early Christian ages. Still, it can hardly be doubted that the presence of foreigners at Athens rescued the city from the collapse which might otherwise have afflicted it. Greece, it has been said, vanquished Rome by the introduction into the ruder Italian communities of the subtle philosophy, the spirit of sceptical inquiry, the enervating devotion to art, and luxury, and pleasure, which had long distinguished the Hellenes. If this be really the case, Athens was certainly the principal agent by which the subjugation was brought about: her's was the influence which men like Cato the Censor dreaded. It was probably by his advice that in 161 B.C. the Roman Senate authorised the Prætor Pomponius to banish all philosophers and rhetoricians; and in 155 B.C. a circumstance occurred which seemed to justify the distrust of Cato. The Athenians sent an embassy to Rome to beg for the remission of a fine imposed upon their city by the Senate for depredations committed in the Oropian territory. Their representatives were the heads of the three great philosophical schools then existing in Greece; one being Diogenes the Stoic (who is not to be identified with the more famous Diogenes), another Critolaus the Peripatetic, and the third Carneades, the founder of the New Academy. The Roman youth were fascinated by the intellectual accomplishments of these men; but Cato, who was at first charmed by an eloquent oration from Carneades on the subject of justice, was afterwards scandalised in the highest degree by hearing the same orator, on the following day, disprove all his own arguments, and contend that justice was merely a conventional device for the maintenance of civil order. At his recommendation, the Senate directed the Sophists to quit Rome immediately; for it was seen that such equivocations were destructive of all morality, and all social organisation. In later ages, this philosophising spirit obtained a hold on Rome, which was certainly none the better for the influence.

The memory of the past was not suffered to die out in Greece. The national spirit never sank so low that Greeks forgot their ancestry, or the splendid part which they had once played upon the European stage. Panopeus, on the northern side of Parnassus, which is mentioned by Homer as a place of importance, had, at the time of Pausanias, in the second Christian century, sunk to so wretched a condition that it possessed neither a

* Thirlwall's History of Greece, Vol. VIII., chap. 66.

gymnasium nor a theatre, neither a market-place nor a fountain. Yet the miserable people recollected all the traditions and legends of their city and their race, and showed the traveller remnants of the clay out of which men and women had been moulded by Prometheus. Other relics, equally mythological, but equally dear to the national heart, were exhibited in various parts of Greece; and the festivals, games, and religious solemnities of former times were carefully preserved. The battle of Platæa was commemorated by the Feast of Liberty; the Amphictyonic, Achæan, Phocian, and Bœotian Councils still held their meetings; and the heroes of the mythical and the historical ages were honoured with anniversary rites long after the iron heel of Rome was planted on the neck of Greece.* Amongst the intellectual classes, religion had been much weakened by the speculations of philosophers; but amongst the mass of the people it was yet a living and powerful influence. This belief in the old gods, heroes, dæmons, and minor divinities, was cherished by the enormous number of sculptures spread all over the country, the subjects of which were religious in by far the greater number of instances. Many of these statues were from time to time carried away into Italy; yet they were so numerous that, after repeated pillaging, Greece could still count her works of art by the thousand. They helped to maintain the national religion, and, as a necessary consequence,



THE SOPHISTS EXPELLED FROM ROME.

* Thirlwall's History.

fostered the national feeling with which that religion was so intimately blended.

For many centuries after the fall of Corinth, in 146 B.C., Greece was nothing more than a province of the Roman Empire, or of what is called the Greek Empire, which arose out of the division of the vast realm swayed by the Cæsars, and which had its capital at Constantinople. The separation of the East from the West was a gain to Hellas, because, although Constantinople was geographically a Thracian city, its population was mainly Greek, and thus Greeks had once more a supreme voice in the direction of their own affairs. But, as we proceed with the course of this History, we shall find that in those later ages Greece was overrun by Goths, Huns, Bulgarians, and other barbarians, who spread the utmost misery wherever their savage hordes were able to penetrate. There can be no doubt that in the course of these revolutions the population was greatly modified and deteriorated. Fallmerayer, a German historian, has even gone the length of contending that the ancient Greeks were utterly swept away by a vast inroad of Sclavonic warriors and adventurers; and this view has been adopted by other authors. Nevertheless, it has not been generally sanctioned, and the opinion most commonly received is that the modern Greeks are to a large extent descended from the ancient stock, though with the admixture of other elements, chiefly Albanian and Sclavonic. The later developments of the Greek race belong to another portion of this narrative. But the subjugation of Greece by the Roman Republic forms a turning point, from which it is natural to glance forward at the new direction of affairs. The Romans themselves probably foresaw that much of signal importance would ensue from their easy victory over Diæus before the walls of Corinth. When Metellus and Mummius returned to Rome, near the end of 146 B.C., they were rewarded with splendid triumphs. The honorary name of Macedonicus was bestowed upon the former of those generals, while to the latter was assigned the title of Achaicus, in memory of his triumph over the Achæan League, and his settlement of the affairs of Greece.

CHAPTER XV.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR AND FALL OF CARTHAGE.

Recovery of the Commercial Prosperity of Carthage—Jealousy of Rome—Encroachments of Masinissa—Complaints of Carthage to the Roman Senate—Masinissa Encouraged in his Spoliations—Enmity of Cato the Censor to the Punic Commonwealth—"Delenda est Carthago!"—More Liberal Views of Scipio Nasica—Rupture between the Carthaginians and Masinissa—Defeat of the Former—Abject Submission of Carthage to Rome—Perfidious Concessions of the Romans—Despatch of an Expedition to Utica—The Carthaginians Induced to Disarm—Decree of the Senate that Carthage should be Destroyed, and the Citizens Removed Inland—Popular Tumult against the Pacific Party—Hasty Preparations for War—Defection of Masinissa from the Roman Alliance, and Death shortly after—Situation and Defences of Carthage—Ill-success of the Roman Attack—Brilliant Services of Scipio Æmilianus—Successes of the Carthaginians—Scipio Appointed to the Chief Command—Taking of Megara by the Romans—Pressure of Famine—Blockade of the Outer Harbour by Scipio—The Carthaginians Cut a New Passage to the Sea—Naval Disaster—Successes of the Assailants—Attack on the Byrsa, or Citadel—Terrible Street Fighting—Surrender of the Garrison—Despicable Conduct of Hasdrubal—Destruction of Carthage—Division of the Territory—The Newer City Built by Augustus—Modern Explorations into the Ruins of Carthage.

CARTHAGE, which at one time overshadowed the youthful Republic of Rome with a greatness so far superior as to threaten it with eclipse—which, on two occasions, entered into a deadly struggle with the European commonwealth — which, by the genius of Hannibal, shook its rival to the centre, and maintained a position in Italy itself for more than fifteen years,—Carthage now reappears upon the scene, to pass through a crisis of agony to her fate. The Second Punic War came to a close at the battle of Zama in 202 B.C., and the terms of peace were approved by the Senate and people in the following year. Half a century of repose elapsed, during which the African State recovered a good deal of its former prosperity. This, however, must be understood as simply meaning that the merchant-princes were once more becoming wealthy, and that commerce was again flourishing in one of her ancient seats. As a political, military, and naval Power, Carthage was effectually reduced to impotence by the peace of 201. But Rome dreaded lest the confidence inspired by

returning opulence should suggest ambitious designs, so that a renewed contest might suddenly be thrust upon her at some inopportune moment. Cruelty is generally the counsellor of fear, and the Romans, being possessed with this apprehension, lost no opportunity of plotting against Carthage. The motive is readily to be understood, but the fact was none the less unjustifiable. Rome did not wait for any overt act on the part of her unfortunate rival. She assumed the worst, and acted with the relentless promptitude which usually characterized her policy.

Masinissa, as the friend of Rome, made repeated attacks on Carthage, and succeeded in wresting from her the valuable towns of Emporiæ. Nevertheless, she still reigned over three hundred cities of the Libyan territory, and the population of the great city itself, with its immediate surroundings, was 700,000. Enormous riches were stored up in the capital, and the warlike resources of the people were still immense, as the earlier stages of the Third Punic War abundantly testified. It was not probable, therefore, that such a State would endure in absolute silence the rapacity and insolence of Masinissa. The rulers of the Republic, however, could not take any active steps against him, because the treaty of peace between Rome and Carthage contained a stipulation that the latter was not to make war in Africa without the consent of her conqueror. Such consent was not likely to be given in the case of Masinissa, and Carthage was obliged to act the humble part of a suppliant. She made complaints to Rome, and begged for redress. But the Numidian king had a steady supporter in the Roman Senate, and, about 161 B.C., it was decided that Carthage should give up to Masinissa all the seaports of the Lesser Syrtis which yet remained to her, and should likewise hand over to her enemy (who had already seized many towns in the same region) a sum of five hundred talents in compensation for loss of revenue from the cities which Carthage still claimed as her own. This extravagantly one-sided decision encouraged Masinissa to a still bolder course of spoliation; and he took from the once-mighty Republic all her possessions west of the river Tusca, together with the Great Plain on the upper courses of the Bagradas. Carthage again appealed to Rome; but the Senate replied by requiring that both parties should bind themselves beforehand to accept whatever decision might be awarded. As it was evident that this foreshadowed another exhibition of partiality towards the Numidian monarch, the Carthaginians refused to be tricked by so transparent a device.

Rome had now resolved to effect the ruin of Carthage, and to allow no considerations of justice or mercy to turn aside her purpose. The national feeling in this respect found earnest and impassioned utterance through the lips of Cato the Censor, who lost no opportunity of impressing his views upon the Senate. It was he who repeatedly ejaculated, "Delenda est Carthago!" (Carthage must be destroyed.) Cato was now very near the end of his long life, and it is painful to think that his latest advice to his countrymen should have borne so hard and relentless a character. Still, we must do him the justice to admit that his feeling was not one of purposeless malignity, but that it proceeded from a kind of selfish patriotism, which made him fear for the safety of Rome so long as Carthage existed at all. On one occasion, when speaking in the Senate, he drew from his toga a bunch of ripe figs, at a period of the year when figs could not ripen in the neighbourhood of Rome. Throwing the fruit on the floor of the building, he exclaimed, "Those figs were gathered but three days ago at Carthage; so close is the enemy to our walls!" Whenever Cato was called upon to vote on any subject whatever, he would invariably add, in accordance with a right which the rules of the Assembly conferred on him, "I vote, moreover, that Carthage should be destroyed." But, although the views of so distinguished and experienced a man necessarily carried great weight, there were other Senators of eminence who were opposed to the unsparing policy which Cato supported. One of the most remarkable of these opponents was Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Scipio with the long nose)—a name which he inherited from his father, who in 204 B.C. was adjudged by the Senate to be the best citizen in the State. To the younger Nasica it appeared that the preservation of Carthage was a desirable thing, since the existence of such a rival might act as a check on the growing licentiousness of the Roman people. Yet this was certainly not the view most generally entertained. Fear and ambition conspired to give the words of Cato a force and persuasiveness, such as the more reasonable counsels of Nasica were not likely to possess.

Carthage, on the other hand, saw that she must either at once submit to extinction, or make an effort, however hopeless, to avert her doom. The rulers of the city had in previous years declared that they would rather live the slaves of Rome than be subject to the depredations of Masinissa; that it would be better to die at once than exist at the mercy of a Numidian robber. But it was no part of the Roman design to include Carthage

among the possessions of the Italian Republic. The intention was rather that the African State should be reduced to the extremity of weakness by the encroachments of its neighbour, and then extinguished by one rapid and fatal blow. At length, in 154 B.C., the Carthaginians summoned up courage to banish forty partisans of Masinissa, and to make the people swear never to permit their return. An army was then recruited from among such of the Numidians as still held aloof from their sovereign; and these troops were placed under the command of Ariobarzanes, a grandson of Syphax. Masinissa at once submitted the case to Rome, and envoys were despatched to Africa to require the disbanding of the troops, and the destruction of the naval stores. The Carthaginian Senate would perhaps have yielded, had not a popular rising compelled its members to adopt a more independent attitude. The persons of the Roman envoys were menaced, and Cato, on learning the fact, moved in the Roman Senate that war should be immediately declared.

It was resolved, however, to give the Carthaginians another opportunity of submission; but before fresh envoys could be empowered, hostilities had broken out between Carthage and Masinissa. In 150 B.C., the Numidian king sent back, under a military escort, the exiles who some time previously had been driven out of Carthage. The Carthaginians refused to receive them, and Masinissa marched upon the city at the head of a large force, which inflicted a terrible defeat upon the republicans. The Punic general, Hasdrubal, was forced to surrender, and also to sign a convention granting the full demands of Masinissa. But the treacherous Numidian was not content with these successes. He caused the vanquished to pass under the yoke, and then basely slew them on their way back to the city. At that time, Scipio Æmilianus was serving as a Military Tribune in the army of Spain, and it so happened that he was despatched by Lucullus into Africa to obtain a supply of elephants from Masinissa. From the summit of a neighbouring hill, he witnessed the battle between the Numidians and Carthaginians; and he was in the habit of observing, in later years, that this was a sight such as only two had enjoyed before him—viz., Jupiter from Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when they looked down upon the battles of the Greeks and Trojans. Masinissa was now about ninety years of age; yet he charged at the head of his cavalry with all the ardour of a youth.

The defeat of Hasdrubal was fatal to the patriotic party at Carthage. The merchant-princes recovered power, and, dreading the vengeance of Rome, sent envoys to that city to offer humble apologies for the Republic having made war without first obtaining permission. They threw the blame upon the generals, declared them guilty of high treason, and sentenced them to death, together with all who had supported their recent action. But the Punic envoys, on making their appearance before the Roman Senate, were told that their excuses were insufficient, and that Rome required satisfaction. They asked what satisfaction would be considered adequate, and received for answer that the Carthaginians knew that best themselves. At the same time, an embassy arrived from Utica, the object of which was to express the entire willingness of that city that Carthage should be destroyed. This was a welcome circumstance to the Romans, since it offered them a convenient place for landing, and a base of operations not more than ten miles from Carthage itself. A second embassy from the doomed Republic, consisting of thirty principal citizens charged with unlimited powers, was sent to Rome shortly afterwards; but the die was now cast. An army of 80,000 men had been raised in 149 B.C., and this was despatched to Lilybæum, in Sicily, under the Consuls Manilius and Censorinus. A certain pretence of negotiation, however, was still kept up. The last envoys (who had placed Carthage and all her possessions at the disposal of the Senate) were told that the offending city should retain her municipal freedom and laws, her territory and property, provided that three hundred of her noblest youths were given up as hostages to the Consuls, through whom the further commands of the Senate would be communicated. The unfortunate Government of the dying Republic had no choice but to obey. The three hundred boys were taken from their parents' embraces, in the midst of terrible manifestations of grief and apprehension. They were sent to Lilybæum, and thence to Rome; yet, although the Carthaginians had made this formal act of submission, warlike operations were not countermanded. The troops were landed in the harbour of Utica, and took up their quarters in the old camp of Scipio Africanus, at the mouth of the Bagradas. Another deputation soon waited on the Consuls, and asked what more could be required. Censorinus replied that Carthage was now under the protection of Rome, and must therefore yield without reserve all arms and instruments of war. Again the hard conditions were accepted, and the Carthaginians delivered 200,000 stand of arms and 2,000 catapults—a fact which shows how considerable were the warlike resources of the city, even at this period of its degradation and fall. The Romans now believed that Carthage

was utterly defenceless, and, in shameless violation of the pledge that had been given by the Senate, Censorinus announced that, so long as Carthage stood by the sea, Rome could not feel sure of its submission. It was therefore the will of his Government that it should be removed to a distance of twelve miles, and that the older city should be destroyed. The Carthaginian envoys were so stupefied by this cruel judgment that they fell insensible to the ground. Recovering themselves after a while, they broke into passionate exclamations against the perfidy of the Roman Senate. Censorinus endeavoured to explain away the guarantee of his State by arguing that it referred to the people of Carthage, and not to the houses in which they dwelt. In brief, he added, the will of the Senate was what he had set forth: the thing must be done, and done quickly.

The miserable Carthaginians had been driven to the wall, and, finding escape hopeless, and all concessions ineffective, they turned upon their destroyer in a spasm of defiance. The few who counselled submission were dashed aside, and the mob rose in rebellion against their rulers. They burst into the Senate-house, where the members were sitting with closed doors, deliberating on the message which the envoys had brought back. They demanded to know the whole truth, which they had already obscurely guessed from the dejected appearance of the negotiators as they passed through the streets, and from the cries of despair which were heard proceeding from the Council-chamber. Concealment was impossible; and when the facts were declared, the people raged with fury against those whom they considered traitors to the national existence. The magistrates who had sanctioned the surrender of the hostages and the delivery of the arms were compelled to fly for their lives. The bearers of the news from the Roman camp were subjected to severe punishment. All Italians found in the city were put to death with torture; the very gods who had forsaken the State were treated with indignity. The people rushed to the armoury, but found it empty of weapons; they flocked to the harbour, but saw that it contained no ships. The mothers of the hostages ran from place to place, upbraiding the senators who had brought the Republic to ruin. Despair and anguish were visible everywhere; yet despair itself counselled a last wild resistance. The Senate declared war. Hasdrubal, who had been but recently expelled as a traitor, was invested with the chief command outside the city, and took the field at the head of 20,000 men, whom he had levied by his own authority with a view to attacking Carthage, in revenge for the wrongs which he had suffered. Another Hasdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, was appointed to a distinct command within the city; and when the Consuls refused an armistice of thirty days, which was requested in order that another embassy might be sent to Rome, the people made every effort to prepare for the inevitable struggle. Men and women worked day and night, in public and private buildings, and even in the very temples of the gods, manufacturing the arms that were so sorely needed. Every day saw the production of 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 spears and javelins, and 1,000 bolts. Large numbers of catapults were also produced with astonishing rapidity, and the women cut off their long hair, to be twisted into strings for the discharge of the missiles. Lead was taken from the roofs of the houses, and iron from the walls. The fortifications were strengthened, the gates closed; and all the slaves in the city were set free, that they might labour at the common defence.

Meanwhile, the Consuls remained idly at Utica, believing that the Carthaginians must of necessity submit without a contest. At length, however, they approached the city with their forces, but were surprised to find it in a posture of defence. Still they refrained from the attack, in the hope that the Carthaginians, having submitted so often before, would submit again. Another circumstance which contributed to this hesitation was the sudden jealousy which Masinissa now displayed. The aged Numidian was well content to see the destruction of Carthage, but for his own benefit, not for that of Rome. He therefore stood aloof, and refused to furnish a contingent. This conduct would probably at some future time have subjected him to the vengeance of Rome, had he not died soon afterwards. The Romans, however, were not to be turned aside from their purpose because an ally, although a powerful one, had failed them. They resolved to attack Carthage without further delay, and doubtless considered that the task would not be attended by any great difficulty. Nevertheless, the defence of the city was one of the most heroic and devoted in all history; and although the assailants prevailed, it was at a cost which they had not anticipated.

The situation of Carthage was favourable to defence. It stood on a peninsula joined to the mainland by an isthmus of no great width. The chief part of the city is believed to have been in the south of this peninsula, of which the northern side was occupied by a suburb, called by the Romans Megara, which consisted chiefly of market-gardens. The sea formed a natural

defence on three sides, while towards the land the isthmus was protected by triple walls, rising in two stories to the height of forty-five feet, and flanked at intervals by towers attaining an altitude of ninety feet. To the south were an outer and an inner harbour, the first of which was appropriated to the discharge of merchandize, while the second gave accommodation to the navy. The Inner Harbour, which was called by the Greeks Cothon, or the Cup, had a small island in its centre, while numerous docks, presenting a stately façade of Ionic columns, were appointed for the reception of the ships. The entrance to this basin, which was somewhat narrow, was closed by strong chains drawn across it. The circumference of the city itself was about twenty-three miles; the citadel, which was built upon the highest point, measured some two miles round. Such was the position which the Romans had to attack. Its fortifications were extremely strong; but there was a weak point at the south angle of the town, where a narrow tongue of land, called the Tænia, cut off the open gulf from an adjacent lake. The island in the middle of the Inner Harbour formed an excellent station for the Chief Admiral of the fleet. Here he had his head-quarters, and from the most elevated part could look over the intervening strip of land, and see all that was occurring in the open sea. He could also superintend the operations of his vessels and the work of his men, his orders to whom were communicated by the sound of a trumpet. At the same time, his own position was concealed from outer view.

When the Romans began the attack, their army was divided into two bodies. Manilius assaulted the triple wall across the isthmus, while Censorinus, with the fleet, attacked the city from the harbour near the projecting headland. Yet the situation was not a little perilous, for Hasdrubal had taken up his station at Nepheris, on the opposite side of the Lake of Tunes, and there was no longer any Numidian ally to connteract this continual menace. Censorinus made an advance from the sea, at the point where the narrow tongue of land strikes out; but the assault was unsuccessful. The Roman commander then sailed into the Lake of Tunes, and made preparations for renewing the attempt; but his men were so seriously harassed by Himilco Phaneas, who had command of a body of light cavalry, that five hundred soldiers were killed before sufficient timber could be collected for the construction of engines required in the prosecution of a siege. At length, however, two immense battering-rams were erected on the Tænia, in front of the weak angle in the wall. A breach was soon effected; but it was partially filled up during the night, and the Roman engines were soon disabled by a sally from the garrison. When an assault was delivered on the following day, the storming party was obliged to retreat, and with difficulty escaped entire destruction. The pestilential vapours of the marshes began to tell upon the troops of Censorinus, and he put out to sea, followed by the fire-ships of the Carthaginians, which did much damage to the Roman vessels. Censorinus now returned to Rome to discharge some of the other duties of the Consular office, and the whole army was left under the directions of Manilius, whose abilities as a soldier were of the poorest order. The Carthaginians made repeated attacks on their assailants, and it was as much as Manilius could do to ward them off.

It happened, fortunately for the Romans, that they could count upon the services of Scipio Æmilianus, who was still outside the walls of Carthage in the capacity of Military Tribune. On two occasions he saved the besieging force from annihilation by his promptitude and genius. By skilful management, he shook the allegiance of Himilco Phaneas and his cavalry, and even pressed the Numidians once more into the service of Rome. Information of his abilities was not slow in reaching the capital, and Cato, a little before his death, pronounced him the only man who had given evidence of marked capacity in the siege of Carthage. Still, he was not at once appointed to the post of which he was manifestly the fittest occupant. A year of ill-success passed by, and in 148 B.C. Manilius was superseded by Calpurnius Piso. At the same time, Scipio left for Rome, taking with him Himilco Phaneas, whom he had now persuaded to forsake his position of enmity for one of alliance. The army escorted Scipio to the coast, and begged him to come back as Consul; but this was not immediately to happen. Piso succeeded no better than Manilius. He wasted his time in efforts to subdue the neighbouring cities of Africa, and refrained from pressing the siege of Carthage. The delay raised the spirits of the Carthaginians, and induced some of the Numidians to offer their assistance. The fortunes of Carthage were once more in the ascendant, and an effectual blow might perhaps have been struck, but for the outbreak of an unfortunate and discreditable feud between two of the generals. Hasdrubal, the commander in the field, brought his namesake in the city into suspicion on account of his relationship to Masinissa, of whom he was the grandson. His antagonism was pressed with such persistent rancour that the victim of his jealousy was put to

death in the Senate-house, and the successful intriguer assumed command of the city.

Thus the progress of the war was not satisfactory to either side. In Rome, great discontent was expressed at the dilatory proceedings of the Consuls, and loud demands were made that the chief command should be vested in the hands of Scipio Æmilianus. That distinguished officer put himself forward as a candidate for the Ædileship; but the unanimous voice of the Centuries saluted him as Consul, though he was below the legal age.

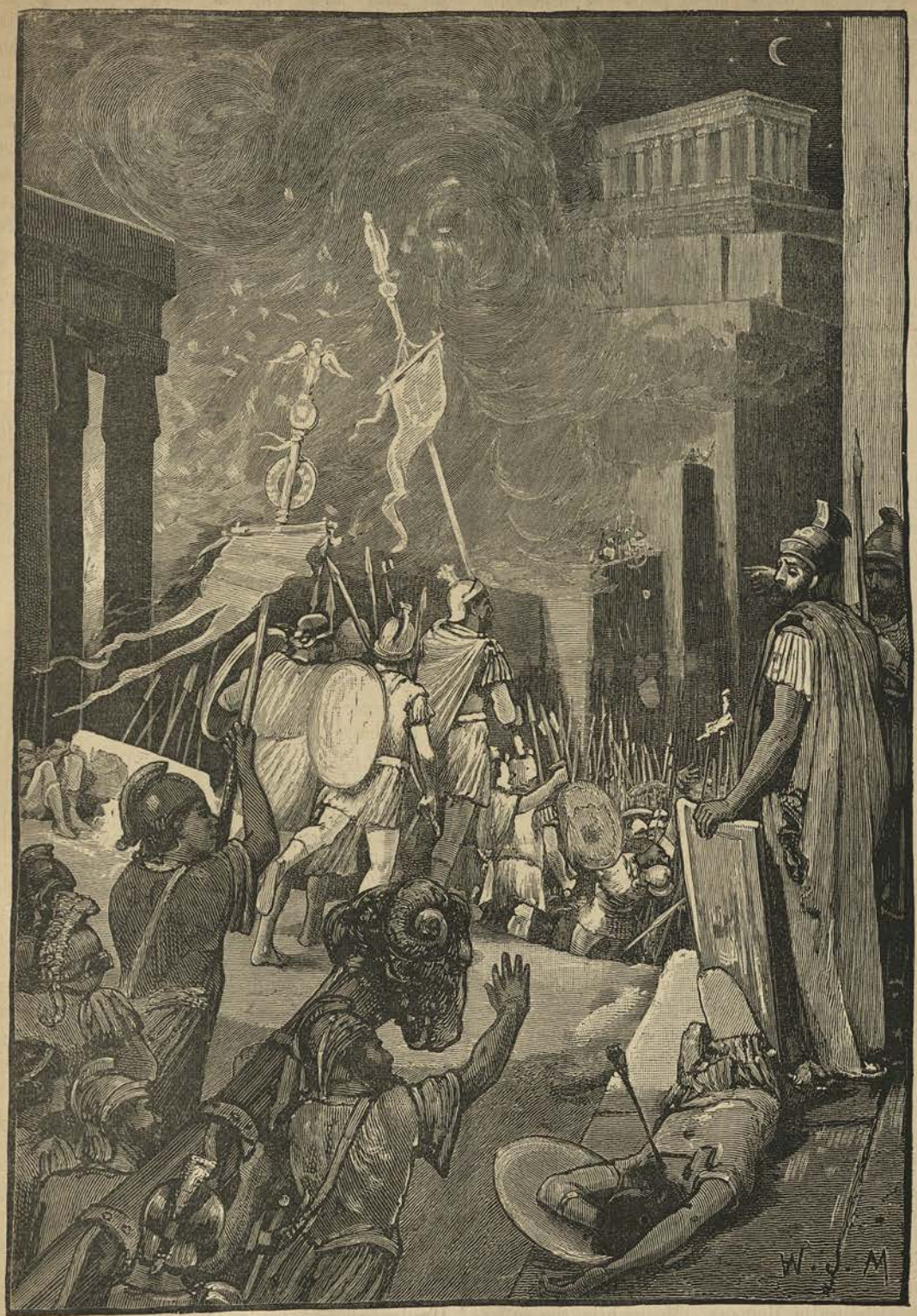
the gate, and admitted their comrades. The garrison of the suburb, and even the army in the field, retreated into the city after this disaster; and Hasdrubal, in a paroxysm of rage, tortured his prisoners on the battlements, and then flung them down the walls. This execrable deed was committed in defiance of the Council, who vainly endeavoured to restrain their chieftain, and some of whom fell victims to his furious passion. The loss of Megara was a serious misfortune to the Carthaginians, for, as the suburb consisted principally of market-

THE PLOUGH DRIVEN OVER THE SITE OF CARTHAGE.

By special decree, the Senate assigned Africa as his province, and he at once sailed for that region, accompanied by Polybius the historian, and by his friend Lælius, son of the earlier Lælius, who had gone with Scipio Africanus to the same spot. Early in the year 147 B.C., he arrived at Utica in command of new levies, and, fixing his head-quarters in a camp near Carthage, proceeded to restore discipline in the ranks of the army. Until the legions were once more in a fit state for action, he refrained from making any attack; but as soon as he felt sure of his men, he advanced on to the isthmus, and, under cover of night, assailed the outlying district of Megara. Planks having been laid from a detatched tower to the wall, a number of soldiers descended on the inner side, broke down

gardens and orchards, it had done much towards supplying the wants of the people. The pressure of famine now began to be felt, and Hasdrubal added to his unpopularity by feeding luxuriously while the stock of provisions rapidly dwindled, and by considering his soldiers much more than the citizens.

Scipio perceived that hunger would be one of his best allies, and took every means to prevent the introduction of food into the great town. Along the whole width of the isthmus he made trenches, three miles long, parallel with the city walls, and these he defended by fortifications twelve feet high and six feet broad, with towers at regular intervals. Although constructed on so large a scale, the works were completed in twenty-



THE ATTACK ON THE CITADEL OF CARTHAGE.

four days, despite the interruptions of the enemy. At the same time, the Roman fleet blockaded the harbour, though not with entire success. Bithyas, a Numidian chieftain who had joined the Carthaginians, burst out of the city at the head of his light cavalry, collected supplies from the surrounding country, and sent them in by sea whenever the wind blew landwards. These stores of provender, however, were at once seized by Hasdrubal, who appropriated them entirely to his own soldiers. The relief, such as it was, did not last very long. Scipio threw an embankment or mole of stone, ninety-six feet in breadth, across the mouth of the harbour—a work of extraordinary magnitude, which is held to have done much towards choking up the port, and of which some remains are still visible. Nevertheless, the Carthaginians were not daunted. They set to work upon the Inner Harbour with so much secrecy that all who were not immediately concerned in the enterprise were ignorant of its object. The Romans could see that something was going on, but had no conception as to the truth. One day, however, Scipio, looking from his camp upon the isthmus, saw a squadron of fifty triremes sailing out into the sea through a new channel which the besieged had laboriously opened. By some extraordinary remissness on the part of the Carthaginian captains, the Roman fleet was not subjected to an immediate attack, which, being unprepared for such an event, it could hardly have resisted with success. Battle was not offered until three days later; an indecisive action was then fought; and, shortly afterwards, the Sidonian mariners on board the Roman fleet, forgetting the ties of blood which united them to the Carthaginians, destroyed the greater number of the Punic vessels as they lay at anchor.

In the early part of 146 B.C., Scipio made an attack from the Tænia upon the weak part of the fortifications, which was there assailable. An entry was at length effected, though not without considerable difficulty, and the Romans then fortified themselves on the ground they had won, and harassed the besieged with missiles. Scipio next turned his attention towards the camp at Nepheris. The earlier part of the operations was conducted by Lælius, acting in combination with Gulussa, a son of Masinissa; but the place was finally carried by Scipio in person, when large numbers of soldiers and country people were slaughtered or taken prisoners. Nepheris itself was captured soon afterwards, and all the neighbouring towns then submitted to the Romans. Meanwhile, the sufferings of the citizens in Carthage itself were extreme; yet Hasdrubal would not hear of capitulation. An attack upon the gate of the Cothon was repulsed; but Lælius scaled the wall between the Outer Harbour and the city, and thus acquired possession of the market-place, wherein stood a temple to Apollo, the golden splendours of which were carried off by the conquerors. Indulgence in these acts of pillage weakened the discipline of the legions, and Scipio had some difficulty in restoring it. He then determined to attack the Byrsa, or citadel, which now lay in front of him. This proved a sanguinary task, and the assailants paid dearly for their success. Three streets led up the ascent from the market-place to the stronghold. The houses on each side of these streets rose to the height of six stories, and all were occupied by Carthaginian men-at-arms. The ways were narrow and winding, and the upper stories overhung those below, so that the defenders could rake the streets with their missiles. It was necessary to take the houses by assault one after another, and the Carthaginians were pursued from floor to floor until they had reached the top. Planks were thence laid across to the opposite houses, and in many instances the combat was renewed upon these narrow and giddy bridges. In some places, the Romans broke their way through from house to house; in others, the enemy was driven along the flat roofs. The dead lay about in every nook and cranny, or were trampled into mud by the on-rush of the cavalry; and Scipio, encumbered by his own ghastly success, directed that the captured houses should be burned, in order to obtain space for his soldiers. In the midst of this frightful conflagration, the combat was maintained with unrelenting fury, and numbers perished in the fiery ruins. The flames continued to rage for six days and nights; fresh legions were brought up to take the place of those who were exhausted; and the Roman commander watched the death-wrestle from a little distance, with an interest so absorbing that he could scarcely eat or sleep.

Worn out by excitement and anxiety, Scipio sat down to rest, during the seventh day, on an eminence commanding a view of the Temple of Æsculapius, which crowned the heights of the citadel. Whilst staying here, a deputation from the Carthaginian garrison appeared before him, and offered to surrender the Byrsa, on condition of their lives being spared. Scipio granted these terms, but with the understanding that all Roman deserters should be excepted; and 55,000 men and women marched out through a gap made in the wall. Hasdrubal and his family, together with 900 deserters, retreated into the Temple of Æsculapius; but some of these miserable creatures, exhausted

with famine, and reduced to utter despair, set fire to the edifice. Hasdrubal, whose craven spirit in this last scene was equal to his ferocity in the earlier stages of the siege, burst out of the place, and, taking no heed of his wife and children, presented himself before Scipio with an olive-branch in his hand. The Roman general granted him his life, but, to mark his sense of scorn for the man's cowardice and selfishness, made him prostrate himself in sight of the deserted garrison, who heaped curses on his head. From the upper part of the temple, the wife of this despicable wretch, holding a child in each hand, called out to Scipio that she wished him nothing but prosperity, as his acts were in accordance with the laws of war; but she exhorted him to punish Hasdrubal with unrelenting severity, for having betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children. She then slew her offspring, cast their bodies into the flames, and leaped down herself into the lurid abyss.* Most of the deserters perished in the same way; others, who escaped, were trampled to death by elephants. Hasdrubal and Bithyas were suffered to dwell in honourable captivity in Italian cities; but the former was obliged to march in the triumph of his conqueror. The captains were sold as slaves, or thrown into prison, and the city itself was given up to pillage. Many works of art found in the temples had been carried away from Sicilian cities, and to these they were now restored.

Rome was intoxicated with joy when news of Scipio's great victory arrived there. The dangerous rival of earlier years had been brought to ruin, and it only remained to consider what should be done with the vanquished city. The wish of Scipio himself, and also of Scipio Nasica and some others, was that what remained of Carthage—in truth, a considerable portion—should be preserved from further violence. But the great majority of the Senate came to a different resolution, and it was decreed that the city should be entirely obliterated. It was likewise ordered that, when all the edifices had been levelled, a ploughshare should be driven over the ground on which they had stood, as a token that the site was devoted to perpetual desolation, and that a curse should be imprecated on any man who dared to cultivate or build upon it. These orders Scipio was compelled to carry out, though he did so with painful reluctance. The fire lasted fourteen days, and, to the honour of the Roman conqueror, it is related that he shed tears at the appalling spectacle, and quoted some lines from Homer's "Iliad" having relation to the burning of Troy. "Assyria," he added, "has fallen, and Persia, and Macedon. Carthage is burning. The day of Rome may come next." Nevertheless, Scipio was too loyal a servant of his own country not to carry out his orders. He levelled every stone of the houses and the walls; he drove the plough over the site of Carthage; he pronounced the curse against all who should offer to undo what had then been done. The territory immediately surrounding the fallen city was formed into a province under the name of Africa—a title derived from the Carthaginians, and in time extended over the whole continent. This province was placed under the government of a Prætor, whose official residence was at Utica, the most ancient of the Phœnician colonies in that part of the world, and recently the ally of Rome, on which account some portion of the Carthaginian territory was bestowed on it. Other towns which had equally taken part with Rome were made free cities, and the adherents of Carthage were punished in various degrees. The Numidian princes were suffered to retain all that their fathers had won from the African commonwealth, while Rome found her reward, not so much in the small addition which she made to her provincial territories, as in the position she acquired on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The commerce of Carthage, which had spread into the vast fields of inner Africa, and filled the Mediterranean from east to west with fleets of merchant-vessels, now passed into Roman hands; and the fertile soil of Zeugitana and Byzacium furnished the Italian Republic with supplies of corn even greater than those of Sicily.

Thus, in the year 146 B.C., the magnificent city of Carthage was swept from the earth, after an existence of more than seven centuries. The curse of Scipio was not always observed, and even in so short a space as twenty-four years a colony was settled on the site of Carthage, under the name of Junonia. Caius Gracchus was the originator of this scheme; but he died the following year (121 B.C.), and the colony was abandoned. The failure of this attempt was attributed to the malediction pronounced by Scipio Æmilianus; yet the project was revived in later days—first by Julius Cæsar, and afterwards, in the year 19 B.C., by Augustus. A noble city was erected on the site of the Punic capital; and its wealth and importance gave it a rank inferior only to Rome and Constantinople. In the second century of the Christian era, this city was the seat of a bishopric of such wide influence and dignity that it was regarded as the metropolis of Western Christendom. Its subse-

* Such is the story as related by Polybius and Appian. It looks rather extravagant, but may perhaps be true.

quent fortunes will appear as we proceed; here, it will be sufficient to state that its final destruction was by the Arabs, in the year 647 of our epoch. Since then, the site of Carthage has been desolate, and changes have taken place in the coast-line which render the locality no longer suitable to commerce. But it is remarkable that Carthage should have had what may be described as a second life of glory and magnificence under the sway of that very Power which had obliterated the Phœnician city. It even appears that, complete as was the destruction effected by Scipio Æmilianus, so far as the upper portions of the buildings were concerned, such vast masses of masonry remained below the surface that they were used by Augustus as a quarry, out of which he derived the materials of the newer town.

The ruins of Carthage at the present day are chiefly represented to the casual onlooker by the broken arches of the great aqueduct which at one time carried water to the Roman city. A few petty villages are scattered about the desert; but the general character is that of solitude. Some ancient remains, however, are still found below the soil. Mosaic pavements, fragments of pottery and sculpture, and objects bearing Phœnician inscriptions, were unearthed several years ago by Dr. Davis, who has published accounts of his discoveries. A French explorer, M. Beulé, has also added to our knowledge of what lies below the surface of this interesting land; yet more might still be done in the same direction.* The excavations of Dr. Davis, upon the supposed site of the Temple of Æsculapius resulted in the discovery of a Phœnician inscription bearing the name of Ashmon, the native appellation of the god of health. Within the precincts of the citadel, or what is believed to have been such, are some immense reservoirs for rain-water, called by the Arabs "the cisterns of the devil," and connected by a subterranean communication with the great aqueduct. The aqueduct is undoubtedly Roman; whether the cisterns are Roman or Carthaginian is a matter of dispute. Traces of houses supported on piers and arches, so that the sea could pass freely under them, have been found upon the shore near the suburb of Megara; and Dr. Davis believed that he could recognize the marine villa of Hannibal, whence that hero made his escape when the Romans demanded his surrender. In the hilly range overhanging Cape Carmart are numerous catacombs, the chambers of which are hewn out of the limestone, and slightly vaulted. These catacombs are undoubtedly Carthaginian, for the niches made in them are evidently designed to contain coffins, and not urns, as would have been the case had the chambers been constructed by any people who burnt the bodies of their dead, like the Romans, instead of burying them, as the Carthaginians did. Yet, when Dr. Davis entered the catacombs, he found no human remains, except in a few instances, of which he gives an interesting account. "I was informed," he writes, "that the men of Jebel Khawi had discovered a chamber without any niches. I proceeded to examine it, and found that the niches were stopped up by cement, on which the marks of the hand of him that did it were distinctly seen. On one we observed a representation of the seven-branched candlestick, and on another the letters A.P. The remaining eight were quite plain. We broke through the thin layer of cement, and found the skeleton just as it was deposited. It was coffee-colour in appearance, and crumbled to dust as soon as touched. But no other object was visible; neither ornament, nor coin, nor lamp, could be discovered. In the vicinity of this, we again came upon empty chambers, and occasionally we found one or two of the receptacles occupied. Upon examination, we perceived traces which proved that they had all been once tenanted, and that the fragile cement had been intentionally broken through, and the skeleton removed. The portions of the cement which still adhered to the openings led us to this conclusion."

It is believed that the early sepulchres were rifled by the Christians, who used some of them as their own burial-places. Most of the later bodies, which were not protected by an outer wall of cement, were devoured by hyænas, which worked their way in from above, where the vaults had cracked beneath the growth of wild fig-trees. But, in a few instances, even the corpses of the Christians had been carefully walled in, and it was probably those which Dr. Davis discovered in a state of semi-preservation. Still, it can hardly be doubted that the catacombs were originally excavated by the Carthaginians. They extend under a whole group of hills for a circuit of four miles, and must have been constructed when the population of the city was immense. "What gives them an Oriental and hence a Punic character," writes Dr. Davis, "is the round holes excavated in the rock, and found in various parts of Jebel Khawi. They are

* The chief authorities on this subject are—Dr. Davis's "Carthage and her Remains, being an Account of the Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and other adjacent places, conducted under the Auspices of her Majesty's Government" (1861); "The Ruined Cities within the Numidian and Carthaginian Territories" (1862), by the same author; and the "Fouilles de Carthage" (1861) of M. Beulé.

intended to collect water to refresh the soul, which was believed to hover over the place of sepulture of its body." The mosaics discovered upon the site of Carthage may have been executed by Greek artists; but numerous tablets have been dug up engraved with Phœnician sentences and curious bas-reliefs, having reference to the obscure symbolism by which the Carthaginians expressed their ideas on questions of mythology, cosmogony, and astrology. These sculptures are stiff and conventional in their style, and bear resemblance to the bas-reliefs of Nineveh. Remains of the ancient walls and harbours have also been uncovered, and in one place were layers of ashes, mixed with charred pieces of wood, and with fragments of half-melted iron, the relics of the Roman conflagration. But, for the most part, the conquerors did their work effectually, and it is probable that nothing remains of ancient Carthage but the roots of those stupendous buildings which once rose in their grandeur above the waters of the adjacent sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEVELOPMENT AND DECADENCE.

Renewed Insurrection in Lusitania—Heroism of Viriathus—His Noble Character, and Simplicity of Life—Repeated Defeats of the Romans—Viriathus acknowledged King of the Lusitanians—The Peace Broken by Rome—Assassination of Viriathus—Settlement of Lusitania—Extension of Roman Power to the Bay of Biscay—Rebellion of Celtiberians—Ill-success of the Romans—Siege of Numantia—Capitulation of Mancinus—The Agreement Repudiated by the Senate—Scipio Æmilianus sent against Numantia—His Measures for the Restoration of Discipline—Reduction of the City by Famine—Development of Spanish Prosperity—Honesty of Scipio Æmilianus—Slavery in the Roman Dominions—Outbreak of the First Servile War in Sicily—Temporary Success of Eunoüs, the Slave—Suppression of the Rebellion—Measures for the Pacification of Sicily—The Kingdom of Pergamus Bequeathed to the Roman People—War with Aristonicus—Formation of the Province of Asia—Undisputed Predominance of Rome—The Corruptions of Wealth and Power—Creation of Great Public Works at Rome, and throughout Italy—Establishment of Vote by Ballot—Contact of Rome with Asia—Disastrous Influence of Eastern Superstitions on the Purer Religious Systems of the Latin Race.

It has been mentioned in a previous Chapter that great troubles broke out in Spain and Lusitania about the middle of the second century B.C., and that, after much difficulty, they were cruelly suppressed by Lucullus and Galba. When the latter treacherously surprised one of the Lusitanian tribes, and effected a terrible massacre, a young shepherd, named Viriathus, made his escape, and in later years proved a formidable enemy. The revolt was renewed in 149 B.C., after the beginning of the Third Punic War, and probably in consequence of the opportunity presented by that struggle. Vetilius, the Prætor, however, had no great trouble in subduing the malcontents, and the movement had nearly collapsed when, in 148 B.C., Viriathus appeared upon the scene. From his early years, this person had been celebrated for the courage with which he defended his flocks from the ravages of wild beasts and banditti. As a guerilla chief, he soon inspired confidence in his followers, and the insurrection sprang up again into renewed importance. Not only did Viriathus handle his forces with consummate skill; he was universally acknowledged to be singularly just in his dealings both with friends and foes. His military enterprise baffled the operations of Vetilius, and inflicted on him a fatal disaster. For two days Viriathus held the Prætor in check, while the rebel army dispersed in separate detachments; then, striking his camp in the night, he rejoined his followers. Vetilius pursued the retreating enemy with more ardour than caution, fell into an ambuscade, and was slain with half his army. Nor was this all. A reinforcement of five thousand men was despatched to the spot, and almost annihilated on the march. The Lusitanians had proved their capacity to encounter even Roman soldiers.

Viriathus was now hailed by his countrymen as their lord and king, or, according to some accounts, as the protector of public liberty. Nevertheless, he continued to live with the simplicity of a shepherd, while in all essential respects maintaining the dignity of his position. He married the daughter of a prince in Roman Spain, named Astolpa, who lived in considerable state and splendour. A grand wedding feast was given by the father-in-law; but Viriathus declined to touch any of the sumptuous fare, and, lifting his bride on horseback, rode off to the mountains. In dividing the spoils of war, he took to himself no more than he assigned to others; so that his reputation for justice equalled the fame of his heroism. Tall in person, striking in manners, and abounding in witty speech, he made his influence felt wherever he appeared; and, following

the strict rules of temperance, was enabled to endure the utmost toils, to sleep always in full armour, and to be ready at any moment for the deadly shock of contest. Unfortunately for the Romans, their best generals and best soldiers were employed in Africa in the prosecution of the Second Punic War. The consequence was that Viriathus gained repeated victories over the forces in Lusitania, and erected trophies of the enemy's weapons and armour on the tops of the neighbouring mountains. In 145 B.C.—the year following the destruction of Carthage—Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, brother of the second Scipio Africanus, was sent into the western peninsula; but his legions consisted of raw recruits, and he also was worsted in more than one encounter. Next year, after obtaining some successes, Fabius Maximus was succeeded by the Prætor Quinctius, who in 143 B.C. sustained great reverses. The same ill-success attended the operations of Fabius Servilianus, who was obliged to capitulate in 141 B.C., having been driven by the Lusitanians to the very edge of a precipice, from which escape was absolutely impossible. The proffered terms were not ungenerous, and Servilianus was glad to save his life.

SPECIMENS OF CARTHAGINIAN ART.

The figures in this Illustration are copied from mosaics discovered on the site of Carthage. The pottery (now in the British Museum) was found in various parts of Italy, but is thought to be of Carthaginian or early Phœnician workmanship.

This brought the war to a temporary close, for the Senate, seeing the desperate nature of the situation, ratified the peace, instead of disavowing it, as on some previous occasions. Viriathus was acknowledged as the ally of Rome and King of Lusitania; but the pact was of short duration. The Consul for 140 B.C.—Servilius Cæpio, brother of Servilianus—obtained from the Senate permission to renew the war, though, as it would seem, without any justification. Cæpio first plotted against Viriathus, and then openly attacked him. The Lusitanian hero was totally unprepared for such an assault, and, being taken by surprise, was speedily driven to extremities. He sent envoys to the Consul to sue for peace. The request was granted, but only on condition that he should deliver up for execution all whom the Consul chose to regard as Roman subjects—a description which included Astolpa, the father-in-law of Viriathus. Still advancing in his demands, Cæpio next required that the Lusitanians should relinquish their arms; but Viriathus, suspecting treachery, as he had abundant cause for doing, again prepared to take the field as a last resource. The end, however, was close at hand. For a money bribe,

the envoys of Viriathus consented to murder him. The hero was put to death in his sleep. The war revived for a short time; but with Viriathus its guiding spirit had passed away, and the Romans soon prevailed. Where so much was disgraceful, it should be added to their credit that they assigned lands to some of the Lusitanians, as if in fulfilment of the violated promises of Galba. Viriathus was honoured by his countrymen with a splendid funeral, and his name will always be reckoned among the purest and noblest of patriots. His virtues were acknowledged even by the Latin historians, and it was observed that, had fortune been more favourable to him, he might have founded an Iberian empire much wider than his native land. The final pacification of Lusitania was effected by Decimus Junius Brutus; the Consul for the year 138 B.C. A colony of Lusitanians was planted by him at Valentia, in Spain, which was founded to receive them. He then passed into the north-western parts of the peninsula, received the homage of various tribes, and was the first Roman who reached the shores of the Bay of Biscay, and gazed upon the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. On this account, he assumed the title of Callaicus, from Callæcia, or Gallæcia, the ancient name of the province still called Gallicia.

CERES.

While these events were proceeding, a rebellion again broke out in the hither province of Spain—that which was nearest to Italy. The Celtiberians were once more in insurrection, and the conflict which ensued, and which lasted more than ten years, is known in Roman history as the Numantine War. The command of the Roman armies was at first in the hands of Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed Macedonicus, in consequence of his having subdued the Pseudo-Philip of Macedon. His success against the Celtiberians was so considerable that in two campaigns he completely extinguished all resistance, except in the cities of Numantia and Termantia. It was required that the people of these towns should deliver up their arms to the Romans; but the demand drove them to despair, and in 141 B.C. the insurrection flamed up afresh. The Consul then commanding in Spain was one Pompeius, the first of that celebrated house who plays an important part in the history of Rome. He is said to have been the son of a flute-player; but, whatever his origin, he certainly possessed little talent as a soldier. His forces were much more numerous than those of the enemy; yet he was twice defeated when conducting attacks upon Numantia and Termantia, and in 140 B.C. was glad to open negotiations with the inhabitants of the former town. The citizens made a pretence of surrender, and favourable conditions were then granted. But Pompeius afterwards disavowed his own treaty, and the war was continued under Popillius Lænas. Ill-success, however, still attended the Roman arms, both under Lænas and his successor, Hostilius Mancinus. On one occasion,

the troops of the latter general fled in disgraceful panic from before Numantia, and, being pursued by the citizens, were surrounded, and obliged to capitulate. An amicable treaty was concluded through the influence of Tiberius Gracchus, then a young man occupying the post of Military Tribune; but Mancinus was recalled to Italy, to defend his conduct before the Senate. He pleaded that the army was too much demoralised to be employed against the foe with any probability of success; but the argument was not admitted. The Senate refused to ratify the engagement, and determined to deliver up to the Numantines the persons of Mancinus himself, and of all who had been parties to the compact. The popular Assembly afterwards set aside this decision, excepting so far as Mancinus was concerned; and that unfortunate commander was surrendered with all due solemnity into the hands of the people whom he had failed to conquer.

As in a similar incident which occurred during the Second Samnite War, it seems evident that the Roman general had no right to conclude a treaty of peace, unless provisionally, and that the Senate was entitled to set it aside, if its terms appeared contrary to the national interests or dignity. Nevertheless, one can easily understand the disappointment of the Numantines, who were probably not acquainted with the niceties of the Roman Constitution. They declared that the possession of one man was no equivalent for the advantages which had been promised them under the treaty, and which were now annulled. Throughout the whole of one day, Mancinus was kept waiting outside the gates of Numantia, clad only in his shirt, with his hands bound behind his back, and attended by the Pater Patratus, or chief of the College of Heralds, who had accompanied him to the spot. Ultimately he returned to Rome, but, on taking his place in the Senate, was ordered to leave the building, as one who had been delivered over to the enemy with religious ceremonies, and who was therefore no longer a citizen of the Republic. He was afterwards restored to all his rights by a special law; and there can be no doubt that, although he may have erred in judgment, his case was one of great hardship, which the State was bound to remedy. These events occurred in 137 B.C., and were succeeded by other disasters which reduced the Romans in the north of Spain to a very humiliating position.

Matters at length wore so grave an aspect that in 134 B.C. no less a man than Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus was despatched against Numantia. The strength of this position consisted mainly in its natural advantages. The city was built on the slopes of a mountain, with water on two sides, and thick woods coming up to the walls. Its circuit was so large as to include pasture for cattle within the fortifications; and the place was approached by only one path, which was defended by ditches and palisades. Scipio found the Roman forces before this stronghold in a state of great disorganisation, and lost no time in subjecting them to a sterner discipline. Carefully avoiding all offers of battle during the summer, when his preparations were not complete, he marshalled his troops round Numantia in the autumn, by which time he had acquired a command over the surrounding country, and infused some degree of self-reliance into the four legions (now strengthened by a Numidian contingent of horse and foot) to the control of which he had succeeded. The forces thus brought together amounted to 60,000 men, with twelve elephants, while in the city itself were not more than 4,000 combatants. Scipio was one of those few Romans who perceived that the power of the Republic was becoming too great, and that the wisest patriotism was to desire that its possessions might be preserved, rather than increased. But he felt as acutely as any one the necessity of subduing a petty stronghold which had long defied the power he represented, not so much by the valour of the people themselves, as by the degradation of the army which confronted it. For a long time past, the soldiers had given themselves up to frivolous amusements, or to superstitious tampering with the mysteries of fate. Courtezans and fortune-tellers abounded in the camp, and officers and men vied with one another in idleness and self-indulgence. Scipio at once purged the army of unnecessary and mischievous followers. Living with extreme simplicity, he imposed a similar rule on all the rest; reduced the cooking utensils to a spit, a camp-kettle, and a drinking-cup; forbade the use of bedsteads, and himself slept upon a straw-pallet. The good effect of these measures was soon apparent; yet Scipio was still so doubtful of his men that he fortified his position with extensive lines of earthworks, and strengthened them with walls, towers, and ditches, as if he were the besieged, instead of the besieger.

Numantia was situated on the river Durius, or Douro; and by this channel of communication with the open country the citizens had hitherto supplied themselves with provisions. Scipio now took measures to prevent the navigation of the stream; his lines of circumvallation intercepted the arrival of supplies by any other route; and the people began to suffer from the relentless grip of famine. One of the Numantine leaders cut his

way out at the head of a small band, in the hope of obtaining allies among the neighbouring tribes. He was so far successful that the city of Lutia showed symptoms of an inclination to revolt; but Scipio, being informed of the danger, suddenly appeared before the place, and forced the people to surrender four hundred young men of good family who were supposed to be leaders of the movement. The hands of these unfortunate persons were barbarously amputated; but Scipio had gained his object, and Lutia gave up all thoughts of rebellion. Various sallies were made by the besieged Numantines, both by day and night; but the Roman commander had established so complete a system of telegraphic signs, that, at whatever point a sortie was attempted, he was almost immediately informed of its occurrence, and could rapidly concentrate troops upon the threatened portion of the line. All hope of relief was therefore at an end, and the famine became more severe with every day. The citizens at length inquired on what terms they might surrender. It was answered that they must surrender at discretion, and give up their arms as an indispensable preliminary to any further steps; but a day's delay was granted, in order that those who were too proud to yield might have time to die by their own hands. Despair seized upon the garrison; the envoys who brought back Scipio's reply were torn in pieces; several persons put an end to their lives; and the rest, issuing forth from the gates, appeared before the Roman camp. Their starved and miserable condition struck horror even into the Roman soldiers; and one may estimate the awful sufferings they had undergone, when it is recorded that for some time past they had been compelled to feed upon the bodies of the dead, and had even drawn lots for the slaughter of the living. Fifty of these unhappy beings were reserved by Scipio to walk in his triumphal procession; the others were sold into slavery.

The siege, which had lasted fifteen months, came to a close in 133 B.C., and the city was so completely destroyed after its submission that explorers have been in doubt as to its site. Some accounts say that the Numantines themselves burnt their city to ashes, and perished to a man; but this seems improbable. Scipio added the title of Numantinus to his other names; yet, however excellent his strategy and his generalship, it cannot be said that the reduction of this Celtiberian town added any great lustre to his reputation. With the exception of a small portion among the Cantabrian mountains, Spain was now entirely subdued, and commissioners were sent out to reorganise the Iberian provinces. A period of tranquillity ensued upon the previous struggles; the western peninsula became prosperous, and capitalists from Italy were attracted by the internal wealth and agricultural resources of Spain. On many accounts, that country was one of the most valuable possessions of the Roman Republic, and every attention was paid to its development. Large bodies of Italian emigrants settled in various parts, especially in the south; great cities were built, and Latin became the tongue of both the provinces into which the land was divided. At a later day, several very distinguished Latin authors were of Spanish birth; and even in our own time the Spanish language presents a greater affinity to that of Rome than any other member of the same linguistic family.

However unrelenting the conduct of Scipio in dealing with rebels, he did not share the common blame of avarice, or seek to enrich himself, like others, by appropriating the spoils of war. While Decimus Junius Brutus acquired a fortune from the pillage of the towns against which he operated, Scipio returned to Rome as poor as when he left it, as, indeed, he had done once before, after the destruction of Carthage. Cicero relates that Attalus III., King of Pergamus, sent him some presents as a token of admiration; but Scipio replied that he should divide the bounty amongst the bravest of his soldiers. To some of the highest virtues of the early Roman character, Scipio added a suavity and an intellectual culture which he derived from association with Polybius, and from the study of Greek literature and art. His sternness in war was less his own fault than the fault of his age and country. One could wish he had been superior to such inhumanities; but in that case his services would doubtless have been lost to the State altogether. It is not often that a man is very much in advance of his age; and we must take the second Scipio Africanus as one of the best products of a time which had already lost the higher qualities of a more primitive era, and was rapidly contracting the special vices of success and military triumph.

One of the worst characteristics of the Roman Republic was now producing those disastrous results which are always to be expected from its operation. The system of slavery, which had existed at Rome from the beginning, had acquired a vast extension from the conquests of recent years. The number of slaves had increased enormously since the close of the Second Punic War, when the whole of the Bruttians lost their freedom as a punishment for supporting Hannibal during that struggle. Paulus Æmilius enslaved 150,000 Epirotes after the conquest of Macedon;

and 50,000 Carthaginians were similarly treated on the fall of their great city. A proportionate number of slaves was made after all the chief contests in which Rome had been engaged during a long course of years; so that the servile population must ultimately have been reckoned by hundreds of thousands, and the cultivation of the large estates passed almost entirely into their hands. When Rome was a poor and unimportant city, the work of cultivating the ground was considered one of the most honourable of employments. But the long and desperate conflict with Hannibal had so thinned the free communities of Italy that agricultural operations became the task of those unhappy creatures whom war had delivered into the power of the Roman nobility. It has already been shown that large tracts of public land were fraudulently obtained by the newer aristocracy; and as Italy now derived an ample supply of corn and other necessaries from Sicily, from the lands round Carthage, and from Spain, the great estates of these nobles were devoted almost entirely to grazing, which was carried on under the superintendence of slaves. Cato the Censor reckoned corn-growing as less profitable than even the worst grazing; and a large part of Italy went out of cultivation, in consequence of that disastrous condition which had resulted from too facile a command of servile labour. Immense districts were parcelled out into sheep-walks, where the slaves attending upon the numerous flocks were almost the only persons who peopled the vast solitudes with human life. But there were other slaves, besides those acquired by war. An active slave-trade was prosecuted on the coasts of the Euxine, in Thrace, Sarmatia, and Syria. Men were found ready to sell their own country-folk to the iron conquerors who came with gold in their hands; and the island of Delos was a kind of central mart, where these abject beings were collected from various regions of the world, and transferred to the highest bidder. It is related by Strabo that 10,000 slaves changed hands there in one day; and Sicily was another centre where the same atrocities were habitually committed.

All the horrors of slavery, as known to the present generation in the Southern States of North America, existed in the dominions of the Roman Republic at the period to which we are now referring. The unhappy victims were branded or marked like cattle, and those who were suspected of an intention to escape were compelled to work in fetters. The labour, for the most part, was severe and constant, and the slaves were so poorly supplied with food and clothing that their condition must have been one of almost unrelieved misery. It is probable that, in the generality of cases, death ensued at a comparatively early age; but this was a matter of little importance to the owner, since he could supply himself with fresh labourers at a moderate cost. Where the slave-holder lived away from his estates, and left the management to an overseer, the case was even worse; for it is a common experience that the inhumanity of overseers is greater than that of masters, as, with fewer checks, it is equally their interest to obtain as much from the labour of the slaves as can possibly be extorted. So little attention was paid to the necessities of the servile shepherds that in several instances they were driven into brigandage as the only means of obtaining food. Many parts of Sicily were in this way reduced to a state of anarchical violence, in which robbery and murder were the rule. Brigandage soon took the form of a species of civil war, and the slave-shepherds, having obtained possession of clubs, spears, and other weapons, presented a formidable aspect to the free population of the country. Dressed in wolfskins or hogskins, and attended by a number of savage dogs, they roamed about the pastoral regions of Sicily, plundering wherever they found anything worthy of appropriation, and striking terror far and wide. The Roman authority in the province was so weakly supported that it was found impossible to repress these outbreaks of servile vengeance or of servile hunger. What made the matter worse was the fact that the people thus subjected to the most ignominious of conditions were not members of an inferior race to that of Rome, but individuals belonging to various nationalities which were at least equal, and in some respects superior, to the Romans. The slaves, therefore, were exasperated by the consciousness that their misfortunes were not due to any natural defect, but to the chances of war, which had placed them beneath a relentless heel. Such were the circumstances which led to the rebellion in Sicily.

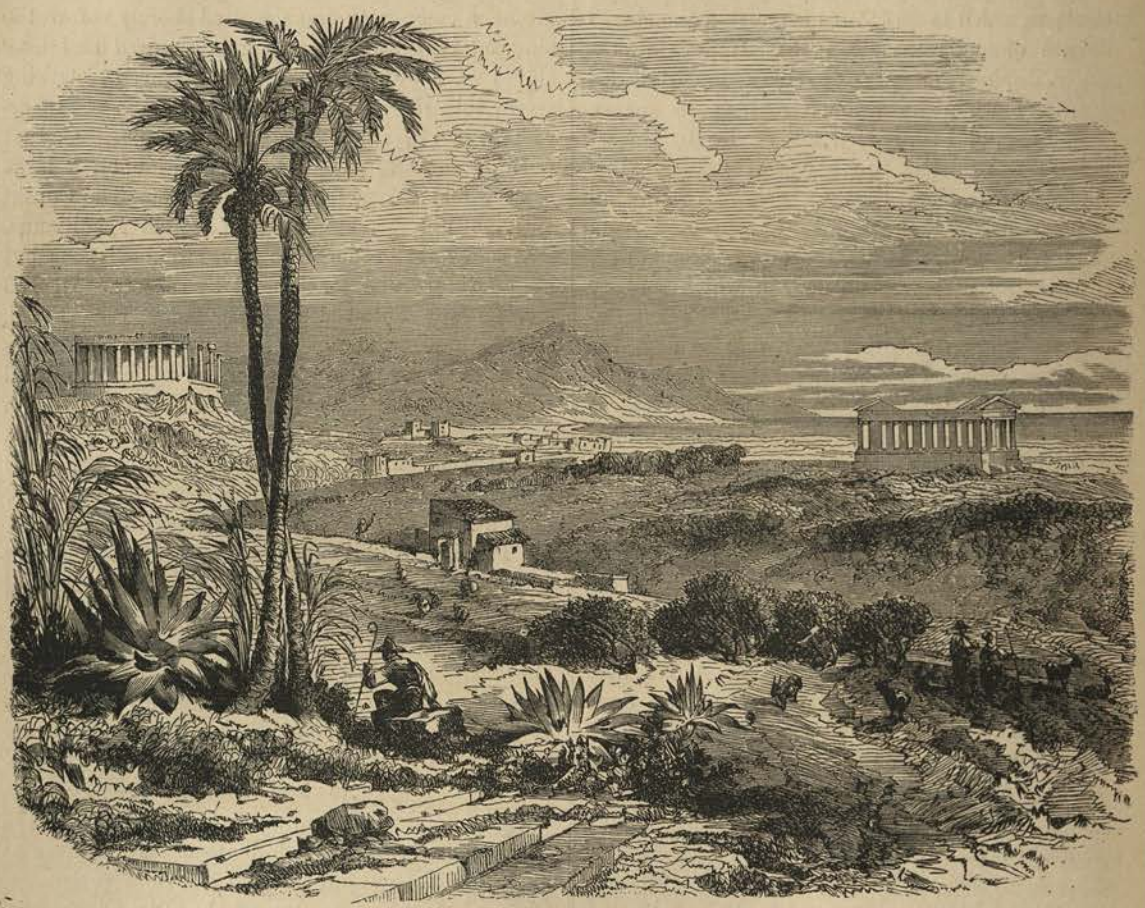
The outbreak was precipitated by the cruelty of a wealthy landowner of Enna, named Damophilus, who, aided by his wife Megallis, scourged and maltreated the slaves employed on his estate, until human nature was unable to endure such systematic brutality. In 134 B.C. the slaves rose in insurrection, and placed themselves under the leadership of a Syrian Greek named Eunoüs, the bondsman of one Antigenes. The chieftain thus selected was a man not at all well adapted to the task he undertook. Eunoüs was in truth an impostor, laying claim to a mastery over necromantic arts. He

dealt largely in prophecies, which occasionally happened to come true, and so increased his reputation. He alleged that he was inspired by dreams, and had received a revelation from the Syrian goddess, Astarte, that he should become a king. By the practice of a trick not very difficult of performance, though surprising to the uninitiated, he appeared at times to breathe out fire from his mouth and nostrils; and thus his acts seemed to favour his pretensions. All these things impressed the slaves with a profound conviction that Eunoüs was a divinely-inspired man, or even a supernatural being; and when he exhorted them to march against Enna, and supported his advice by throwing forth a sufficient quantity of flames, they immediately attacked that town, and committed all the barbarities that were to be expected from such a movement. Houses were broken open, and a general massacre ensued, in which neither the aged nor the infantine were spared. The number of the insurgents grew from day to day, for every slave inherited a rankling hatred of his employer. "So many slaves, so many foes," was a common phrase at Rome. Damophilus and his wife were dragged from their country house to the theatre at Enna, and, while the former was at once cut down in attempting to speak, the latter was given over to the female slaves, to be subjected to elaborate tortures before she was flung from the precipice on which the city stands. The insurgents, however, were not devoid of gratitude, even in the midst of their wildest excesses. A daughter of Damophilus had been kind to them in the days of their affliction, and she was now despatched in safety to her relatives at Catana. The armourers of the city were also excepted from the general slaughter; but this was simply that they might forge weapons for the rebels.

For a time, the rising was successful. Eunoüs was saluted as king, and, assuming the royal name of Antiochus, proceeded to give laws to his subjects. He called his people Syrians, and seems to have had some idea of reviving the glories of the famous Asiatic kingdom. His chief adviser was a man named Achæus, who opposed the continuance of outrages, and in many ways proved his possession both of good sense and good feeling. An army of 6,000 men was quickly organised, and Eunoüs, attacking the Roman forces in Sicily, entirely discomfited three Prætors in succession. Other slave-communities in various parts of the island flocked to the standard of the rebel, and a fourth Roman Prætor, named Hypsæus, who arrived in hot haste from Rome, was defeated by a force of 20,000 insurgents. Shortly afterwards, the servile population in arms numbered as many as 200,000, and it is probable that this included the whole body of slaves within the limits of Sicily. Nor was the danger confined to that island. The contagion of such an example was certain to spread, and movements broke out in various parts of Italy, which would probably have been attended by serious results, had they not been immediately crushed by the promptitude of the magistrates. Even at Rome, a conspiracy was detected shortly before the time for its fulfilment, and one hundred and fifty slaves were put to death as a means of striking terror into the rest. In Sicily, however, the insurrection had attained such serious proportions that nothing short of a military expedition on a large scale would suffice for its extinction. The Consul Fulvius Flaccus, colleague of Scipio Æmilianus, was sent out to reduce the slaves to obedience; but his efforts were not attended by success. In 133 B.C. he was followed by Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who took Messana from the enemy, but suffered a check at Enna, the situation of which rendered attack extremely difficult. What the rebels had to expect from this commander was sufficiently proved at Messana, where 8,000 of their number were killed in battle, and all the prisoners were crucified.

The war was brought to an end in 132 B.C. by Publius Rupilius, the Consul for that year; but his triumph was due rather to the treachery of some among his opponents than to his own military operations. The fortresses of Tauromenium, on the eastern coast of Sicily, and of Enna, in the middle of the island, were given up to him by those who probably felt that, in spite of temporary successes, the struggle was hopeless. At Tauromenium the people had suffered terribly from want of food, and had even been driven to the desperate resource of cannibalism. The slaves at Enna did not submit without a furious resistance. Cleon of Agrigentum, one of the allies of Eunoüs, sallied forth with a number of devoted followers, and died of wounds received in the combat. Eunoüs himself, with a body-guard of a thousand men, fled to the mountains, but was closely pursued by Rupilius. Escape appeared hopeless, and the greater number of the fugitives slew one another. The fallen king, if such he can be called, displayed a craven spirit in the crisis of his misfortune. He was thrown into a prison at Morgantia, where he died of a loathsome malady; and the insurgent slaves, both at Enna and Tauromenium, were tortured, and ultimately put to death, to the number of 20,000. In the subordinate position of Proconsul, Rupilius remained some time in Sicily, to regulate the affairs of that island with the

customary assistance of ten commissioners. Though he had been stern, even to cruelty, in the suppression of the rising, the ordinances he now established were distinguished by a liberal spirit. They were based on the code formerly established by Hiero at Syracuse, and gave general satisfaction. On returning to Rome, Rupilius was honoured by that species of inferior triumph which was called an Ovation. His services had been considerable; but the suppression of a domestic foe was regarded as of less importance than the subjugation of a foreign enemy.



VIEW ON THE COAST OF SICILY.

The danger was overcome for the time being; but, as the causes of the evil had not been removed, the liability to further outbreaks continually threatened the safety of the Roman Republic. The ruling classes, however, had perceived that modifications of some kind must be introduced into a system productive of such terrible results. While the struggle was still proceeding, the Sibylline Books were consulted for advice as to the future conduct of affairs in Sicily. Whether by chance or contrivance, a passage was discovered, directing that Ceres must be propitiated. Ceres, or Demeter, was one of the principal deities of the island; and the Senate was not slow in understanding that the neglect of this goddess—or, in other words, the disregard of agriculture—was one of the causes of the recent insurrection. For some years, Sicily, like many parts of the Italian peninsula, had been given up to pasturage, and, though once famous for its immense production of corn, now yielded but little of that first necessary of life. By the Rupilian laws, agriculture was once more encouraged, and again flourished as in former days. The condition of the landowners was greatly improved; so that the insurrection headed by Eunoüs was not wholly unproductive of good. Still, the system of slavery continued; and wherever that exists, the sources of evil are manifold and fatal. It may appear strange that a government which took the principles of freedom

as its basis should have permitted such a condition to continue from year to year. The contradiction is in truth glaring and monstrous; but all history shows that men the most resolute in demanding freedom for themselves are often the most inclined to use it as an instrument for the oppression of others. This may be sufficiently explained by the selfishness of human nature. What is more extraordinary, and less easy of solution, is the blindness which is unable to perceive the enormous dangers of a system such as cannot be maintained a day without the commission of cruelties that store up in the hearts of their victims an ever-accumulating sense of wrong, certain, at no distant date, to result in catastrophes of the most appalling kind.

THE REVOLTED SLAVES AT ENNA.

Notwithstanding these internal convulsions, the power of Rome continued to spread in foreign lands. The death of Attalus III., King of Pergamus, which took place in 133 B.C., bestowed on the Republic an interesting and important region of Asia Minor. Attalus, whose reign did not extend over more than five years, was remarkable for nothing but his extravagance, his vices, and his cruelty. Shortly before his death, he bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans; and although Mithridates of Pontus afterwards asserted that the instrument was forged, there is no proof that such was actually the fact. The Romans had for some time past been acquiring influence among the States of Western Asia, and Attalus may have seen that it was wiser to leave his country peaceably to the great Republic than to risk a war which would in all probability result in subjugation. The testamentary disposition of Attalus was, however, resisted by a person named Aristonicus, who is thought to have been a natural son of Eumenes II. He claimed the crown for himself, seized the strong position of Leucæ, and defied all opponents. But several of the Greek cities in Asia Minor were favourably disposed to the Roman alliance, and Ephesus sent forth a fleet which defeated the ships of Aristonicus, and forced him to take refuge in the interior of the country. Here he collected an irregular army, and established his power so firmly in several places that the Greek cities, even when aided by the sovereigns of Bithynia and Cappadocia, were unable to obtain any advantage over the pretender. The Romans were at first too much occupied at home to assert their rights in Pergamus; but in 131 B.C. they sent out Licinius Crassus Mucianus to punish Aristonicus for his audacity. Crassus was a man of despotic habits

and imperious temper, not gifted with the genius of a commander. He laid siege to Leucæ, but without effect, and, on retiring from before its walls at the termination of his year of office, was overtaken by the enemy, defeated, and slain. The good fortune of Aristonicus deserted him almost immediately after this great success. Having been worsted by the new Consul, he retired to Stratonice, in Caria, where, being reduced by famine, he was obliged to surrender in 130 B.C. In the following year he was taken a prisoner to Rome, and, it is believed, was there strangled in prison. This brought the monarchy of Pergamus to an end, after an existence of about a century and a half. The territory was now formed into the Roman province of Asia, which included Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, with the Greek colonies of Æolis, Ionia, and Doris, excepting a small strip of coast which was left to Rhodes. Various other territorial rearrangements were made at the same time, and the influence of Rome in that part of the world was immensely increased by the gift of Attalus III., which added to the dominions of the Republic an Asiatic country containing several magnificent cities, peopled by a Greek race remarkable for civilization, for intellectual sympathies, and for general prosperity. Pergamus had become wealthy under its brief line of kings; the land possessed natural resources which were capable of being turned to excellent account; and the power of Rome was now established in a region whence it was certain, ere long, to be widely extended both to the east and to the south.

At this period of the world's history, there was no nation able to oppose or counteract the Italian Republic. The great Asiatic monarchies, whether of an earlier or a later date, had passed away, or were reduced to comparative impotence. The Egypt of the Ptolemies was in its decline. Greece was enslaved; Macedon and Epirus were extinct; Carthage was destroyed; and various attempts to establish independent sovereignties in other parts of the world had been brought to ruin by the extraordinary energy, and equally extraordinary good fortune, of the Roman commonwealth. Mithridates the Great had not yet arisen, and the Parthian kingdom, which at one time became formidable, was still only partially developed. The Romans, therefore, may well have believed, after the creation of their tenth province—that of Asia—that no people in the world were capable of disputing their predominance. Such a conviction is always fatal to the virtue of a nation; its effects on Rome were lamentable. Without acquiring any greater urbanity or benevolence, the citizens of the Republic lost the stern virtues of an earlier day, and became as infamous for vice as they had formerly been celebrated for simplicity of manners, and self-restraint in morals. Even their armies were no longer distinguished by the discipline and quiet courage of former times. Laxity and insubordination broke out among the ranks whenever they ceased to feel the pressure of a resolute hand. Romans now fought as much for pillage as for national honour; and the pillaging of conquered cities is the parent of every atrocity which armed legions can commit upon defenceless crowds of men, women, and children. Occasionally, a commander of the old type, such as Scipio Æmilianus, would set a better example; but, for the most part, the Consuls were anxious for nothing so much as to enrich themselves by a year of plunder, and to pass the remainder of their lives in luxury and dissipation. Enormous revenues poured into Rome from her newly-conquered dominions, from the tribute of foreign subjects, the Spanish mines, the spoils of war, and other sources. Large numbers of persons became rich; the whole standard of living, except among the very poor, was heightened; and the national character was degraded by opportunities of indulgence which took a coarse and sensual form amongst a people never remarkable for delicacy of apprehension, or refinement of taste. The Proconsuls were depraved by arbitrary power, by flattery, and by the temptations of wealth. The manners they had acquired abroad were perpetuated at home; and to be successful was considered of more importance than to be honest. It was the bitter observation of Cato the Censor, that he who stole from a citizen ended his days in fetters, while he who stole from the commonwealth ended them in gold and purple.

Yet it is always a mistake to imagine that the influence of wealth is wholly evil. We are too apt to forget the good that it effects in our indignation at the corruption which it frequently entails; and this weakness is perhaps especially manifested in connection with the history of Rome. The vicious indulgence of the rich was undoubtedly a very serious mischief; but the comfort of the citizens generally was much increased by the greater affluence of the State. A most admirable system of roads—adapted not only to military, but to ordinary, purposes—was carried throughout the whole of Italy. The rivers were spanned by substantial bridges. Aqueducts brought water of the purest quality from distant hills to all the crowded centres of life. Grand public works, as useful as they were majestic, were erected at Rome

itself, and in the neighbourhood; for the great military race seems to have applied to the details of its social life not a little of that masterly organisation which made the best of its legions invincible. The vast ramification of sewers, in connection with the Cloaca Maxima, is believed to have been commenced about 180 B.C. In 174 the streets of Rome were paved; the Pontine Marshes were drained in 160. The immense aqueduct constructed by the Prætor Martius Rex under the direction of the Senate, and called after his name, is

PERGAMUS.

referred to the year 144 B.C. This water-way started from a point thirty-six miles from Rome in a direct line; but, owing to the inequalities of the ground, its entire course was really about sixty miles, and some portion of the work was tunnelled through the intervening hills. Afterwards, the Campagna was crossed by fourteen aqueducts, carried for the most part over lofty arches, some of which are yet visible along the desolate valleys in the vicinity of Rome, while three of these magnificent channels still furnish the modern city with water. The expense of the works was of course very large; yet the Roman citizens paid no water-rate, the aqueducts being built out of the public revenue (much of which proceeded from foreign conquest), while in some instances they were constructed by the munificence of the Ædiles. These were truly grand and humane labours, and they should be recollected as counterbalancing in no slight degree the criminal excesses of Roman nobles and officials. Many other works of a minor nature were executed about the same time; and it is a curious instance of the simplicity of Roman life, up to nearly the middle of the second century B.C., that not until the year 159 had the citizens any means of ascertaining the time during the night. Sundials were known before that date; but it remained for the second Scipio Nasica, during his Censorship, to set up a public *clepsydra*, or water-clock, which of course was as useful after dark as in the day-time.

An important political change was introduced into Rome in 139 B.C., five years before the outbreak of the First Servile War. Up to that period, the magisterial elections in the Comitia had been conducted by open voting, and the same method was observed in the delivery of the verdicts in public trials. In 139, however, the Tribune Gabinius carried a law for the election of the magistrates by ballot. Various other laws for the extension of secret voting were passed in subsequent years, and there can be no question that the system was popular. Cicero afterwards described the ballot as "the vindicator of silent liberty." It was indeed

the only protection of the voter's independence against the seduction or intimidation of rich and powerful candidates. Before the rise of the new nobility, which was a nobility of wealth, the people did not require this defence; but the political situation was entirely altered when a large body of men could bring their opulence to bear upon the purity of the electors. In primitive times, seekers after office were forbidden to solicit votes. They were not even to do this by the indirect method of wearing a toga distinguished by a peculiar whiteness. The custom was subsequently permitted, and the robes, whitened with chalk, which were worn by those who aspired to public employment, conferred upon such persons the title of *Candidati* (the whitewashed), or, as we say, candidates. The severity of the early laws against what the Romans regarded as ambition—in other words, the asking for votes—sufficed to protect the electors from all improper influences. But when these laws were set aside, some other resource was needed, lest the democracy should become a mere instrument in the hands of selfish and designing politicians. Hence the enactment of the ballot, which is in truth a necessity of every political state where large powers are entrusted to poor and easily-influenced voters, who, even where they have the wish, have not the means to defend themselves against those whose social influence or wealth places them in a position of superiority,

The contact of Rome with foreign lands produced some excellent results in widening the Latin character, and softening that pride of race which is often based more on ignorance than on reason. But it was certainly very far from being an unmixed good. From such primitive populations as those of Spain and Gaul, the Romans can have derived no evil; in the case of Greece, the advantages may have been greater than the disadvantages; but familiarity with the Eastern world was productive of nothing but moral corruption and intellectual disease. The nations of Western Asia had for ages been accustomed to a number of religious systems which carried immorality to the most extravagant heights of elaborate viciousness. In Phœnicia, in Syria, and in other lands bordering on the farther shores of the Mediterranean, the most impure rites were habitually practised, and the temples of religion became so many centres of debauchery, which spread without check over all the surrounding populations. The religions of Greece and Rome, in their early developments, were distinguished by many noble and dignified elements, whatever we may think of their polytheistic superstitions; and it is probable that some of the best qualities of the Greek and Roman communities were derived from those modes of faith which expressed their conception of the Divine Existence. It was only when the two great races of Southern Europe associated with the nations of the Orient that their religions became infected with an iniquity which cannot be described. In the case of Rome, the mischief commenced before the bequest of Attalus gave the Republic a territorial hold on Asia. Intercourse between the West and the East had been proceeding for some time prior to that event, and Roman ambassadors to Asia Minor and to Egypt brought back with them rumours of the strange and seductive worships which prevailed in foreign lands. Chaldæan astrologers made their way into Italy; and about the period when the Hannibalic War was brought to a successful end (201 B.C.), the orgies of the Phrygian Cybele were authoritatively introduced into Rome. An unhewn stone, regarded by the devout as an image of the goddess, was brought from Pessinus, in Galatia, together with a train of eunuch-priests, whom the Romans afterwards entitled Galli. The worship of Bacchus followed about 186 B.C.; and this was another source of licentiousness, which produced an infinite amount of harm. The Senate took severe measures against the growing evil of such practices; but, having been once introduced, they could not be eradicated. These abominable systems ministered to the viciousness they were instrumental in creating; but, in any general survey of Roman history, it should be recollected that the immorality which we usually associate with the Empire began, and was even widely cultivated, under the Republic. Unbridled power and invariable success are never slow in producing their deadly fruits. They had produced them in Rome by the middle of the second century before the Christian era; and every succeeding generation marked a further development of the evil growth.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE GRACCHI.

The Growth of Roman Power—Deterioration of the Original Race—Diminution of the Patrician Class—Influence of a Poverty-stricken Commonalty—Tiberius Gracchus and his Education—His Sympathy with the Poorer Classes—Election to the Tribunate—Bill for Reviving the Licinian Laws, with Modifications—Alarm of the Great Landowners—The Tribune Octavius gained over to the Side of Privilege—Contention between Octavius and Gracchus—Deposition of the Former by the Latter—Passage of the Law—Democratic Proposals of Gracchus in Opposition to the Senate—Measures taken against him—Difficulty in Working the Land Act—Decrease in the Popularity of Gracchus—His Attempt to Procure Re-election—Proposed Bills for the Increase of Popular Powers—Stormy Meeting of the Comitia—Violent Antagonism of the Senate—Sanguinary Tumult, and Death of Tiberius Gracchus—Cruel Vengeance of the Successful Party—Division of the City into Hostile Factions—Opposition of Scipio Æmilianus to the Revolutionary Leaders—Extreme Measures Threatened by Papirius Carbo—The Cause of the Provincial Italians Supported by Scipio—His Speech in the Senate, and Subsequent Assassination—Persecution of Italians—Proposals for a Compromise—Bill of Fulvius Flaccus for Granting the Roman Franchise to the Provincials—Insurrection at Fregellæ—Quarrel of Caius Gracchus with the Senate—His Measures, when Tribune, to Avenge his Brother's Death—Revolutionary Laws on Behalf of the Poor—Questionable Character of some of these Reforms—Extraordinary Power and Influence of Caius Gracchus—Decline in his Popularity—Plans for Creating Colonies—Wrongs and Sufferings of the Italian Communities—Meeting at the Capitol—Measures Taken by Caius and Fulvius for Resisting the Senate—Dictatorial Powers Conferred on the Consul Opimius—Attack on the Aventine—Flight and Death of Caius and Fulvius—Merciless Punishment of the Reforming Party—Last Years of Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi—Repeal of the Agrarian Laws—Conquest of the Balearic Isles, and Successes in Gaul.

WHEN the Servile War in Sicily came to an end, in 132 B.C., Rome had existed 622 years, counting from the date usually assigned as that of its foundation. During this period, the progress of the State had been steady and almost unbroken. The insignificant city founded by adventurers or fugitives, and for a long while scarcely able to protect itself from the attacks of neighbouring tribes, had grown into a mighty Republic, before which many ancient and illustrious dominions had succumbed. The authority of Rome now extended along the whole of the Mediterranean, from the Western shores of Spain, washed by the Atlantic, to the coasts of Asia Minor, at the north-eastern extremity of the inland sea. Even to the south of that body of waters, the Roman power was established in the province of Africa, and acknowledged as paramount by all the civilised and barbaric communities along the coast, from Egypt to Numidia. Yet the foreign possessions and influence of Rome dated from a comparatively recent time. Nearly five hundred years of the national history were consumed in the reduction of Italy itself; after which, little more than a century sufficed to create an external empire of immense range and variety. The effect of this expanded rule was remarkable in many ways. The subjection of several widely distinct races to a common government tended to a certain amalgamation of human interests, which was a real gain to the world. On the other hand, the old Roman stock was to some extent debased by foreign importations. Large numbers of the citizens had gone forth, from time to time, to colonise distant provinces, to act as military garrisons, or to carry on the duties of the local administration. Their places were supplied by immigrants from other parts of Italy, and from the outlying provinces; and these were often of inferior moral fibre to the rude but honest burgesses and yeomen who had laid the foundations of Roman greatness.

The voters, in whose hands was the actual power of determining the policy of the Republic, and of choosing its executive officers, were for the most part descendants of families not Roman in their origin. These were the *novi homines*—the "new men" whom those of purer lineage looked down upon, but who were nevertheless important members of the commonwealth. The three hundred *gentes*, who in primitive times formed the Patrician class, had dwindled down to a very small number; and at the bottom of the social scale were hordes of poverty-stricken and turbulent people, discharged soldiers and others, who, owing to the abundance of slave-labour, were unable to obtain employment, but whom it was necessary to feed and to amuse.* Thus, a large portion of the electoral power was wielded by men whose desperate fortunes unfitted them for such a trust, while, at the same time, the great offices of the Republic were mainly engrossed by the remnants of the old Patricians, and by the newer

* The position of these wretched persons was in some respects similar to that of the "mean whites" in the slave-holding States of North America previous to the civil war.

aristocracy created out of the ancient Plebeian families. To the same comparatively small class belonged the vast estates which had of late years been made from the small farms of peasant proprietors, and which, as already shown, were now cultivated by slaves. The evils temporarily amended by the Licinian Laws had returned with tenfold force, and the very existence of the State was threatened by their continuance. Until the passing of the ballot-laws—and perhaps, in some instances, even after—the needy holders of the franchise sold their votes to the highest bidder.

ROMAN SOLDIERS. (*From an ancient bas-relief.*)

A condition so serious and menacing could not but attract the notice of thoughtful men, in whom patriotic devotion had not been extinguished by self-interest or profligacy. The corruption of the political and social state was especially obvious to Tiberius Gracchus, a young Plebeian of ancient and illustrious family, whose father, Sempronius, had been Censor, and twice Consul, with great distinction, and whose mother was a daughter of the first Scipio Africanus. The sister of Tiberius Gracchus was married to the second Scipio Africanus; so that his connections were dignified and noble, and such as would naturally incline him to consider the advantage of the country, rather than his own fortunes. His father had from an early age enlisted his sympathies on behalf of the poor and humble in their struggle with the oppressive nobles and the corrupt office-holders. His mother, after the death of her husband, trained her son in the humanising lore of Greece, for which purpose she brought professors from abroad; and it is related of her that, rather than give up a close watch over the education of her two boys, Tiberius and Caius, she refused an offer of marriage from the reigning Ptolemy. While still very young, Tiberius Gracchus served with distinction at the siege of Carthage under his brother-in-law, Scipio Æmilianus; and in 137 B.C. he acted as Quæstor in Spain under Mancinus, then engaged in his unfortunate operations against Numantia. It was while passing through Etruria, on his way to join the armies in the western peninsula, that he was powerfully struck by the decline of prosperity and of national life in one of the most fertile and magnificent districts of Italy. The old Etruscan cities had fallen into decay; the descendants of the ancient race, once the instructors of the Romans themselves, were diminished in number and debased in spirit; colonists from Thrace, Spain, and Africa, had introduced a bar-

barian element into the land; and vast tracts of country were given up to pasturage, to the unprofitable support of swine and buffaloes, and to the ravening of wolves and boars, which came trooping from the mountains to the subjacent plains.

In the year when the slave-war broke out in Sicily (134 B.C.), Tiberius Gracchus offered himself for the Tribunate, and was elected as the representative of popular principles, and of the demand for reform. He was an eloquent speaker, and, on assuming office, lost no opportunity of comparing the existing state of Italy with that of former days, when the soil was cultivated by freemen, and there was no difficulty in filling up the legions with Italians. The time had been when Italy could arm 700,000 foot-soldiers, and mount 70,000 horsemen, out of her free population;* but to many it appeared certain that she could do so no longer. The remedy for this evil lay, in the opinion of the young Tribune, in a restoration of the class of small landed proprietors. He therefore introduced a bill for reviving the second of the Licinian Laws of 367 B.C., the object of which was to prevent the accumulation of large portions of the public domains in the hands of single proprietors. It will be recollected that Licinius forbade any citizen to hold more than about three hundred and twelve acres of the public land. Gracchus now proposed to modify this regulation to the extent of allowing each of two sons of a family to hold half that quantity in addition, thus bringing up the total to about six hundred and twenty-four acres. Any excess on this amount was to be surrendered to the State; but those who willingly complied with the requirement of the law were to receive compensation for any improvements they might have made during their occupation. All public lands were to be vested in three Commissioners, to be elected by the Tribes; and to these functionaries was assigned the duty of distributing the State domains among needy citizens. The sale of the new allotments was strictly prohibited—a provision by which it was hoped to prevent the re-absorption of small into large estates.

THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

It can hardly be denied that great abuses had arisen in the land-laws. Licinius and Sextius thought they had effected a permanent and equitable division of the public domain by their famous measure; but the encroachments of the rich are always difficult to stop, and, as the reader has seen, Licinius himself evaded the rules which he himself had been principally instrumental in

* Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic.

imposing. The wealthy succeeded ere long in absorbing the greater part of the lands intended for the benefit of the poor, which they held on payment of a small yearly rent. Having had this advantage during many generations, they were naturally alarmed and angered at the prospect of being dispossessed; and certainly the case was one for liberal compensation. When a privilege has been enjoyed without dispute for more than two hundred years, it acquires the character of a right, and ought not to be disturbed without an equivalent. Still, there can be no doubt that the State was entitled, whenever it pleased, to resume possession of the public lands, and to re-apportion them in accordance with what it might consider just. In framing his regulations, Tiberius Gracchus was assisted by his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, the head of the Senate, and by the Consul, Mutius Scævola, the most accomplished of Roman lawyers; so that there was every guarantee that the measure would not be of a revolutionary character. Yet a good deal of purely Roman sentiment was certain to be enlisted against it. Gracchus had made himself the patron of the provincial communities, who were systematically oppressed by the proud citizens. "The wild animals of Italy," he said in a touching passage in one of his speeches, "have their dens and lairs: the men who have fought for Italy have air and light,—nothing more. They are styled masters of the world, though they have not a clod of earth they can call their own." In proportion as such words made friends in the country, they raised up a host of enemies at the capital.

When Gracchus rose to move his law, the Forum was crowded with people from all parts of Italy, consisting mainly of peasants and small farmers interested in the proposed reform. Having finished his opening speech, Gracchus directed the clerk to read the words of the enactment before it was put to the vote. This was forbidden by the Tribune Octavius, who had been gained over to the side of privilege; and Gracchus declared that he would again bring on his measure at the first available opportunity. The unexpected opposition he had encountered exasperated the mind of the popular Tribune, and drove him to acts of a violent and unjustifiable nature. He laid an interdict on all public functionaries, shut up the courts of law, and put a seal on the doors of the Treasury. He also struck out the compensation clauses from his bill, and thus defied the large landowners to the utmost. The Assembly having met again, Gracchus appeared surrounded by an armed force; but Octavius once more interposed, and a second time defeated the measure. The popular disappointment very nearly led to a riot; but Gracchus consented, at the request of two friends, to refer the whole matter to the Senate, where it seemed not improbable that a majority in favour of the law might be obtained. Unhappily for the reformer, however, his arbitrary proceedings since the previous meeting had created a strong antagonism to whatever he might propose. He was accordingly received by the Senate with great disfavour, and, on returning to the Forum, announced that at the next meeting he would bring forward his bill for the third time, and that, if the same opposition should again occur, he would propose the deposition of Octavius. Nevertheless, the second Tribune was not to be stirred from his purpose, and, when the opportunity arrived, Gracchus moved that Octavius should be stripped of the authority which the people had conferred on him, but which he had used to their injury. While the votes of the Tribes were being taken, Gracchus besought his fellow-Tribune not to force on so extreme a step, and for a moment Octavius seemed to hesitate; but in the end he remained faithful to his wealthy patrons. The voting proceeded, the deposition was pronounced, and Octavius was dragged from his seat. This made the way clear for the passing of the bill, and three Commissioners were then chosen for carrying its provisions into effect. These were Tiberius Gracchus himself, his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his younger brother Caius, who was then serving with the army in Spain.

This important law was carried in 133 B.C., and it advanced the popularity of Gracchus to the very summit of democratic favour. The Senate was so much occupied with the Numantine and Servile Wars that it could take no measures for curbing the somewhat wild and extravagant projects of the Tribune, and they were advanced with startling boldness. When news reached the capital that Attalus of Pergamus had bequeathed his kingdom, with all personal lands and treasures, to the Roman people, Gracchus gave notice that he would propose a bill to provide that the riches of the deceased king should be distributed among the recipients of the public lands, who would in this way be enabled to purchase stock and erect farm-buildings. He also declared that the management of the kingdom of Pergamus should be confided entirely to the popular Assembly, and that the Senate should not be suffered to interfere. This was a positive declaration of war against one of the most ancient and important bodies of the State, and it naturally aroused determined opposition. The Senate had already marked its dis-

approval of what had happened by withholding from Gracchus the usual allowance of a public officer, and reducing his salary to the equivalent of about a shilling a day. The antagonism of the Senators was now rendered still greater by the revolutionary proposals of the Tribune. It was determined to bring forward a charge which in former times had frequently proved successful. Rumours soon arose that Gracchus had accepted a diadem and purple robe from the envoy of the late king Attalus, and a direct accusation that he was aiming at the sovereignty was brought against him in the Senate-house, where he was also charged with having violated the constitution by deposing his colleague. Gracchus threatened to indict one of his accusers before the people, but, finding he had gone too far, was glad to withdraw from an untenable position before he had proceeded to any great extent. Like many other popular leaders, he had lost all self-control in the elation of a first success. He proposed to make the three Commissioners judges without appeal on disputed questions with regard to property in land. The distribution of the public domains under the recent act had been carried out with extreme difficulty, owing to the host of claimants, and the trouble of determining boundaries so as to satisfy all. Many allotments had been made where the titles to possession had been lost; and persons holding under these conditions feared that their newly-acquired property would be jeopardised at the caprice of judges capable of being swayed in any direction by the varying passions of the hour. Gracchus found his popularity endangered, and considered it necessary to vindicate his conduct in deposing Octavius.

As the people showed symptoms of falling off from their once-trusted champion, the opposition of the Senate became more marked. It was evident that, in the following year, when the democratic leader would no longer occupy the position of Tribune, he would be violently assailed, and made to answer for what the aristocratical party regarded as his misdeeds. The danger appeared so real that Gracchus offered himself for re-election, as the only means of protecting his life against the threatened vengeance. But the meeting of the Comitia for this purpose was in the month of July, when many of the adherents of Gracchus were employed upon the harvest in the country districts. Of those voters who remained in the city, several were antagonistic to the Tribune, and acted in the interest of the nobility. To draw over the great mass of the citizens, Gracchus proposed various measures tending to reduce the period of military service, to popularise the formation of juries, and to provide an appeal from the law-courts to the Assembly of the people. These measures, which he did not live to carry, restored his reputation with the masses; but the opposition to his re-election assumed a very serious form. It was contended that the same man could not be chosen in two successive years, and the Assembly was adjourned to the following day, that the matter might be more fully debated. The electors re-assembled next morning at the Capitol. The adherents of Gracchus filled the area in front of the Temple of Jupiter; the Senate met in the Temple of Faith, close by. In the midst of an angry tumult, Fulvius Flaccus came out of the Senate to inform the Tribune that his death had been resolved upon. The latter exhorted his friends to help him, and they armed themselves with staves, and prepared to make a desperate resistance.

While passionately addressing the people, Gracchus raised his hand to his head, to indicate that his life was in danger. "He demands the diadem!" was shouted by the Senators, who knew that no better means of exciting the prejudice of a large number could possibly be devised. Scipio Nasica (Serapio)—the Pontifex Maximus, and a principal man among the nobles—urged the Consul Scævola to destroy the tyrant at once, and thus save the State from ruin. Scævola, however, refused to act with hasty violence, while promising to oppose, by all legitimate means, the enactment of unconstitutional measures. Nasica thereupon exclaimed, "The Consul is betraying the Republic. Let those who would save their country follow me!" He accompanied these words by the significant action of drawing the skirt of his gown over his head—one of the ceremonies used by the Pontifex Maximus in solemn acts of worship. In this guise he rushed towards the Capitol, followed by a few nobles and their partisans, who, having broken up the benches, were provided with extemporary weapons. Gracchus fled to the Temple of Jupiter, but found that the doors had been closed against him by the priests. In the agitation of the moment, he stumbled over a dead body, and, by a strange coincidence, certain to be remarked by a people given to the interpretation of occult signs, fell before the statues of the ancient kings. As he rose, one of his own colleagues struck him on the head with a club or stool, and another despatched him with a second blow. Meanwhile, a furious riot was proceeding in the open space. Several of the Tribune's adherents

were slain upon the spot; some were driven over the edge of the Tarpeian Rock; altogether, more than three hundred of the popular side perished in the conflict, and were thrown ignominiously into the Tiber. The body of Tiberius himself was thus treated. His brother Caius, who had just returned from Spain, begged that he might be allowed to bury the corpse with all the customary funeral rites; but, in the savage exultation of their triumph, the Senate refused his prayer.

This was the first time since the establishment of the Republic that the blood of Romans had been shed in civil strife; but it was far from being the last, as an evil precedent had been created by the encroachments of Gracchus, and the passionate resistance of the Senate. So far as the actual riot was concerned, the chief blame attaches to those of the Senators who acted with extreme and hasty violence. The adherents of Gracchus were doubtless far more numerous than their opponents; yet they appear to have made a very slight resistance to the attack headed by Scipio Nasica, and to have been slain almost as they stood. A sweeping proscription followed the easy triumph on the Capitol. Some of the friends of the deceased Tribune were banished without trial in 132 B.C.; others were put to death. One of them, named Caius Villius, was consigned to the horrible fate of parricides, and shut up in a vessel with snakes and vipers. Blossius, a Greek sophist, who had been one of the teachers of Tiberius Gracchus, was brought before the Consuls, and questioned as to his participation in the late reformer's designs. He admitted that he had shrunk from nothing that the Tribune had required. "What if Tiberius had told you to burn the Capitol?" asked Scipio Nasica. The sophist endeavoured to fence with the question by affirming that such an order could never have proceeded from such a source; but, being repeatedly pressed on the point, he at length declared that, had Gracchus really commanded him to burn the Capitol, it would have been a proper action on his part to comply, as the good of the people would have been the real object. Such influences, however, are undoubtedly very dangerous to a State.

For a while, the party of Scipio Nasica had prevailed; but the feeling against that leader was so strong that, having been branded as the murderer of Gracchus, he was obliged to quit Italy—an act not legal in one holding, as he did, the office of Chief Pontifex. He died shortly afterwards at Pergamus, and was succeeded in the Pontificate by Licinius Crassus, brother by blood of the Consul Scævola, but an adopted son of the family of the Crassi. A daughter of this person had recently been married to Caius Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius, and for a short time he had occupied the post of Land Commissioner, rendered vacant by the death of the democratic Tribune. The party of privilege, therefore, was not wholly triumphant, yet its members were strong enough to enforce the punishments to which reference has been made. The city was accordingly divided into two hostile factions, and it was while this turbulent condition was still at its height that Scipio Æmilianus returned to Rome. Before quitting Spain, he had expressed his satisfaction at the death of Tiberius Gracchus, because he regarded the actions of the Tribune as illegal. His sympathies had generally been on the popular side; but he appears at this time to have conceived a dread of mob-violence, and of the unconstitutional changes to which it might lead. The modification in his views destroyed the popularity which had previously attached to his name. He became disliked by the people, and the arrogance with which he addressed them deepened their sense of antagonism. In 131 B.C. he retired from Rome in disgust, and the democratic party gained in power by the loss of so authoritative an opponent. For the first time in that year, both the Censors were Plebeians, and the Agrarian Law was now applied with considerable rigour. Papirius Carbo, one of the three Commissioners for administering the land-laws, issued a proclamation calling upon all the holders of public lands to produce their title-deeds. As many of these had been lost, several persons found themselves in danger of being compelled to relinquish possessions which their families had enjoyed for generations; and a strong feeling of indignation was not unnaturally aroused.

The very men just driven into opposition were for the most part those who had been ardent supporters of Gracchus. They were not members of the oligarchical party, but persons of moderate means, who were in peril of being beggared because of a flaw in their titles, which had resulted from no fault of theirs, but which was now being used against them by an unscrupulous demagogue. Seeing the necessity of entrusting their cause to a leader of high position and influence, they requested Scipio Æmilianus to undertake that task. He accepted the commission, and returned to Rome in 129 B.C. His first step was to move that the three Commissioners should be deprived of the judicial powers they had received from Gracchus, and that their jurisdiction should be transferred to the Consuls. This change was sanctioned, and the Consul Sempronius Tuditanus undertook the task

of administering the law as thus refashioned. A war on the Illyrian frontier, however, speedily called him away, and matters were brought to a deadlock, which produced the utmost dissatisfaction. The landowners affected by Carbo's arbitrary proclamation were chiefly provincial Italians, as distinguished from Romans; and Scipio, as their champion, was now accused of having sacrificed the interests of the capital to the advantage of the country populations. The sympathies of Scipio were undoubtedly much more with those freemen of Samnium and Etruria, of Umbria and Cisalpine Gaul, whom he had found among his most effective soldiers, than with the debased citizens of Rome, many of whom were enfranchised slaves, brought to the metropolis from various conquered districts. But this fact, while it made him popular in the one direction, caused him to be detested in the other. It was rumoured that he intended to let loose his Italian soldiery upon Rome; and, considering it advisable to explain his real designs, he announced that he would deliver two speeches on successive days—one in the Senate, and the other in the Forum.

Of these addresses, only one was ever heard. On the appointed day, Scipio rose in the Senate, and pledged himself to oppose the execution of the Agrarian Law. It was understood that on the following day he would defend before the popular Assembly the rights of the provincial Italians. A large number of the Senators escorted him home, and several Italian landowners followed with exclamations of gratitude. He seemed to be at the very zenith of his fame, and, apparently in good health and spirits, retired to his chamber to consider the discourse which he was to pronounce next morning. On the morrow he was found dead in his bed, and by his side lay the tablets on which he had been setting down the heads of his contemplated discourse. It was alleged that no wounds appeared upon the body; but the slaves affirmed that the house had been entered during the night, and that their master had been murdered. It is probable that he was strangled; and when the corpse was carried out for burial, the head was covered, contrary to the Roman custom. For a time, suspicion attached to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi; to her daughter Sempronia, the wife of Scipio, with whom he had lived unhappily; and to Caius Gracchus. Some attributed the crime to Carbo, and this was afterwards held to be the most probable supposition. The conduct of the Senate itself, however, was such as to create a doubt as to whether several members of that august body were not implicated in the fact. No inquiry into the death of this illustrious citizen, beyond the first examination of the slaves, was ever made, and the famous conqueror of Carthage and Numantia was buried without any public honours. He died at the age of fifty-five, and, after his decease, it was found that he had in no respect enriched himself at the cost of the State which he had so faithfully served, or of the people whom he had subdued.

Whatever the satisfaction of the Roman party at the death of Scipio Æmilianus, the Italians, who naturally regarded that great soldier as their champion, were struck with dismay and dread. Their desire was to obtain the Roman franchise, and with the help of Scipio they hoped shortly to effect that purpose. One of their number, named Perperna, had already been admitted to the Consulship, and other concessions would doubtless have followed in due course, but for the miserable catastrophe which had robbed them of their most powerful friend. A violent prejudice now set in against them. The Senate decreed that all provincial Italians should be expelled from Rome, and Perperna himself was included in this sentence. He was of Samnite race and birth, and, on being told that he must quit the city in which he was filling the high office of Consul, he took the fasces from his house, and carried them off to the mountains among which he had been bred. Yet in some respects a period of repose supervened upon the recent excitement. The Agrarian Law was not enforced in its more objectionable features, and Caius Gracchus, who was ultimately to renew the movement of his brother, still lived in retirement. Even the dislike of the Italians became less extreme after a little while. Proposals were made for reconciling the interests of the provincials with those of the citizens. It was hinted that, if the former would refrain from making themselves troublesome, they might even receive the Roman franchise. But this burst of generosity was short-lived. The burgesses of Rome saw how greatly their importance and their dictatorial power would be reduced by dividing their privileges with vast numbers of country people, who might be supposed to have different objects, and different views of policy; and the provincials again fell into discredit. At this juncture, however, Caius Gracchus came forward as the defender of the Italians, and found an ally in Fulvius Flaccus, one of the three Agrarian Commissioners. Caius was Quæstor at the time, and, being appointed to serve under the Consul Aurelius Orestes, was absent from Rome for a considerable period. The country party was now chiefly represented by

Fulvius Flaccus, who was elected to the Consulship in 125 B.C. The sincerity of his attachment to the provincials was shown immediately afterwards by his giving notice of a bill for extending the franchise to all Italians. The number of the Roman tribes had been thirty-five since the last addition to their body, in 241 B.C., just after the termination of the First Punic War. Thus, a period of one hundred and sixteen years had elapsed without any change, and the proposal of Flaccus involved so extensive a reform that all the possessors of privilege were alarmed, and the measure encountered a determined opposition. The difficulty was for a time evaded by the Senate conferring on Flaccus the command of an army sent into Gaul to protect Marseilles against the turbulence of a Ligurian tribe. He was absent two years, and received the honour of a triumph on his return in 123 B.C. His bill for extending the franchise was in this manner set aside; but the feeling of discontent was great throughout the larger part of Italy, and the general excitement soon led to events of a threatening character.

In 125 B.C., an insurrection broke out at Fregellæ, a prosperous city on the Latin Road, and one of the eighteen colonies which remained faithful to Rome during the Second Punic War. Some of the neighbouring cities had received the full Roman franchise: not so Fregellæ, and its hopes of more liberal treatment were destroyed by the departure of Flaccus upon foreign service. The citizens accordingly declared their independence, and the Prætor Opimius was sent to crush the movement. The unfortunate city was betrayed by one of its own people, whom the Romans themselves, in after times, branded as "Numitorius the traitor." Fregellæ was sacked, and deprived of its defences; the colony was stripped of its rights, and so much terror was struck into the Italian populations, that for the next thirty-five years they dared not lift a finger against the predominance of Rome. This terrible event occurred while Flaccus was absent in Gaul, and at the same time Caius Gracchus was purposely detained in Sardinia. The latter, however, took upon himself to return to Rome, even after the receipt of an order from the Senate that he was to remain another year at his post. Arriving in the capital about the middle of 124 B.C., he was immediately summoned before the Censors, to account for his insubordinate conduct. The intention was to brand him with a public stigma, such as would disqualify him from taking his seat in the Senate. He appealed to the people in an elaborate speech, the main purpose of which

THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

was to show that the Senate had no right to keep him employed at Quæstor for more than a year. The attempt of the Senate failed, and he was soon afterwards elected to the Tribunate, despite the opposition of the oligarchy. Caius now exhibited very striking qualities as an orator. He had given years of study to attain perfection in that art, and the result was seen in the effect he produced on his audiences. His words were accompanied by regular gesticulation, and his voice was always harmoniously modulated, even in passages of the most vehement nature. Cicero relates that, when speaking, he always had a slave close behind him, who gave the right note with a pitch-pipe; but the story is difficult to believe. In everything he now said or did, Caius Gracchus was dominated by one overmastering idea—the desire to avenge his brother's death. He was constantly telling the people that their ancestors suffered not their Tribunes to be trampled down, but that *they* had let the oligarchs beat Tiberius to death, and murder his friends without trial. His animosity was especially directed against Popillius, one of the Consuls for the year 132, who had acted at the head of the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the circumstances attending the movement of Tiberius Gracchus. To reach this man, who could not otherwise be touched, Caius brought a bill before the Tribes, declaring it treason on the part of any magistrate to punish a citizen capitally without the consent of the people. Before the measure could

A TUMULT IN THE FORUM AT ROME.

pass, Popillius quitted Rome, and the Tribes banished him from the soil of Italy. Caius, however, would have proceeded still further with his measures of retaliation, had he not been restrained by the advice of his mother.

The younger Gracchus soon afterwards began to develop his conceptions of general policy, as affecting the condition of the poor. He introduced a bill for renewing and extending the Agrarian Law of his brother. Another of his measures was designed for planting colonies in several parts of Italy, together with one in the provinces; but perhaps the most remarkable of his legislative acts was that by which the State undertook to furnish corn to all Roman citizens at a rate below the market price, with a proviso that the loss should be borne by the Treasury. This had been done before from time to time; but it was now established as a regular custom—a custom, however, which in after ages had a very evil influence on the poorer classes of Rome, in whom it encouraged habits of idleness and profligacy. The next steps were to establish customs duties upon various articles of luxury, such as only the rich could afford; to decree the gratuitous supply of clothing to the soldiers, who until then had defrayed the cost out of their own pay; to construct public granaries, bridges, and roads; and to furnish labour to all who were desirous of working. It is said that Caius himself superintended the making of the roads, some of which were raised on solid substructures of masonry, and carried from point to point with so entire a disregard of natural obstacles that in several places depressions were filled up, and in others the way was hollowed through interposing hills. In the prosecution of these useful works, Caius exhibited the most untiring energy. From morning to night he was attended by crowds of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and others, with whom he maintained a genial and unrestricted intercourse. The general result of such measures was to increase the popularity of Caius Gracchus to an unparalleled degree. He conceived that his power would enable him to carry any law on which he had set his heart; and, having now satisfied what he regarded as the legitimate demands of the poor and suffering, he gave his attention to the reduction of those administrative functions which the Senate had gradually, and almost without observation, engrossed to itself. The judicial prerogative was taken away altogether, and transferred to a body of three hundred persons, to be chosen periodically from all citizens possessing a certain amount of property. Another measure for curtailing the authority of the Senate was the Sempronian Law, by which the assignment of the Consular provinces was protected from undue influence. The prerogatives of the Dictatorship were also considerably circumscribed, and the office was thus rendered far less attractive than formerly to an ambitious spirit. The aims of Caius Gracchus were unquestionably pure and noble, though at times warped by a passionate hatred of the oligarchy, resulting, not unnaturally, from the ferocious persecution of his brother Tiberius. Some of his measures were as wise as they were well-intentioned; but the effect of others was disastrous. A war of classes was inaugurated by the reforms of this democratic Tribune, and it was afterwards remarked with great acuteness that Caius had made the Republic double-headed. It is certainly to be regretted that a man with so true a desire to serve the people should not have proceeded in a calmer and more judicial spirit, and with less reference to the galling memories of an earlier year.

On the return of Fulvius from Gaul, he and Caius Gracchus became the undisputed masters of the Comitia. The former was elected to the Tribunate in 122 B.C., and the latter obtained a renewal for himself of the same important office. The Senate appears to have been reduced to impotence by the extraordinary success of Gracchus, who was now virtually the sovereign of Rome, and of all the vast dependencies which had been gained by Roman valour. In furtherance of the law with reference to new colonies which had been passed the year before, Caius fixed on Capua and Tarentum as places where the first two settlements were to be made. The terms on which the plan was to be carried out were not, however, of a nature to please the masses, and Caius Gracchus experienced an immediate loss of popularity. The circumstance that each occupier was to pay a rent to the State was looked upon with great disfavour, and the small number of colonists chosen was also regarded as a grievance. Another of the Tribunes, named Livius Drusus, undertook, in the interests of the Senate, to carry out a similar proposal in a far more liberal spirit. He was a young man of noble birth, probably actuated by no higher than party motives; but when he offered to establish twelve colonies at once, to send three thousand poor families to each, and to make all the allotments rent-free, he obtained a much larger amount of support than had been given to the scheme of Gracchus. The latter, however, secured the countenance of the provincial Italians by advocating their claims to full citizenship. The possession of the franchise was a thing

desirable on two grounds. In the first place, it exonerated the holder from paying tribute to the national treasury, such having been the privilege of Roman citizens since the conquest of Macedon. In the second place, it would deliver the unfortunate provincials from the abominable tyranny to which they were then subjected. In his addresses to the populace, Caius related many stories illustrative of the cruel violence which the Italian communities were made to suffer. On one occasion, he told how the chief magistrate of Teanum, a town of Campania on the Appian Road, had been bound naked to a post in the market-place, and beaten with rods like a common slave, because he had not paid sufficient attention to the state of the baths when the wife of one of the Roman Consuls desired to use them. Another of these anecdotes was to the effect that a young legate of high family was being carried in a closed litter through the territory of Venusium, when a herdsman asked the bearers, in jest, whether they were carrying a corpse (which was a word of evil omen); and that the noble thereupon caused his attendants to lash the unfortunate countryman with the straps of the litter till he expired under their blows. So monstrous a power called loudly for correction; but the feeling at the capital was strongly opposed to the extension of Roman privilege, and Caius Gracchus was unable to make progress with his contemplated reforms. At the next election for Tribunes, neither he nor Flaccus was re-appointed. Opimius, the destroyer of Fregellæ, and the most bitter enemy of Caius, became Consul in 121 B.C., and the re-action gained strength with every day. Caius Gracchus had shortly before been sent to Carthage, to found a new colony, with the title of Junonia, on the site of that ancient and memorable city; but it was now reported that, as a manifest consequence of the curse pronounced by Scipio, the settlement had entirely failed, and that wolves, incited by the gods, had torn down the boundary stakes. At the request of the Senate, the Tribunes called a meeting of the Tribes at the Capitol, to rescind the law for colonising Carthage; and men looked at one another with evil forebodings, when they remembered that on this very spot the elder Gracchus had been slain.

The proceedings of the day began with a most unfortunate incident. Fearing for his life, and being no longer shielded by his former position as Tribune, Caius prepared to defend himself by any force he could collect. His mother got together a number of foreigners, disguised them as rustics, and sent them armed to the assistance of her son; and it was, in the midst of this body-guard that Gracchus appeared at the Capitol on the day of the appointed meeting. While Opimius was offering sacrifice in the Capitoline Temple, Gracchus stood aloof in the portico, where he was insolently addressed by a lictor of the Consul. He glanced angrily at the man, who was immediately struck down by many weapons. Amidst cries of murder, the crowd fled in dismay to the Forum, and Gracchus retired to his house, hoping to find protection within its walls. The body of the slain man was paraded about the streets, and the Senate invested Opimius with dictatorial power, at the same time proclaiming Gracchus a public enemy. Opimius acted in the same stern and unhesitating spirit that he had exhibited at Fregellæ. He armed the nobles, the knights, and the slaves, and before morning occupied the Capitol, together with the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum. Next day he summoned Caius and Fulvius to appear before him on the charge of murdering the lictor. Under these trying circumstances, Caius seems to have exhibited some want of nerve; but Fulvius drew together a number of his supporters, whom he armed with Celtic weapons brought home from his Gallic campaign, and who were plied with frequent draughts of wine. Seizing the Temple of Diana, on the Aventine, the two popular leaders issued a proclamation, in which they promised freedom to all slaves who should join them. But the slaves appear to have seen that the cause of Gracchus and his friend was rapidly losing ground, and that they would endanger their own lives by giving it a futile support. At any rate, they made no response to an invitation which might at one time have produced notable results. Opimius offered pardon to all who would abandon the leaders of the sedition; and the supporters of Caius and Fulvius fell off with alarming quickness. The situation was desperate; but Gracchus thought he could effect something by negotiation. He therefore sent Quintus Flaccus, a youthful son of the ex-Tribune, to offer terms to the Consul. Opimius saw too clearly that the struggle was altogether in his favour to accept any such proposals; and when the youth returned with a fresh message, he was arrested, and subsequently put to death. The Dictator now set a price on the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius, and ordered an attack upon the Aventine. This was conducted under the leadership of Decimus Junius Brutus (who, according to some accounts, was the father-in-law of Gracchus), and met with little resistance. Fulvius fled, and was afterwards discovered in a deserted bath,

where he was slain. Caius retired into the Temple of Diana, and would have put an end to his own life, had he not been restrained. He then threw himself on his knees, and besought the goddess to punish the unworthy citizens of Rome with everlasting slavery. Having given utterance to this curse, he and two of his friends hurried towards the Porta Trigemina, hotly pursued by the forces of the Consul. Pomponius, one of these trusted companions, made a gallant stand in the gateway, while Gracchus rushed across the Sublician Bridge. Lætorius, the other friend, stood at bay upon the bridge itself till he saw that the principal fugitive had reached the other side, when he leaped into the Tiber, and was drowned, shortly after Pomponius had been slain in his attempt to hold the gateway. On reaching the other side of the river, Gracchus loudly called for a horse, but none was brought him. Accompanied by a single slave, he then entered the sacred grove of the Furies, where his humble retainer gave him the death-blow, and then slew himself upon the body. Opimius had promised to pay its weight in gold for the head of the democratic leader; and a friend of the Consul, having obtained possession of it, extracted the brains, replaced them with lead, and so obtained a doubly infamous reward.

A terrible massacre followed; it is believed that the victims of aristocratical vengeance numbered three thousand. These were put to death without trial, and the Tiber was polluted with their corpses. Many persons were thrown into prison; the houses of the proscribed were pulled down, and their possessions confiscated; their widows and families were forbidden to wear mourning, and the wife of Caius Gracchus was deprived of her dowry. Finally, the city was purged by a formal lustration, and, with detestable hypocrisy, the Senate erected a Temple of Concord in memory of the recent events. There were some, however, who saw the tragical absurdity of such an act, and one morning an inscription was found upon the building, of which the rough translation runs—

"Workers of Discord raise a shrine to Concord."*

Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, retired to Misenum, in the Bay of Naples, where she lived several years, visited by Greeks and others, who loved to hear her repeat the story of her generous and self-sacrificing sons. That story she would relate with a sort of proud satisfaction, as if they were heroes of a long-past day. Referring to her father, the first Scipio Africanus, she would observe, "The grandchildren of that great man were my sons. They perished in the temples and groves of the gods, and they deserved to fall in those holy spots, for they gave their lives for the noblest of ends,—the happiness of the people." The words are remarkable, as being one of the earliest expressions of Democratic rather than merely Republican sentiment, and as recognising the claims of humanity for its own sake. Before the death of this lady, the Romans again regarded the memory of her two sons with feelings of gratitude and tenderness. Statues were erected to their memory, and altars raised in the localities where they had fallen. In still later days, Cornelia herself was honoured with a statue, which was set up in the Forum, and underneath which were engraved these all-sufficient words:—"Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi."

When Opimius felt quite secure of his victory, he signalised it by a medal, on which appeared a figure of Hercules, the exterminator of monsters, together with a wreath of laurel. The popular cause was taken up by violent demagogues, who did it no good; but a man of sufficient honesty and courage was found to indict Opimius for having put citizens to death without trial. The accuser was a Tribune named Decius; the defence was entrusted to Papirius Carbo, who had formerly been an adherent of the Gracchi, but who in 120 B.C. was Consul, and on good terms with the aristocratic party. Opimius was acquitted, but in the following year Carbo himself was indicted by Licinius Crassus, a relative of Caius Gracchus, then only one-and-twenty years of age. This youthful orator, who afterwards became distinguished for his eloquence, attacked Carbo with such scathing vehemence that he committed suicide by poison. The Sempronian Laws were now modified or abolished. The clause in the Agrarian Law which forbade the possessors of public lands to alienate their lots was set aside, and, as Tiberius Gracchus had foreseen in such a case, rich capitalists immediately began to purchase the petty estates of the humble, so that one of the chief objects of the reformer was set aside. Before long, the Agrarian Law was entirely revoked; the nobles were confirmed in the possession of their estates, and a rent-charge was levied upon their lands for the benefit of the needy—a species of poor-law which did not last many years. In 108 B.C., the nobles obtained the repeal of this provision, and at the same time the distribution of corn was materially restricted. The heartlessness of the aristocratic order was again painfully apparent, and at the same time the corruption of manners proceeded with ever-accelerating force. Several attempts

* Liddell's History of Rome, chap. 48.

were made to obtain a rectification of public morals; but the evil had gone too far to be amended by penal statutes.

While these domestic events were occurring at Rome, the arms of the Republic obtained some triumphs abroad. The eldest son of Metellus Macedonicus earned the title of Balearicus for subduing the Balearic Isles in 123 B.C. An outbreak among the Dalmatians was put down in 119; and, some years earlier than this, events of considerable importance occurred in the south of Gaul, where, in 125-4, Fulvius Flaccus, as already related, defended Marseilles against the attacks of neighbouring tribes, and where his successor, Sextius, after bringing the war to an end, founded the colony of Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix. This city was commenced in 122 B.C., and the Romans soon came in contact with the Allobrogians, situated between the Rhone and the Isère. The latter river was crossed in 121 by the Consul Fabius, who, at the head of only 30,000 men, inflicted a crushing defeat on 200,000 Gauls. The Allobrogians had been assisted by the Arvernians, who have given their name to the city of Auvergne; but they were compelled to sue for peace, and the authority of Rome was extended over the whole of Gaul lying between the Alps and the Pyrenees. This district was distinguished by the Romans as "the Province," a designation which still survives in the French name of Provence. In the year 118 B.C., the Consul Martius Rex founded the colony of Narbo Martius, now known as Narbonne; and it is more especially in that interesting part of France that the ancient world seems to glide, almost imperceptibly, into the modern.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

Northern Africa after the Fall of Carthage—The Numidian Kingdom—Character of Jugurtha—Division of the Numidian Territories—Encroachments of Jugurtha—Capture of Cirta, and Massacre of the Italian Residents—War Declared against Jugurtha—Venality of the Roman Government—Disgraceful Treaty—The War Resumed—Surprise and Surrender of Aulus Posthumius—The Second Treaty with Jugurtha—Its Repudiation—Renewal of the War under Metellus and Marius—Discipline Restored in the Army—The Battle of the Muthul—The War Protracted by the Skilful Tactics of Jugurtha—Dissatisfaction at Rome—Conduct of Marius—His Candidature for the Consulship—Appointment to the Command of the African Army—His March into the Interior—Intrigues with Bocchus—Jugurtha Betrayed, and put to Death—End of the War—Its Character.

THE aristocratic Government, which had acquired a new lease of power by the failure of the movement identified with the names of the Gracchi, soon found itself face to face with another war in northern Africa. We have seen that when Carthage fell before the victorious arms of her rival, a small strip of coast in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital was annexed by the conquering State, and formed into a province, to which the name of Africa is specifically applied by Roman writers. The remainder of the territories which had owned the sway of the great mercantile Republic were handed over to the Numidian prince Masinissa, whose name occurs so frequently in the history of the Punic Wars; and Masinissa had previously come into possession of the dominions which had belonged to his former rival, Syphax, the king of the Massæsylians. Thus amplified, the kingdom of Numidia became a State of considerable magnitude and power, extending from Cyrene and Egypt, on the east, to Mauritania (the modern Morocco), on the west. It included the greater part of that fertile and cultivated coast-line which Phœnician enterprise had studded with populous settlements and wealthy trading-cities, and it exercised an indefinite dominion over the great desert lands which stretched away towards the equator. In its character, the country presented that strange mixture of barbarism and civilization which has distinguished the southern seaboard of the Mediterranean in almost every age. Greek culture and Greek civilization had penetrated into the land, and the Numidian princes knew and respected the learning of the Athenians, and the philosophy of the porch and the academy. The riches of central Africa flowed into Europe through the Numidian towns of Hippo Regius and Leptis, now grown more important since Carthage had been destroyed. The warlike resources at the disposal of the Numidian monarchs were considerable. If their armies were somewhat deficient in trained and

disciplined infantry, they could command the services of a swarm of light horsemen and irregular troops, and of that numerous and splendid cavalry whom Scipio Africanus had used so efficiently in his last campaign against the Carthaginians.

endowed with the qualities which are needed to play that doubtful and dangerous part. In person handsome and active, and well fitted to excel in exercises of strength and agility, a splendid horseman, a keen sportsman, a ready and fluent speaker, and a

THE FLIGHT OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Masinissa died in 149 B.C., and the government of the kingdom was divided between his three sons. The two younger of these died before the eldest, Micipsa, who was thus left in undivided possession of the sovereignty. But Micipsa was old and feeble, and the government was largely in the hands of Jugurtha, an illegitimate son of his brother Mastanabal, and a man of vigorous character and brilliant accomplishments. Jugurtha seemed almost destined by Nature to be the pretender to a throne, so greatly was he

brave and dashing leader on the field of battle: he possessed in addition a good deal of that indefinable personal charm which attaches to its owner all with whom he is brought into contact. But, under an appearance of modesty and indifference, the young man concealed some dangerous qualities—a deep-rooted ambition, an unscrupulous determination in the attainment of his desires, and a more than ordinary share of the subtilty and duplicity which distinguished the African character. It is plain that the old king was fully justified in his fears for the

safety of his two young sons when exposed to the pretensions of so formidable a rival, more especially as the high-spirited gallantry and manifold accomplishments of the prince had rendered him the darling of the Numidian people. Under the influence of these apprehensions, Micipsa placed his nephew in command of a contingent of Numidian horse, which he sent to the assistance of the Romans in the campaign against Numantia, in the hope that the chances of war might rid him of his too gifted relative. But the scheme failed of

AN INCIDENT IN THE JUGURTHINE WAR. (See p. 201.)

success, and Jugurtha returned to Africa, after gaining a great reputation by the valour, the forethought, and the military talents he had displayed in the campaign, and after establishing intimate relations with many leading members of the Roman governing class.

The logic of events was not to be gainsaid, and Micipsa, yielding to necessity, executed a testament by which his dominions were to be divided between his nephew and his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. In 118 B.C. the old king died, and the results which he appears to have foreseen almost immediately ensued. A quarrel broke out between the cousins, in the course of which Hiempsal was made away with by hired assassins. Then a civil war arose, in which Jugurtha showed that he had studied tactics under the Roman generals to some purpose. Adherbal was completely routed, and his dominions were overrun by the troops of his successful opponent. The vanquished prince fled to Rome, and sought the aid of the Republic against his victorious enemy. But here Jugurtha had been beforehand with him. His envoys were already at Rome, and they brought with them arguments more convincing than words. The old Roman integrity had given way to a shameless and unblushing venality in high quarters. The bribes of Jugurtha's ambassadors so far prevailed with the Senate that they neglected the claims of the lawful descendant of their old ally, Masinissa, and decided that a commission should be sent to Africa to effect a division of the Numidian territories between Jugurtha and Adherbal. But the commissioners were, in reality, in the pay of the usurper, and to him the larger and more populous part of the kingdom (the western portion, extending to the frontiers of Mauritania) was assigned. Adherbal received as his share the eastern portion, to which its abundance of harbours and public buildings gave the appearance rather than the reality of higher value.

As might have been expected from the character of the two princes, the settlement was not destined

to be permanent. The active and ambitious Jugurtha constantly encroached upon the territories of his less enterprising cousin. Adherbal, well knowing that he was no match for his rival in war, bore his injuries for some time without attempting to vindicate the integrity of his dominions by any other means than by frequent complaints to the Roman Senate. But Jugurtha had discovered, as he himself said, that at Rome all things and all men had their price; and he acted on this cynical maxim with such effect that for some years he was left practically undisturbed in his career of conquest. At length, however, a burst of popular indignation compelled the oligarchy to take some action against the astute Numidian. Tired of fruitless appeals to his faithless allies, and recognising the fact that he must either fight for his realm or see it torn from him without a blow, Adherbal, in 112 B.C., assembled his army, and encountered the troops of Jugurtha in a pitched battle not far from Cirta, the capital of the eastern provinces. But he was quite unable to contend against one who had learned the military trade from the conquerors of Spain and Carthage. His forces were disastrously defeated, and he himself was blockaded in Cirta by the numerous and well-appointed army which obeyed Jugurtha. But in spite of the skill of the latter, and the powerful siege-train he brought to bear on the town, it made a stout resistance, chiefly through the efforts of a number of Italian merchants and traders, who formed an important element in the population. Nevertheless, Jugurtha's blockade was so close and effectual that the city was gradually reduced to the last extremity of famine, and no hope remained for it but that of assistance from Rome. The Senate, however, confined themselves to sending two commissions to Africa—one of them led by Marcus Scaurus, the hero of the war against the Taurisci—to restore peace; and Jugurtha, though he treated the envoys with a great show of outward deference, altogether refused to submit to their arbitration. The siege was continued, and at length the city was compelled to surrender unconditionally. The unfortunate Adherbal was executed, after suffering lingering tortures; and the whole male population of the place, including the Italians, who had been the life and soul of the defence, were put to the sword.

The news of this atrocity caused a wave of popular indignation to pass over Italy. It is seldom, indeed, that a Government can resist such a sudden and spontaneous outburst of national feeling; and the Roman aristocracy were well aware that behind the bureaucratic machine they had constructed with such care there lay the power of the people—latent, it is true, but capable of being called into life at any moment. Caius Memmius, who had been designated as Tribune of the people, and was known as an opponent of the aristocracy, brought the whole matter before the popular Assembly, in a telling speech, which has been preserved by Sallust, and laid bare the corrupt influence which had permitted the ally and the subjects of Rome to be outraged with impunity. Much against their will—for the gold of Jugurtha had been lavishly distributed among them—the senators found themselves compelled to accede to the popular demand. The war preparations were hurried on with much show of activity, and an army, under the Consul Lucius Calpurnius Bestia and Marcus Scaurus, crossed the frontier of the African province and advanced into Numidia. At the same time an alliance was concluded with Bocchus, King of Mauritania, though that monarch was the son-in-law of Jugurtha. But the war from the beginning was a mere blind. The Consul himself had been in the pay of Jugurtha, as well as Scaurus and most of the officers in high command. The king began to negotiate, and found that his attempts met with a success which must have surprised himself, deeply as he believed in the corruption of Roman politics. Appearances were partially saved by a faint show of diplomatic fencing, and then Jugurtha was permitted to make peace on terms which were ridiculously easy. Practically, he could hardly have made better conditions had he won a signal victory; for his kingdom was confirmed to him, and he was allowed to retain possession of the extensive dominions of which he had plundered Adherbal.

Great was the dissatisfaction at Rome when the news of this disgraceful compact became known. Caius Memmius called upon the Senate to summon their new-found ally to the city, that he might explain and vindicate his actions. Reluctantly the Senate complied, and Jugurtha, under the protection of a safe-conduct, presented himself at the capital. Yet in spite of the popular indignation, which, but for the moderating influence of Memmius, would have endangered the life of the usurper, little was done. The efforts of his partizans were successful in putting off discussion, and avoiding the decisive step of cancelling the treaty which the patriotic party advocated. But a new outrage of Jugurtha's forced the hand of the Government. There was living in Rome a young Numidian prince named Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa, and consequently a cousin of Jugurtha, who was induced to bring forward his claim (undoubtedly a good one) to the Numidian crown. So confident was

Jugurtha in the protection of his powerful friends, that he had his rival put to death in Rome by one of his Numidian retainers. After this, war could be no longer delayed. The king was dismissed from the city, the treaty was annulled, and the army of Africa, under the command of the new Consul, Spurius Albinus, was set in motion. This was in the winter of 111 B.C., and early in the following year the war recommenced on the frontiers of the province. But the Consul was supine and inactive, even if he were not, as was afterwards asserted, like so many of the Roman officials, corrupted by the bribes of Jugurtha; and little progress was made in the operations. On the departure of Albinus to Rome to take part in the annual elections, his brother, Aulus Posthumius, who was left in command of the army, conceived the design of carrying by a sudden dash the strong town of Suthul,* which contained the king's stores and treasures. The object was an important one, but Aulus showed little skill or prudence in striving to compass it. He marched to the town, when, finding the place stronger than he had anticipated, he sat down before it, and consumed some time in an unsuccessful siege. Meanwhile, Jugurtha hovered with his army in the neighbourhood, as if anxious to tempt the Romans to battle. Misled by his manœuvres, Aulus suffered himself to be drawn away into the desert, and, with additional want of generalship, encamped his army on ground very unfavourable to defensive operations. Jugurtha, following out his customary policy, succeeded in gaining over the officers in command of the outposts, and then made a sudden and violent nocturnal attack on the camp. The Romans, surprised and surrounded, and demoralised by the consciousness that there was treachery in their midst, were completely routed, and no alternative remained for them but an ignominious surrender. The terms which Jugurtha dictated were not perhaps excessive, though they must have been sufficiently humiliating to the pride of the vanquished. The Romans were compelled to pass under the yoke, and to agree to the complete evacuation of the Numidian territory, and the renewal of the treaty which had been abrogated the previous year.

At Rome, the intelligence of this surrender was the signal for an outburst of well-merited resentment against the corrupt and incompetent officials who had dealt so faithlessly with the diplomatic and military interests of the Republic. At the instance of Mamilius, one of the Tribunes of the people, many of the leading senators were put on their trial, on account of treasonable correspondence with Jugurtha. Several of the men whose guilt seemed most evident — among others, the former Consuls, Calpurnius Bestia and Spurius Albinus — were condemned and sent into exile. Yet it was plain that the power of the official aristocracy was not seriously shaken, though the pressure of popular feeling had compelled them to make some show of setting their house in order. There was no attempt at any constitutional changes, and the conduct of the war was still left in the hands of the Senators—the only class, indeed, who, in the selfish absorption of the capitalists, and the weakness and disunion of the yeomanry, could be trusted with the management of public affairs. How little the popular excitement was able to effect against the really powerful members of the governing clique is shown by the fact that Marcus Scaurus, who had been as deeply implicated as any one in the most disgraceful transactions of the Numidian campaigns, was left unpunished and unaccused, and even elected to the important office of Censor. Still the Senate perceived clearly enough that there must be an end of the failures and scandals which had marked the course of events in Africa since the accession of Jugurtha; and they set about effecting their object with that vigorous capacity for action which seldom deserted Roman administrators, even in their worst corruption. The treaty which Aulus had concluded was disavowed, and preparations were at once made for recommencing the war. The new general was the Consul Quintus Metellus, a much more capable man than his immediate predecessor. Metellus was a member of one of the great houses, but he was free from many of the faults which so often disfigured the aristocratic politicians of the age. He was a man of much experience in military affairs, a prudent and able general, and a highly competent administrator; and, judged by the low standard of public morality which prevailed at the time, his character may be pronounced honourable and upright. He gave a proof of his discernment, as well as of his power to overcome the prejudices of his order where the public interest was concerned, by appointing to one of the highest places on his staff the brave Caius Marius, of whom we shall hear much in the course of this History. Marius was the son of a small Italian farmer, and he had risen from the ranks by his bravery and military talent. He was the representative of the class to which the aristocratic oligarchy were opposed, and it is creditable to the good sense of Metellus that he overcame the

* Identified by Mommsen with the modern Guelma; but it is impossible to determine its situation with any approach to accuracy.

prejudices of his order so far as to recognise and reward the undoubted ability of this brilliant soldier.

The task which the Consul and his lieutenants had to face when they arrived in Africa, in the latter part of the year 109, was by no means easy. Abundant supplies of provisions and warlike stores of all kinds had been accumulated in Italy, and transported to Africa for the service of the army; but the army itself was completely disorganised and demoralised. The weakness and treachery of its leaders, the enervating character of the climate, and the deteriorating effect of the recent disgraceful capitulation, had relaxed the bonds of discipline, and rendered the Roman force, to quote the words of the historian of the period, "indolent and cowardly, unable to bear peril or difficulty, readier to talk than to fight, an easy prey to its enemies, a danger only to its friends." * The camps were no longer entrenched or guarded in the proper military fashion; the men left the standards at their pleasure, and wandered about the country robbing and pillaging the inhabitants, and committing the thousand acts of licentious brutality which are ordinary occurrences among soldiers who have once lost the habits of order and obedience; and hosts of camp followers mingled with the troops, and aided them in the work of plunder and outrage. While the Roman forces were thus enfeebled, Jugurtha had become proportionately stronger. All through the East—and nowhere more than in Northern Africa—a single victory will bring a mighty following to fight under the successful leader, just as a single defeat is sufficient to make his army melt away like snow. The rout and surrender of Aulus, magnified by the tongue of rumour, had set Libya and Numidia in a flame. An immense multitude of the horsemen of the desert poured round Jugurtha's standard, eager to free Africa from the invader, and drive the hated foreigner into the sea.

But the king himself was well aware how little these warriors, matchless as light cavalry and irregular combatants, could be relied on against the assault of regular troops. When he saw Metellus beginning the work of reform with a stern and unsparing hand, driving away the followers from the camps, suppressing all the appliances of luxury, and even of comfort, enforcing the most rigid discipline, and restoring the military qualities of his men by constant marches and manœuvres, carried out according to the strictest principles of war, he lost heart, and attempted to treat. He sent envoys to the Roman general, offering to surrender if his own safety and that of his children were guaranteed. Metellus made a pretence of listening to his terms, and received the ambassadors; but he acted with that want of good faith which had now become customary with the Romans where foreigners were concerned. The Senate appears to have fully made up its mind to put an end to the war by the capture or death of Jugurtha, which was, indeed, the only termination that was likely to be completely effectual. Metellus, therefore, would have been disobeying his instructions if he had really accepted that prince's submission; in reality, however, his only object was to tamper with the ambassadors, in order, if possible, to procure the assassination of Jugurtha by his own subjects. But in the prosecution of such a game the wily African was more than a match for his opponent. The intrigues of the Romans proved ineffectual; and Jugurtha, now understanding that the issue for him was one of life and death, and perceiving that his partisans at Rome could do no more to stave off the day of reckoning, prepared to make as desperate a resistance as his resources would allow.

Accordingly, when the Romans advanced into the Numidian territories, in the spring of the year 108 B.C., they speedily came upon the king, who was strongly posted, with all the forces he could command, near a river (not now to be identified with any certainty), called by the Latin historians the Muthul. The route of the Roman army lay across a barren and treeless mountain range, some distance from the foot of which a low spur of hills, covered with olive and myrtle-trees, growing in all the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, crossed the plain, and abutted on the river. On the slopes of these hills Jugurtha had stationed himself, with the best part of his infantry and all his cavalry, in such a position that they threatened the right flank of the Romans as it emerged from the mountains. Some distance lower down the ridge, Bomilcar was posted, with the elephants and the remainder of the infantry, at a point which commanded the river—an object, as Jugurtha rightly judged, of the first importance to the enemy after their long and exhausting march across the desert and the mountains. All that a skilful general could do to secure success in the approaching combat Jugurtha had done. His troops were posted on a long and extended front, so well concealed by the thickets and the inequalities of ground that the Roman commanders could scarcely decide at what point the attack

* Sallust: Jugurtha, chap. 44.

should be made. An effective series of ambuscades had been prepared, designed to harass the Romans as they advanced, and well fitted to bring out the best qualities of the irregular troops who formed so large a portion of the African army. Before the battle, Jugurtha personally inspected the various divisions, and employed all the resources of his stirring and soldier-like eloquence to nerve his followers to the encounter.

Metellus, as soon as he could discern the disposition of the king's forces, despatched a strong division under his lieutenant, Publius Rutilius Rufus, to seize the river and erect a fortified camp, while he himself, with the remainder of the army, made straight for the centre of Jugurtha's position. As the Romans quitted the mountains and crossed the plain, they were assailed in front, flank, and rear, and thrown into some confusion, by swarms of light troops; but they pressed on till they came to close quarters with the bulk of the Numidian infantry, and then, with a single rush, carried the hill by storm, and drove the enemy in panic from the field. Equal good fortune had attended the column of Rufus. Bomilcar's troops scarcely waited to meet the charge of the Romans before they broke, and fled in confusion. The Numidians lost all their elephants, but, owing to the knowledge of the country possessed by the fugitives, their loss of life was comparatively small. The victory, however, was an important one. It effectually dissipated the terror which had gathered round Jugurtha's name, and it showed that, whatever his skill and ability as a tactician, he had no troops at his disposal who could stand their ground against the legions of Rome.

Jugurtha himself was the first to recognize this fact, and he resolved henceforth to carry on a guerilla warfare, and to avoid risking his fortunes in another pitched battle. The Romans advanced into the interior of the country, marching in two divisions, which moved in parallel lines, one commanded by Metellus in person, the other by Marius, who had greatly added to his military reputation during the preceding campaign. Strong garrisons were imposed on the various towns, and everywhere the Numidian armies disappeared before the march of the invader. But the country was very far from being conquered or pacified. The Numidian horse hung upon the rear of the Roman divisions, harassing them with a pertinacity as invincible as that of the Cossacks in Bonaparte's Russian campaign of 1812. Moreover, some of the towns opposed an energetic resistance to the besiegers; and the strong fortress of Zama, in the valley of the Bagradas, made so effectual a defence, aided by the wasp-like attacks of Jugurtha on the Roman lines, that Metellus, after a prolonged siege, was obliged to withdraw from before the place towards the close of 108 B.C., and retire into winter quarters in the Roman provinces. These checks, coming after what at first sight looked like a decisive victory, seem to have convinced Metellus that the defensive power of the Numidians was still considerable. Accordingly, he once more opened communication with the king, and seemed disposed to offer terms such as might possibly be accepted. Jugurtha, on his part, quite aware of the insecure tenure of his own power and the resources of the enemy opposed to him, was well inclined to treat; and the negotiations proceeded so far that Jugurtha delivered up his elephants, together with 3,000 Roman deserters who were in his hands, as an earnest of his intention to surrender. In the meanwhile, the Roman general was still engaged in doubtful intrigues with the Numidian courtiers, and Bomilcar, the trusted adviser of Jugurtha, was suborned to betray his master to the enemy. It is scarcely surprising that negotiations conducted with so little good faith led to no result. Jugurtha refused to surrender his person into the hands of the Romans, and the treachery of Bomilcar being discovered, that officer was arrested and put to death. During the remainder of the winter of 108, the Africans showed less disposition than ever to submit tamely to the yoke of the Romans. Even the places occupied by the troops of the latter were not securely in their possession. The inhabitants of the town of Vaga suddenly rose in revolt and put to death the Roman garrison, the governor, Titus Turpilius Silanus, being the only Italian who escaped. The revolt was ruthlessly avenged by Metellus, who massacred the citizens and sacked the rich and populous town. Turpilius, against whom there was some suspicion of treasonable correspondence with the enemy, was tried, and condemned to suffer the penalty of death. There is no evidence at our command to enable us to decide on the question of his supposed treason; but the accusation is in itself not at all improbable. An atmosphere of treachery and bad faith hangs like a cloud over all the transactions of the Jugurthine wars, and renders their history a singularly unpleasant one.

In the early part of 107 B.C., Metellus broke up his cantonments in the province, and advanced into the heart of the Numidian territories in pursuit of Jugurtha. Probably he hoped by a few vigorous movements to bring the war to a conclusion; but, if so, he was disappointed, for Jugurtha pursued the same skilful and cautious

tactics as in the preceding year, and gave his opponent little chance of striking a decisive blow. As the Romans advanced Jugurtha fell back, drawing ever nearer to the desert, whence his supplies of fighting men were now chiefly drawn; and thus, though the Romans had planted garrisons in most of the important towns, and were in firm occupation of the more civilised portions of Eastern Numidia, the great object of the war—the possession of Jugurtha himself and the dispersion of the horde of irregular tribesmen who surrounded him—seemed as far off as ever. As he retired to the west he opened communications with his father-in-law, Bocchus, the King of Mauritania, who had held somewhat aloof from the war since the treaty of 111 B.C., but whose numerous and well-appointed cavalry, as well as the fact that his dominions immediately adjoined the western portion of Jugurtha's territories, made his alliance a matter of great importance. This consideration appears also to have struck the Roman general, for he began to negotiate with Bocchus with the view of inducing that prince to betray his ally. For the present, however, Bocchus declined the offer made to him, and supported his son-in-law with some show of vigour; though it is probable, judging from his subsequent conduct, that he was in reality only biding his time till he was in a position to make a more profitable bargain with the emissaries of the republic. It was doubtless with the view of being in the neighbourhood of the Mauritanian territories that, in the latter part of 107 B.C., Jugurtha, after suffering another severe defeat at the hands of the Romans, withdrew with the bulk of his forces, as well as with his family and his treasures, to the town of Thala, situated on an oasis within the limits of the desert, and not far from the borders of the modern state of Tunis. Between this place and the nearest river there lay fifty miles of country utterly barren and arid, destitute alike of shade, vegetation, and water. The difficulties of a march through such a region to the soldiers of a more temperate climate, armed and equipped as were the Romans, were immense, and the Numidians may well have thought them insuperable. But the energy of Metellus was not to be daunted. Stripping his men of all their heavier equipments, and giving them instead skins filled with water, that capable commander led his army across the desert, and suddenly, to the utter consternation of the inhabitants, appeared under the walls of Thala. The city surrendered after a siege of forty days' duration, prolonged chiefly by the efforts of a numerous band of Roman deserters; but the object for which the toilsome march had been made was unaccomplished, for Jugurtha, with his children and much of his treasure, escaped to the still more savage and inaccessible country lying to the southward. His army had been scattered, but his name was still powerful. In a very short period he had raised a fresh horde of irregular horsemen from among the wild tribes of the desert, whom the ancients knew as the Gætulians. At the same time he drew closer his alliance with Bocchus, and the two monarchs, at the head of a great force of Mauritanians and Gætulians, invaded the Eastern province and marched towards Cirta, which was now the base of the Roman operations in Numidia. Here Metellus had fortified himself strongly, and, with his small but seasoned and disciplined army, was quite prepared to meet any force the allies could bring against him.

When the campaign was resumed in 106 B.C., the conduct of the war was no longer in the hands of this general. In the operations of the preceding few years a conspicuously brilliant part had been played by Caius Marius, whose reputation, already high, now stood second to that of no other officer, and even eclipsed the renown of his prudent and vigorous leader. The friendship between these two men had given place to the bitterest animosity. The haughty Metellus was wounded to the quick at the estimation in which his low-born lieutenant was held, and he showed his resentment by capricious and wanton insults. Marius, however, was not a man to be crushed or reduced to silence, and he soon proved himself more than a match for his antagonist in other matters beside the art of war. For the next few years he is the most conspicuous and important figure on the stage of Roman history, till compelled to give way to a more terrible rival. Sprung, as we have said, from the people, he was avowedly and ostentatiously the champion of popular rights and the Italian rural population against the utterly debased aristocracy of the capital, who traded away the interests of the Republic for foreign gold, and feasted on beccaficos and the hinder parts of singing-birds, while the poor were clamouring for bread in Italy, and the Roman armies were starving in the provinces. But we can trace little of statesmanlike capacity or political insight in him; his reforming measures began and ended with denunciations of the oligarchy, and proposals for a transfer of executive power from the idlers of the metropolis to the men of action like himself. He was, indeed, all through his life more of the soldier than the politician—with a soldier's belief in personal rule, and a soldier's disinclination for organic change. Penetrated through and through by

the instincts and prejudices of the professional military man, rough and uncultivated, despising the æsthetic refinement which had become habitual with the aristocracy, and utterly contemptuous of the Greek learning in which every educated Roman delighted: gifted with a certain rude eloquence which told with the people, but ostentatiously retaining the manners of the camp and the barrack-room: he is the antetype in ancient times of the sergeants and sub-lieutenants whom modern Europe has known as the leaders of armies and the occupants of thrones. With the soldiers, his bluff honesty, his hearty good-fellowship, and his thoughtful care for their wants, made him a general favourite; they were proud of him, too, as one of themselves, for, though he had married into a wealthy and noble family, he had, it was said, followed the plough in his youth, and had certainly trailed the pike in the ranks as a private soldier ere his valour and talent marked him out for promotion. Even before the Numidian campaign, he had obtained considerable distinction, and was a known and popular man at Rome. In Spain he had served with success, and won the favour of Scipio as an officer of skill and diligence, certain to carry out the duties with which he was entrusted. In 119 B.C. he was Tribune, and, later on, Proprætor of Spain, where he governed well, and showed much vigour in reducing the country to order. As an administrator, he was distinguished for his incorruptible honesty and uprightness of conduct. As a soldier, he is certainly not

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to be classed among the greatest of strategists; but he was a bold and skilful tactician, well able to handle his troops on the battle-field, and possessing that energy in action, and fertility of resource, which are the first requisites of a good general.

Among the characteristics of Marius was a considerable element of superstition. He was said to be largely under the influence of a Jewish or Syrian prophetess (a token of the increasing communication of the Romans with the religions of the East), and she had foretold that he would be successful in whatever he undertook. Urged by this prediction, and spurred on by his own ambition, Marius, in 107 B.C., announced to Metellus his intention of standing for the Consulship. Permission to leave the army and go to Rome for the purpose was granted grudgingly, and in such a manner that Marius began his candidature greatly exasperated against his general. Yet, though the provocation he had received was great, his conduct on arriving in the capital was quite indefensible. He found considerable dissatisfaction prevailing with regard to African affairs. The Romans had looked upon the war as virtually concluded after the triumphant battle of the Muthul; and the Equites and lower classes, discontented at the protracted and apparently inglorious contest which followed, were disposed to lay the blame on the general, and to suspect a recurrence of the aristocratic treachery and incapacity which brought about the disasters of the earlier years of the war. Marius ministered to this feeling by all the means in his power. With great want of fairness (for none knew better than himself the difficulties to be contended against), he declared that the war might have been ended long ago but for the supineness and lack of energy of the Roman commander; and he insinuated that if *he* were appointed to the chief command, he would speedily bring the whole affair to a termination, and reopen the African trade, the cessation of which had pressed severely on the capitalist and commercial classes of Rome. He was loud in his denunciations of the vices and weakness of the aristocrats, and urged the people to elect one whose title to office rested on valuable services performed for the common benefit, rather than on the empty claim of illustrious descent. The nobility, of course, spared no pains to defeat their dangerous adversary; but in spite of all their efforts, Marius was chosen consul by a triumphant majority. Moreover, in despite of a law passed by Caius Gracchus, which gave the Senate the right of determining the functions of each Consul, a decree of the people invested Marius with the command of the African army, which Metellus was ordered to surrender to him. In 106 B.C. the successful candidate, carrying with him considerable reinforcements, which he had levied from freedmen and the poorer citizens, as well as from those whose property qualifications legally entitled them to form part of the army, took over the command from his mortified predecessor (who, it is said, shed tears of rage at the news of his rival's election), and prepared to resume operations against Jugurtha.

The mortification of Metellus must have been intensified by the reflection that the most difficult part of the work had been done by himself, while his successor would be left to reap the result of his labours. It was plain that the gallant struggle which Jugurtha, with dauntless energy and infinite resource, had been carrying on so long, was drawing to a close. With his dominions overrun, his best towns in the possession of the Romans, and his Numidian troops beaten and dispersed, the king's chief reliance now centred in his ambiguous and uncertain ally, the King of Mauritania. All through the winter, Metellus had carried on a cautious defensive campaign against the combined forces; as the season for more active operations drew on, the two kings separated, in the hope that the Romans would be harassed and weakened by the necessity of having to pursue two enemies. In the extreme south of Tunes, on an oasis in the desert, there stands the modern town of Gafsa, known to the ancients as Capsa. Anxious to emulate the famous exploit of Metellus before the capture of Thala, Marius conveyed his troops across the desert in a march the difficulties and dangers of which far exceeded those encountered by his predecessor. The inhabitants surrendered immediately; but, notwithstanding, Marius ruthlessly caused the whole male population of the place to be put to death. Jugurtha had removed his treasure-chest to a strong fort on the river Muluccha, or Molochath, which separated the Numidian kingdom from Mauritania. The place was deemed impregnable, for it was situated on a rocky mountain towering above the plain, and approached by a single path so narrow that the Romans could with difficulty bring up their siege train and breaching engines. Marius assaulted the place for some time to no purpose, and was about to desist from the siege in despair, when he was informed that another approach to the invincible stronghold had been found. A Ligurian soldier, gathering snails on the rocks, had gradually ascended higher and higher till he reached the very summit of the hill, and was able to look down into the

city. On hearing of this discovery, Marius ordered the Ligurian to lead a squad of trumpeters up the precipitous ascent, while at the same time the bulk of the Roman army made a desperate assault on the gates and walls of the town. The garrison met the attack with vigour, and would probably have driven back their assailants; but in the thick of the combat, the Ligurian, obedient to the orders he had received, caused his men to sound their instruments. The astonished Numidians, hearing the blast of the Roman trumpets in their rear, and seeing the glitter of Roman armour on the rugged and almost inaccessible crags which overhung the city, were struck with panic, and fled in terror from their posts. The Romans dashed over the ramparts before the enemy could recover from their confusion, and speedily made themselves masters of the place, and of the rich booty it contained.

On the march back into Western Numidia, Marius was joined by his Quæstor, Lucius Cornelius Sulla (sometimes, but less correctly, described as Sylla), with a large reinforcement of cavalry. A greater contrast to Marius could hardly be conceived than this gifted officer, who was soon to come forward only too conspicuously on the stage of Roman history. If Marius was a man of the people, Sulla was an aristocrat to the finger-tips. Luxurious and dissolute, yet not without a good deal of culture and refinement, a *roué* and a man of pleasure by profession, and at the same time something of a scholar and something of an artist; brave, beyond all question or dispute, but delighting to unravel difficulties less by courage than by the exercise of his keen and penetrating intellectual faculty; and, through all the changes of his changeful life, cold, proud, cynical, and supremely selfish: he was as unlike as possible to the rough soldier whom he ultimately supplanted. Bloodthirsty and unscrupulous as Marius eventually became, there is nothing in his character comparable to the calculating cruelty and remorseless contempt for human suffering which marked the later stages of Sulla's career, and made the Romans of after times shudder as they recalled his name.* As yet, however, the darker traits of his character were hidden. In the Jugurthine War we know him only as the dashing cavalry officer, the skilful general of division, and the most wily and successful player in that game of diplomatic intrigue of which northern Africa was the scene during these years. The arrival of Sulla with his squadrons was a seasonable relief to Marius, who was exposed to considerable danger on his return from the rather ill-considered expedition to the Molochath. For Jugurtha had resolved to make one last desperate effort to overwhelm the Romans, and in this he was vigorously seconded by Bocchus, whose policy had assumed an attitude of more determined hostility to Rome now that the legions had been seen on the frontiers of his own province.

In the late twilight of the tropical day, as the Romans were marching wearily through the interminable desert, they were suddenly attacked from several quarters at once by a wild host of Moorish and Gætulian horsemen. Hastily forming themselves into dense but isolated masses, they held their ground while the loose hordes of their foes rolled and surged around them, and tried in vain to break the solid squares. Yet, though undefeated, the loss of the Romans was considerable, and when night fell it was with numbers considerably reduced that the divisions of Marius and Sulla drew together on two adjacent hills, while the barbarians in a great ring lay bivouacked all round. But the Africans, deeming their victory secure, spent the night in feasting and revelry, and were little prepared for fighting when in the early morning the Roman trumpets rang out the charge, and with one rush the legionaries dashed down the hill-sides and scattered their enemies before them like chaff. Then Marius continued his march, but once more the Numidians made an attempt to intercept him before he could reach Cirta. Bocchus, with a strong detachment of Mauritanian infantry, whom his son Volux had just brought up to reinforce his army, attacked the Romans in the rear, while Jugurtha fell upon them in front. Sulla with his cavalry division drove the enemy opposed to him from the field; but meanwhile Jugurtha, riding round to the rear, and holding a severed head and a blood-stained sword in his hand, cried out in Latin that he had killed Marius. The Romans were falling into some confusion, when Sulla, hastening back with his victorious troopers, charged the Moorish infantry, and completely routed them. Bocchus rode off immediately, but Jugurtha fought on with the courage of despair, till his attendants had been killed, and he had to cut his way almost unaided through the ranks of the enemy. A dreadful scene of carnage ensued; as far as the eye could see, the soil of the desert was strewn with the bodies of the dead and dying Numidians. The Romans marched on to Cirta, and there went into winter-quarters.

The defeat must have seemed a death-blow to Jugurtha's hopes. Yet it was by treachery rather than by arms that the war was at length con-

* Sallust: Jugurtha, chap. 95.

cluded. The prospects of the Numidian king seemed so dark after the last battle that his faithless ally Bocchus once more began to make overtures to the Romans, of whom, indeed, he had never quite lost touch. Five days after the engagement envoys arrived at Cirta, announcing the king's willingness to reopen negotiations. Sulla, with Aulus Manlius, another officer of rank on the staff of Marius, were sent to Bocchus; but nothing conclusive came of their mission. Then the king sent ambassadors to the Roman quarters, and they were escorted to Utica by Sulla, with an elaborate attention and courtesy which greatly impressed them, and gave their master a very favourable view of that astute officer. A truce was concluded with Bocchus, and his ambassadors, after some delay, were forwarded on to Rome, where they laid their demands for peace and friendship before the Senate. The answer pointed clearly enough to the odious service Bocchus was expected to perform. "The Senate and people of Rome," they were told, "are wont to remember services, both good and ill. To Bocchus, inasmuch as he repents, they accord pardon for his fault; an alliance of friendship will be granted when he has deserved it." But Bocchus appeared in no hurry to perform his part of the contract, and the whole winter of 106-5 B.C. was consumed in a series of obscure intrigues. At one moment the Mauritanian king professed himself ready to seal the treaty by effecting the great object of the Roman general's desires, the delivery of Jugurtha into his hands; at another time it seemed as if he were playing a still deeper game, and were really in league with Jugurtha to outwit and foil the Romans. At length he announced that he was prepared to carry out his engagement; but he demanded that Sulla should be sent to his camp to conduct the final negotiations. Marius was involved in some embarrassment by this demand. There was little reliance to be placed on the good faith of Bocchus, and it was by no means certain that the request was not merely a trap on the part of the king to get a valuable hostage into his hands. Apart from his personal worth, and his usefulness as the most able and trusted of the Roman lieutenants, Sulla was a man whom, from his influential connections with the aristocracy, Marius could ill afford to place in a position of considerable risk. But Sulla himself, who, whatever were his faults, had not a particle of fear in his composition, urged the mission on his chief, and expressed himself confident of success.

He had need of all his firmness, as well as of his unrivalled tact, in the course of his embassy. As he journeyed towards the Mauritanian headquarters, accompanied by a small detachment of cavalry and light troops, he was suddenly met and surrounded by Volux, the son of Bocchus, with a large body of horsemen. Volux escorted the envoy towards his father's camp; but on the evening of the third day the Mauritanian prince, with every symptom of alarm and agitation in his countenance, announced that Jugurtha was approaching, and that his advanced posts were even then but a few miles distant. The Romans naturally enough suspected treachery, and some, under the impulse of the moment, urged that Volux should be instantly put to death. Sulla succeeded in tranquillising his men, though he was himself by no means convinced that he had not been entrapped, and urged them to stand to their arms and prepare, if need be, to sustain the onslaught of the enemy. Volux, however, under cover of night led them past the outposts and videttes of Jugurtha's camp, and brought them safely to the presence of his father. Here Sulla's task was by no means ended. He found, in close and apparently confidential communication with Bocchus, a Numidian named Aspar, who was known to be an agent of Jugurtha's; and such intercourse boded little good to the Roman cause. In fact, it seems probable that the Mauritanian was even then hesitating between two alternatives of treachery. He was still uncertain whether he should entrap Jugurtha and deliver him to the Romans, or hand Sulla, a hostage whose importance he perhaps exaggerated, to his Numidian ally. In the public conference, which was held in the presence of Aspar, nothing of course was hinted of these darker schemes; Bocchus merely declared that he was anxious to act as mediator between the contending parties, and to restore peace to northern Africa. The real object of Sulla's mission was touched upon only at a private interview some days later. So anxious was Bocchus to preserve the strictest secrecy in these delicate negotiations, that he insisted on holding the interview in his own pavilion in the depth of night, lest the matter should come to the ears of Jugurtha's envoy. The king and the ambassador were alone but for the presence of two trusted interpreters and a Moor named Dabar, a confidential counsellor of Bocchus, and a man very favourably disposed towards the Romans. The conference between the suspicious, half-savage African potentate, and the astute and polished Italian, must have been a strange one; but it terminated as successfully as the latter could have wished. After much discussion, it was finally agreed that Jugurtha should be lured by Bocchus into an ambuscade, taken prisoner, and

placed in the power of his implacable and insidious foes.

The plot was speedily carried into execution. Jugurtha's ambassador was informed that peace might be concluded if a conference could be arranged between the Numidian king himself, Bocchus, and Sulla. Jugurtha accepted the invitation with an alacrity only to be explained by his conviction that treachery, if any were intended, was to be directed solely against the Romans. On the appointed day he appeared at the place of meeting, accompanied only by a weak guard of honour. He was instantly attacked by a strong body of Mauritanians, who had been placed in ambuscade; his guards were massacred, and he was handed over in bonds to Sulla, who conveyed him to his general. With the capture of the king all further opposition to the Romans at once collapsed. The wild Gætulians went back to their deserts, and the few regular troops whom Jugurtha could command were easily disbanded. Bocchus received the reward of his perfidy in the shape of the western portion of Numidia—conterminous with the modern province of Algiers—which was annexed to his dominions. The remainder of Jugurtha's territories were bestowed on Gauda, a legitimate son of Mastanabal, the father of the usurper, and consequently a grandson of Masinissa. He was a feeble prince, not likely to offer much opposition to the Romans if they should decide at any time to annex the kingdom completely to the African province. At present, however, such a measure was deemed inexpedient. The character of the tribes was such that the occupation of the country would have meant a defensive campaign for an indefinite period; and the ominous murmurs of a storm in the north called for the employment of the veterans of Africa and the sword of their general on other and different fields.

The honours of the war were bestowed on Marius, though much of the hardest work of the campaign had been done by Metellus, and its termination was in great part due to the coolness and courage of Sulla. On the 1st of January, 104 B.C., there was celebrated one of those stately and splendid pageants with which the Romans graced their victorious generals. Beside the triumphal chariot of Marius walked the captive Jugurtha loaded with fetters, but arrayed in his royal robes, and accompanied by his two young sons. The fate of the conquered monarch was sad and terrible. The toils and difficulties of the last few years had told severely on his health and spirits; still more depressing was the effect on his mind of the systematic treachery by which he had been so long surrounded. The Roman historian gives a striking picture of his condition. "When Jugurtha had put to death Bomilcar and many others whom he had discovered to have shared in his duplicity, he seems to have stifled his anger for fear the matter might give rise to a rebellion. From that time no day or night brought peace to Jugurtha. He could trust no man, or feel safe in any place, or at any time. He lived no less in terror of his countrymen than of the enemy, peered into every nook and corner, and started in terror at every sound. At night he would rest now in one place, now in another, and often in places where it little beseemed the dignity of a king to be, and ever and anon, on waking from sleep, he would seize his arms and shout aloud; so tormented was he by a terror which bordered on insanity."* We may well credit the story which relates that as the fallen king walked slowly by the victor's car, and contrasted his own miserable condition with the pomp and magnificence about him, the rush of thoughts that surged upon his brain was too much for him, and his reason suddenly gave way. There was little mercy shown to the vanquished in the ancient world, and least of all in the Rome of the later Republic. Jugurtha's splendid robes and barbaric ornaments were stripped off; his earrings were torn from him so roughly that the tips of his ears came away with them. Then, naked and mutilated, he was thrust into the Tullianum, the old city prison below the Capitol. "It is a bath of ice," said the African, as he entered the dark and chilly vaults. Here for six days he endured all the agonies of famine, till death at length put an end to his sufferings, and closed his troubled and tempestuous career. But his name was long remembered in North Africa, where, in spite of his crimes and cruelties, he was looked upon, and not altogether without reason, as one who had carried on a gallant and patriotic struggle for the liberties of his country, against the devouring ambition of the State which was slowly crushing out national individuality wherever its arms could penetrate. Many years afterwards, a body of Numidians, fighting under the Roman eagles and on Italian soil, could with difficulty be restrained from mutinying when it was rumoured that a son of Jugurtha was present in the ranks of the enemy.

Judged by its intrinsic importance, the Jugurthine war would perhaps be hardly worth the amount of attention which most historians of Rome have deemed it advisable to bestow on it. It was in truth but a petty war, waged with a nation of semi-

* Sallust: Jugurtha.

barbarians on the remotest frontiers of the Empire. Yet it was by a true historic instinct that Sallust, in the following century, selected this incident as one specially worthy of study, and chose the details of it as the subject of a brilliant and fascinating monograph. For it stands at one of the great crises in the history of Rome, and marks a stage in the transition from the old to the new dispensation of things. It was no chapter that the annalists of the imperial city could have looked back to with any pride. It is a story of corruption in high places, of perfidy and unpatriotic faithlessness, of officialism grown utterly incapable and effete. No heavier condemnation of the oligarchic government need be sought than that furnished by the earlier years of the transactions with Numidia; and if in the later period the trained skill of Roman officers and the discipline of European troops had proved more than a match for the barbarian hordes, it was by treachery rather than by military superiority that the final triumph was obtained. To thinking men the events of these years must have foreshadowed the change that was about to pass over the Roman world. The aristocracy had shown themselves wanting in the one quality by which the rule of a class can be tolerated—that of being honest and capable administrators; while the commons, if they could make their influence felt in a fit of temporary indignation, had no longer the unity, the intelligence, or the political morality, to resume the direction of affairs. The army alone had come out of the war considerably stronger. Marius, by enlisting men not of the legal status, had broken almost the last links which bound it to the political institutions of the State. It was no longer a civic militia, but a body of soldiers, in the strictest sense of the word—men who served for pay; and it was becoming more and more governed by the professional code, in which loyalty to a successful general is the first article of faith. The hero of the Numidian War is the man fittest to represent this change of sentiment. He is almost the first instance in Roman history of a man who rose to the highest place in the State without possessing other qualifications than those of an able military officer. It was plain that the sceptre was passing away from both the parties who had so long struggled for its possession. The Senate and the people had alike proved themselves unequal to the task of government The destinies of the future were to lie in the iron hand of the professional soldier.

MARIUS. SULLA.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TEUTONS AND CIMBRIANS: APPROACH OF CIVIL WAR.

The Teutons: their Origin and Migrations—Etymology of the Name—The "Germani" of Tacitus—The Cimbri—Alliance of Cimbrians and Teutons for the Invasion of the South—Defeat of Several Roman Generals in the Vicinity of the Alps—Terrible Reverse on the Rhone—Second, Third, and Fourth Appointments of Marius to the Consulship—Lutatius Catulus—Position of Marius in Gaul—March of the Teutons and Cimbrians for Italy—Cautious Pursuit by Marius—Great Battle near Aquæ Sextiæ—Entire Defeat of the Ambrons and Teutons—The "Putrid Plain"—Marius Hailed as Consul for the Fifth Time—Retreat of Catulus before the Cimbrians in Northern Italy—Expedition of Marius to his Aid—Crushing Defeat of the Barbarians at the Battle of Vercellæ—Honours Paid to Marius—Cruel Treatment of the Cimbrian and Teuton Prisoners—The Second Servile War in Sicily—Suppression of the Revolt by Aquillius—Exercise of Judicial Functions by the Equestrian Order—Corruption by the Senate—Punishment of Servilius Cæpio for Misconduct in Gaul—Sixth Consulship of Marius—Apuleius Saturninus, the Demagogue—Failure of Marius as a Politician—The Agrarian Law of Saturninus—Oath of Obedience Required of the Senate—Vacillating Conduct of Marius—Banishment of Metellus—Assassination of Memmius—Sedition of Saturninus, and Death of the Demagogue—Recall of Metellus—Marius Retires from Rome—Favouritism of the Knights in their Judicial Character—Livius Drusus the Younger—His Proposals for Reform—Bitter Opposition of the Consul Philippus—Death of the Orator Crassus—Defects in the Character of Drusus—His Support of the Italian Cause—Rome Threatened by the Provincials—Murder of Drusus—Reactionary Measures of the Senate—Prosecution of Antonius, Scaurus, and Others—The Approach of Civil War.

In tracing the history of Greece and Rome, and of some among the Asiatic nations, we have been occasionally drawn aside to relate the sudden inroads of vast hordes of barbarians, who, dwelling in the deserts of the North, hung like a perpetual menace over the more cultured nations of the South, and from time to time visited their lands with fire and sword, until driven back by the superior discipline of the communities they assailed. The most conspicuous of these savages were the Scythians and the Gauls; but, at the close of the second century B.C., the Scythians had long ceased from troubling, and the Gauls were growing civilised. Hitherto we have heard nothing of a people destined to become one of the most important influences of the modern world. In the central parts of the European continent, beyond the limits of the three great peninsulas which strike down into the Mediterranean, a remarkable race was maturing itself amongst the recesses of overshadowing forests. The Teutons were a branch of the Indo-European or Aryan family, and entered Europe at various times not exactly known to history. They appear, however, to have arrived at a later date than the Celts, whom they expelled from some of their earlier seats, as the Celts had previously expelled the still more primitive populations of Turanian origin. Their historic existence begins at the period we have now reached; but, in a much earlier age, merchants from the Greek colonies on the Euxine, and in the south of Gaul, penetrated to the neighbourhood of the Baltic, where they dealt with wild Teutonic tribes for the amber of those regions. In this way they must have obtained some knowledge of the arts and wealth of more advanced races; but, for a long while, neither hunger nor cupidity persuaded them to invade the Roman dominions.

The name of these Teutons was first made known in the southern parts of Europe by one Pytheas of Massalia (Marseilles), who, about 320 B.C., discovered a nation of that name in the Chersonesus Cimbrica, or modern Jutland, and in the adjacent islands. A tribe called Teutobodiaci appears to have been joined with the Celtic hordes which invaded Macedon and Greece, and besieged Delphi, in 280 B.C. and the following years. The appellation of this tribe would seem to suggest that it was of Germanic blood; but very little is known about it. The Teutons of the Chersonesus Cimbrica were not wholly a barbaric race, even in the time of Pytheas, as they lived in houses, and were familiar with agriculture and commerce; yet it was not until a later age that they made any figure in the principal events of the world. According to an etymology which is very suggestive, the root of the word Teuton is to be found in the first syllable (*Teut*), which signifies "to do," and implies the ideas of activity, taming, ruling, &c.—qualities remarkably associated with the great race which has produced so many conquering nations. Another and possibly more correct derivation would connect the word with a root meaning "people"—the Teutons, in their pride of race, looking upon themselves as emphatically "the people," distinct and separate from all other stocks. In the earliest times, the Teutons appear to have been divided into several bodies, or confederations of tribes, and the

people of one of these confederations called themselves Germans, or war-men.* The name was afterwards used by the Romans to designate many branches of the Teutonic family as well; so that the *Germani* of Tacitus and other Latin writers must be understood in a general rather than a particular sense. We in England speak of Germany and the Germans to this day; but the people call themselves Deutsche, and their country Deutschland. The name of the god Tuisco, the mythical ancestor of their nation, and the deity with whom the second of our week-days is associated, is derived from the same root.

In the year 113 B.C. several of these tribes, impelled by want, appeared near the eastern frontiers of Gaul. They were associated with another set of tribes called Cimbri, whose ethnical affinities have been the subject of much speculation and controversy. By some they are held to have been Celts, and their name certainly bears a near relationship to that of the Cymry, one of the chief divisions of the immense Celtic race. Several of their customs, and the arms and armour they used in battle, seem to favour this supposition, and the name of their chieftain Boiorix, in the events about to be related, has a Celtic sound. Nevertheless, it has been confidently asserted by various writers that the Cimbri were of Teutonic origin. If so, they probably belonged to the Scandinavian branch of the Teutons: at any rate, it is pretty certain that they came from the vicinity of the North Sea, though it has sometimes been doubted whether they ever occupied the Chersonesus Cimbrica. Possibly they were a compound race, and it is noticeable that Plutarch, in his Life of Marius, says that a large part of the force which invaded Italy went by the name of Celto-Scythians, though he believes them to have been Germans. But, whatever the kinship of the Cimbri, they were well disposed to make common cause with the Teutons, and, being equally pressed by inundation, famine, and pestilence, were glad to join them in an expedition to more southern lands. Indeed, it is said that the Cimbri led the way.

Starting from the low countries to the east of the river Elbe, the associated tribes penetrated the immense Hercynian forest (which at that time covered the whole interior of what we now call Germany), and issued forth at the foot of the Rhætian Alps in 113 B.C. The Romans ordered them to retire, and the barbarians, dreading the compact legions which they saw before them, stopped their onward march, and offered to apologise. Had they been met in a similar spirit, all might have been well; but Papirius Carbo, the Roman general in command, suddenly attacked them while they were awaiting the return of their envoys from his camp. The act was treacherous and cruel, and it met with the punishment it deserved. Carbo was defeated with terrific loss, and the invaders might easily have crossed the Alps, had they possessed sufficient self-reliance for the attempt. Instead of doing this, however, they turned aside, and entered Gaul. Thither they were pursued by several Roman armies, which were beaten in turn by the poverty-stricken and desperate savages. Their strength lay in the vast numbers which they could bring into the field of battle. It is said that the fighting men alone amounted to 300,000; and these were accompanied by large bodies of women, many of whom were capable of warlike exploits. The discipline of Cimbri and Teutons alike was doubtless defective; but their courage, endurance, and hardihood were admirable. After a while, they appeared on the frontier of Roman Gaul, where, in 109 B.C., they defeated the Consul Silanus, who had refused them a gift of land. In 107, another Consul—Cassius Longinus, the colleague of Marius—was worsted and slain in the territory of Savoy by the Helvetians, acting in alliance with the northern invaders; and a third general, named Aurelius Scaurus, was captured about the same time. Scaurus, undaunted by his repulse, and by the fact of his being in the enemy's power, defied his conquerors with great boldness, and assured them that, whatever their triumphs for the moment, the Roman Republic would be certain to take signal vengeance in the future. This deterred the allied tribes from entering Italy; and the Roman Senate raised fresh armies, and sent out two more generals to stem the advancing tide of barbarism.

The Consul for 106 B.C. was Servilius Cæpio. His command was on the Rhone, where he sacked the city of Tolosa (Toulouse), the people of which had risen against the Roman garrison. Marching afterwards to Marseilles with an immense booty, he was encountered by robbers, who took the greater part of it; but there were those who said that Cæpio himself was in league with the brigands. In the following year (105 B.C.), he was continued as Proconsul; but the chief command lay with the new Consul, Cneius Mallius, of whom Cæpio was jealous. The two armies, consequently, acted apart from one another, and were beaten separately. This was one of the most serious reverses that

* According to the view of some writers, the name was given to a Teutonic tribe by the neighbouring Celts, and is derived from a Celtic word which means to shout, or cry aloud.

Rome had ever suffered. Taking both armies together, the losses amounted to 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp-followers; and the day on which the battles were fought—the 6th of October—was ever afterwards marked as a black day in the calendar. The Republic was now without any available forces on the banks of the Rhone, and the barbarians had another opportunity of pouring unopposed into Italy. The vague terror of the Roman name, however, seems, as before, to have awed them back, and the Cimbrians made their way over the Pyrenees into Spain. Yet to many it must have appeared as if the Romans had at length found their match. The famous legions that had subdued a large part of the civilised world were discomfited again and again by hordes of miserable savages, who had reached the very outskirts of the Empire. Although the danger had, for the time being, ebbed away from the frontiers of Italy, no one could tell how soon it might return. A commander of the highest genius was imperatively required; and the Senate saw no man so fit as Marius, the hero of the Jugurthine War.

This brilliant general became Consul for the second time in 104 B.C. He immediately set to work organising an army which should be fit to encounter the multitudinous hosts of the Cimbri and Teutons. His enforcement of discipline was at first unpopular; but the men soon acknowledged that he had their honour at heart. Sulla took service under Marius in the capacity of Legate, and his more popular manners softened the asperity of the chief commander. Marius was elected Consul for the third time in 103 B.C., and for the fourth time in the year following. All this while he was preparing to meet the enemy, for he was resolved not to run the chance of further defeats by depending on an army incapable of the higher military virtues. He had now for his colleague in the Consulship a man very different from himself, but in many respects worthy of honour. Lutatius Catulus was an aristocrat of polished manners, witty conversation, and remarkable powers as an orator; but he also enjoyed a high reputation for integrity and truthfulness. As yet, he had had no experience as a soldier; but the ability of Marius alone was sufficient for an army. The opportunity for action arrived shortly after the fourth election of Marius to the Consulship. The Cimbrians, repulsed by the Celtiberians, recrossed the Pyrenees in 102 B.C., and at the same time the Teutons entered Gaul from the east. The two nationalities had again joined their forces, and were gathered in vast numbers on the frontiers of Roman Gaul. No time was to be lost: Marius hastened to the Alps, crossed them, and fortified a strong camp upon the Rhone, between the modern cities of Avignon and Arles. This camp he connected with the sea by means of a canal made for the purpose, and which was long known as the Fosse of Marius. The barbarian commanders now again altered their plans, and arranged that they should once more separate, and move southwards along different routes. The Teutons, who were associated with the Ambrons, a Gallic people, undertook to march in the direction of the Maritime Alps, hoping to enter Italy by Liguria. The Cimbrians and Helvetians determined to proceed circuitously by way of Rhætia. It was resolved, however, that all should again join hands on the banks of the Padus, or Po. The Cimbrians departed at once; the Teutons and Ambrons remained in Gaul, in order, as they hoped, to dispose of the Roman Consul before starting. To meet this double peril, Marius was compelled to divide his own forces. He himself remained in Gaul, while Catulus, with the second Consular army, was ordered to await the Cimbrians on the banks of the upper Athesis, now the Adige, in the northern part of modern Italy.

The future was dark and uncertain. The legions under the command of Marius grew impatient of their long inaction; and when large bodies of Teutons appeared in front of the Roman camp, with dreadful cries and challenges to combat, the soldiers asked if their only task was to be that of digging, and rearing earthworks. Marius, however, would risk nothing until his preparations were complete. He was again accompanied by the Jewish woman who had been with him in Africa, and in whose predictions he either had, or affected to have, the utmost confidence. In any case, Marius would not quit the shelter of his camp until he saw that victory was secure; for, as he told his legions, they were fighting, not for trophies, but for existence. At length the Teutons attempted to storm the Roman position, but were signally defeated. With entire ignorance of scientific warfare, they then resolved to march forwards, leaving the enemy in their rear. So vast were their numbers that it took six days for their forces and baggage-trains to pass the Roman camp; but Marius kept his men in check, and listened with equanimity to the taunts of these wild hordes, who sneeringly asked the Romans if they had any messages to send to their wives, as they should soon be with them. It was not until they had got some distance in front that Marius broke up his camp, and followed on their track. Every night he carefully entrenched him-

self to avoid surprise; and so the two adversaries continued to move forward, the Teutons doing their utmost to provoke an engagement, while the Roman commander was determined to choose his own ground, and to hold his hand until the proper moment had arrived. When he had reached a spot about twelve miles east of Aquæ Sextiæ, he drew up his forces on elevated ground, in a position strong by nature, but defective in one respect, since it was ill-supplied with water. The nearest stream ran close to the enemy's lines; and when some of the men complained of this fact, Marius replied that, if they wanted drink, they must get it from that source. "Why, then," they asked, "do you not at once lead us to battle?" But Marius was as inflexible as ever. "We must first secure our camp," he replied.

Unwillingly, but with true Roman discipline, the soldiers set to work upon their entrenchments: at the same time, the camp-followers made their way to the stream to obtain water for themselves and the others. Some of the Ambrons were bathing in the hot-springs which give their name to Aquæ Sextiæ; others were engaged in feasting; and for a little while the camp-followers found only a few stragglers to oppose them. Presently, however, a serious conflict ensued. The Ambrons, to the number of 30,000, sprang up from their revelry, and, flushed with wine, advanced to the attack with loud exclamations, and the measured striking of their arms against their shields. They were met in the first instance by a Ligurian tribe bearing a similar name, and prone to use the same barbarian outcries when inflamed by the ardour of battle. These Ligurians were quickly followed by the Roman legionaries, and the Ambrons were driven back across the stream. The victors pursued their shattered ranks to the farther side of the river, and followed them even to the shelter of their waggons, where an unexpected resistance was encountered. Several women of the tribe rushed upon the legionaries, tore the swords and shields from their hands, and brought the battle to a singular termination. The Romans then withdrew to their position, and passed the night in anxious watchfulness, listening to the savage cries and melancholy wailings of the Ambrons, who were at once lamenting their dead, and exciting themselves to renewed combat at the first opportunity. Nothing, however, was done next day, for the Ambrons were awaiting the support of their Teutonic comrades, who were some way off. These arrived on the third day; but, during the previous night, Marius had sent 3,000 men under Claudius Marcellus to occupy a wooded hill in the enemy's rear. The main body was drawn out on the sloping ground before the camp; and here the Romans were attacked in the early morning. The Teutons charged up the hill with great spirit and vigour; but the ground was against them, and their columns, breaking on the steady mass of the Romans, were hopelessly shattered by the collision. When this result had been attained, Marcellus and his three thousand burst out of the wood situated in the rear of the barbarians, and completed their discomfiture. Teutons and Ambrons fled in every direction; but the Romans followed closely, and slaughtered an enormous number, besides capturing others who might be useful as slaves. For several years after, the people of Marseilles used the bones of the dead to make fences for their vineyards; and the unburied corpses, slowly rotting into the soil, gave to the locality the terrible appellation of "the Putrid Plain"—a name which apparently survives to our own time in the village of Pourrières, which stands upon the spot. The battle appears to have been fought in the early part of 101 B.C., or quite at the end of 102.

The victory being secured, Marius set aside the richest spoils for his triumph, and gathered the rest into a heap, that he might consume it as an offering to the gods. His soldiers stood about him crowned with garlands, while he himself, clad in a long purple robe, according to the Roman custom in such cases, held a burning torch in each hand. Raising these towards the heavens, he was just about to set fire to the sacrifice, when some of his friends were seen a long way off, riding post-haste towards him. A great silence fell on the assembly, and the horsemen, having arrived and alighted, hailed Marius as Consul for the fifth time. The announcement was greeted by the soldiers with joyful shouts, and the smiting of weapons on their armour, while the officers crowned Marius with a wreath of laurel; after which he set fire to the pile, and so completed the sacrifice. The happiness of the victor seemed complete; but shortly afterwards the disheartening news arrived that Catulus (now Proconsul) had been compelled to retire before the Cimbrians, and that a large extent of open country lay at the mercy of the invaders. Pouring through the narrow and dark defiles of the Alps, these northern hordes had reached the plain which lay on the Italian side without encountering any opposition. Their passage of the mountains was characterised by extraordinary hardihood and daring. They tore up trees and rocks to dam the currents, and slid down the frozen precipices on their shields. All resistance seemed hopeless, and early in 101 B.C. Catulus

took up a fortified position behind the Athesis. His camp was on the right, or western, bank of that river, across which was thrown a bridge, defended by a smaller camp on the eastern side. But even here the Romans felt insecure directly the barbarians, who were of vast stature and savage aspect, appeared in sight. The division on the left bank of the Athesis resisted the Cimbrians with great courage; but the others fled with precipitation.

Marius returned to Rome shortly after his fifth appointment to the Consulship. He was received there with the honours justly due to his great services, but declined the glory of a triumph until the Cimbrians had been subdued. To meet the dangers resulting from the inability of Catulus to defend the Alps and the plain at their foot, he ordered his own army to leave Gaul for the new seat of war, and shortly afterwards set out for the Proconsul's camp. Catulus was by this time posted on the south bank of the Padus, in the neighbourhood of Placentia. The united armies amounted to about 50,000 men, and Sulla, who was acting as Legate to Catulus, kept the forces well supplied with provisions and forage. The Cimbrians were unaware of the great disaster which had befallen the Teutons near Aquæ Sextiæ, and accordingly sent envoys to the Roman commanders, asking that when their brethren (by whom they meant their Teuton allies) had reached Italy, land should be conferred upon them all. Marius brought forward some Teuton prisoners to explain what had happened in Gaul; but Boiorix, the Cimbrian chief, was quite unmoved by this intelligence. He rode up to the enemy's lines, and demanded that the generals should fix a day and place for a pitched battle. Marius replied that the Romans were not accustomed to consult their adversaries in such matters, but that on this occasion they would do so. The time was to be the third day thence; the place, the plain of Vercellæ.

The battle was fought on the 30th of July—a time of year very unfavourable to northern men, who were scarcely able to endure the heat and consequent dust, which to the Romans were nothing unusual, or especially trying. Nevertheless, the barbarians advanced to the combat with great intrepidity. The Cimbrians of the front rank were linked together by chains passed through their belts. They were supported by 15,000 horsemen, whose heads were protected by helmets made of the skulls of wild beasts, ornamented with tall plumes, and who seemed by their aspect to be Teutons. The array was altogether extremely formidable in appearance, but the fighting qualities of the men were inferior to what might have been expected. The barbarians were enervated by long indulgence in wine and licentiousness, and were now placed under circumstances for which their ordinary experience furnished no guide. The sun, glaring in their eyes, forced them to lift their shields, so as to interpose a little shadow; and the Romans, taking advantage of the fact, struck many to the heart. The linking together of the front line by chains proved a further element in their discomfiture. The men became entangled with one another; the living were dragged down by the dead, and a general rout soon followed. Marius, charging at the head of his division, which formed one of the wings, was momentarily carried beyond the enemy's ranks, thus leaving his rival, Sulla, to operate with effect against the centre. The hinder ranks of the invaders fled in uncontrollable panic, and were received by their own women at the point of the sword. As at the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, the Romans pursued the fugitives to the waggons which formed the defence of their camp, and which were now chiefly held by the women, who wielded axes and other weapons with terrible effect. The carnage was frightful; for the action had degenerated into an indiscriminate fray, in which every one fought wildly, and many of the barbarians perished at the hands of their female partners. When at length it became certain that the Romans would prevail, these savage Amazons strangled their children, and either slew one another, or put an end to their own existence with ropes twisted from their hair, or with the traces of the carriages. A similar spirit of frenzy and despair possessed the men, some of whom tied themselves to the horns of cattle, and goaded the animals to trample them to death. The bodies of the combatants were for a while protected by the dogs of the camp; but these were at length shot down with arrows.

The merit of this great victory has been variously attributed to Marius, to Catulus, and to Sulla; but it is probable that all three generals contributed, though in different degrees, to the favourable result. Popular opinion at Rome gave the chief praise to Marius. He was hailed as the saviour of the Republic, and the people were desirous that no one should share with him the honours of the triumph. To this Marius would not consent, and Catulus took his place in the ceremonies of the day, although he had previously made an ungenerous attempt to deprive the Consul of all but a very subordinate degree of credit. Nevertheless, there can be no question that the safety of Italy was due

more to Marius than to any other general. The citizens poured libations to him as to a god. His name was held in the highest esteem as long as the Roman dominion lasted, and even the enemies of this great soldier admitted the extraordinary value of his achievements. The peril had been real, imminent, and terrible; and but for the energy with which it was repelled, Rome would have suffered under the Republic all the horrors of barbarian invasion with which she became so intimately and

CIMBRIANS AND ROMANS IN BATTLE.

frequently acquainted in the declining days of the Empire. Yet it is impossible not to pity these forlorn outcasts from an inhospitable northern land, who, had they been treated with humanity in the beginning, might have proved industrious and useful subjects. On first coming in contact with Roman officials, they had said, "If you will give us lands, we will fight for you;" but, as we have seen, Papirius Carbo met their advances in a cruel and faithless spirit, and they appear from that time forth to have become furious savages, whom, no doubt, it was necessary to crush. After the conclusion of the war, the Celtic and German prisoners were dispersed throughout Italy as gladiators and slaves, and thus, by increasing an evil which already existed in a most pernicious degree, helped to avenge themselves upon the haughty and insolent conquerors who knew no mercy in their triumph.

While the Romans were occupied with these dangers on their northern frontiers, a peril of a very different kind confronted them in the south. Another Servile War broke out in Campania, and, after some desultory movements, which were speedily put down, assumed formidable dimensions under the leadership of a profligate Roman named Vettius. The motives actuating this man were simply those of personal ambition. He put arms into the hands of his own slaves, slew his creditors, and assumed the diadem and purple robe of royalty. He then invited all the bondsmen of Campania to be his soldiers and subjects; but his success was short-lived, and, having been betrayed by one of his followers into the hands of the Roman Prætor Lucullus, he put an end to his life, to escape the barbarous punishments which he knew would be inflicted by the conqueror. The danger, however, was not at an end: it was simply removed to a more distant quarter. The rebellion in Campania excited fresh hopes among the slaves of Sicily, who recollected their attempt of thirty years before, and the cruelties which accompanied its suppression.

AN OLD GERMAN FOREST.

In 103 B.C. the Roman Senate issued an edict, ordering that all persons unduly detained in slavery should be liberated. So large a number of persons in Sicily came under this head that the Prætor in that island suspended the execution of the decree. It would seem also that the reluctance of the masters to part with their human property had something to do with this hesitation of the official. The result, however, was such as might have been foreseen. The slaves considered that they had been treated with wanton cruelty and bad faith, and, rising in insurrection near Agrigentum, they defeated a party of Roman soldiers. The movement speedily acquiring force and volume, a soothsayer named Salvius was chosen king. About 20,000 of these oppressed people were now under arms, and Salvius divided them into three bodies, which were regularly officered and strictly governed. After a period of training, during which Salvius obtained possession of two thousand horses, and was thus enabled to create a body of cavalry, the city of Morgantia was besieged. The slave-owners offered freedom to all who would remain faithful—a promise which was shamefully broken as soon as Salvius had withdrawn. The unhappy men, finding themselves deceived, joined the standard of the insurgent chief, and from the east of Sicily the movement quickly spread to the west. A Cilician slave, named Athenio, following closely in the steps of Eunoüs, the leader of the first Servile War in Sicily, pretended to be supernaturally inspired, and alleged that he had received assurance from the gods that he should become sovereign of the island. To the ten thousand insurgents who placed themselves under his direction he declared that the property of the masters was now theirs, and that for this reason no plundering would be allowed. He then attempted to besiege Lilybæum, but soon found that it was beyond his power; and he would probably have lost credit with his followers by this misadventure, had he not contrived to persuade them that an impending danger had been supernaturally revealed to him.

Two kings of servile origin now divided Sicily between them. Salvius, in the east, seems, however, to have been acknowledged as the superior; and when he despatched orders to Athenio, in the west, commanding him to attend at Triocala, which Salvius had recently taken, the head of the later movement at once obeyed, and appeared at the appointed spot, in command of 3,000 men. Salvius, who had assumed the name of Tryphon as his royal title, appointed a Senate, arrayed himself on public occasions in the toga of a Roman magistrate, and formed a body of lictors, who surrounded his person whenever he went abroad. This state of things continued without interruption until 101 B.C., when Aquillius, the colleague of Marius in his fifth Consulship, took command of the Roman troops in Sicily. By that time Tryphon was dead, and Athenio was now the acknowledged monarch of the whole slave-community. A battle ensued, in which Aquillius and Athenio fought hand to hand. The combat was so severe that the Consul was badly wounded, and the slave-leader killed. This was a fatal blow to the cause of the insurgents; yet the rebellion lingered into the following year (100 B.C.), when a band of a thousand men, commanded by a person named Satyrus, surrendered to the Roman army. They were sent to the capital to act as gladiators, and, being brought into the arena to fight with wild beasts, slew one another with their swords. After the period of the Second Servile War, it was made a permanent order in Sicily that no slave should have a weapon in his possession; and this rule was applied with inflexible sternness, often resulting in acts of extreme cruelty.

During the progress of these events, Marius continued to be the favourite of the Roman populace, whose views he shared and supported; but the nobility were still powerful, and their profligacy was not less than in previous days. The Senate was at that time swayed by a body of moderate men, headed by Æmilius Scaurus, who, in spite of personal faults, seems to have maintained a high standard of public honour. The interests of justice were in some degree promoted by that reform of Caius Gracchus which resulted in the transfer of judicial authority from the Senate to the Equestrian Order. The gain was not equal to what had been expected; yet the class of Knights, who now had the decision in such cases, was found to be more open to honest persuasion than the Senators, who were generally influenced by bribes. Still, corruption was far from being expelled from the body politic, and the attempt of the Senate to screen Servilius Cæpio, the plunderer of Tolosa, was a painful fact, which showed how deeply the virus of moral corruption had penetrated into the highest department of the State. When this man, acting as Proconsul in 105 B.C., contributed to the terrible defeat of October 6th by his jealousy of the Consul Mallius, the Tribes passed a vote for depriving him of his command, and confiscating his goods. The offender was a favourite with the Senate, because, during the previous year, when he was Consul, he had passed a law restoring to that body a share of judicial authority—an arrangement, however, which was revoked after a few

months. Every endeavour, therefore, was made to shield the wrong-doer from the consequences of his acts in Gaul; but the people could not forget the disaster which he had been mainly instrumental in causing. They also looked with some degree of genuine indignation on the sack of Gaulish temples, by which Cæpio had obtained his hordes of gold; and it was believed by many that the outrage thus offered to the local deities had brought upon the Romans the subsequent loss of two armies. The interposition of the Senate in favour of the Proconsul irritated the citizens to such an extent that a riot ensued, in which Æmilius Scaurus was wounded on the head with a stone. The result was that Cæpio was deprived of his office (a circumstance until then unknown), cast into prison, and, according to some accounts, strangled there, though it is perhaps more probable that he was banished. The age was one of general venality; yet there were some exceptions to the degrading rule. Among these should be mentioned the two cousins, Quintus Scævola—one distinguished as the Augur, and the other as the Pontiff; also Licinius Crassus and Antonius, two orators of the highest genius, whose characters were alike distinguished by probity and honour.

The chief faults of Marius at this period were ambition and love of power. Having enjoyed the Consulship four times in succession, and five times altogether, he seems to have resented the idea of laying down the office. In the fifth year of his Consulship, he appeared as a candidate for a sixth; but it was contended by many that a departure from the Constitution, allowable when the Republic was threatened with special dangers, was no longer capable of justification, now that Rome and her dependencies had, in the main, returned to their ordinary condition. The popularity of Marius fell rapidly when it was seen that he was greedy of office for its own sake, and not for any peculiar services which he could confer upon his country. Nevertheless, he was again elected in 100 B.C. In securing this result, he was largely indebted to a noble of notoriously bad character, named Apuleius Saturninus, who now stood forward as a candidate for the Tribunate. He was opposed by one Nonius, who succeeded in defeating his adversary, but was shortly afterwards murdered by the partisans of Saturninus. On the following day, Saturninus was chosen Tribune in place of the man whose death he had procured. The first thing he did on being elected to the Tribunate was to introduce an agrarian law for dividing among the soldiers of Marius the Gallic lands recently occupied by the Cimbrians. This was manifestly unjust, because the Cimbrians had by force taken those lands from the Gauls, to whom they should have been restored. It is lamentable to find a man like Marius allying himself with an unscrupulous demagogue like Saturninus; but such was unfortunately the case, and it is creditable to the Roman people that for these reasons they withdrew the favour which until then they had so lavishly bestowed. Marius was in truth a soldier, and little else. Owing to want of education, and perhaps also to lack of ability in peaceful functions, he failed entirely to distinguish himself in the Forum. He was unable to speak with anything like sustained power, and was liable to be entirely disconcerted by interruptions. Though undoubtedly devoted to the Republic, he stretched the prerogatives of the Consular office to a dangerous extent, by conferring the citizenship on a thousand soldiers of Camerinum, a town of Umbria, for their services under his command. His right to act in this way was questioned, and he could only reply that amidst the din of arms he had been unable to hear the voice of the laws. Still, he maintained his position, and the Tribunes made an enactment which conferred on him power to create three Roman citizens in every colony which enjoyed the Latin franchise.

It was to the disbanded soldiery of Marius that Saturninus looked for the most effectual support of his agrarian law. He could not, however, escape considerable opposition. When the vote was to be taken, his adversaries demanded that the assembly should be adjourned, on the ground that it thundered—a circumstance which was always regarded as of evil omen. Saturninus insultingly replied, "Be careful, or it shall presently hail also." He was thinking of his adherents, who had armed themselves with stones; but the opponents of the measure drove these people from the Forum. This was only a brief triumph, for soldiers took possession of the place, and the bill was passed more by terrorism than by reason. It had previously been decided that, should the law be carried, every Senator must, within five days, take an oath of obedience to its enactments, on pain of losing his seat, and of paying a fine of twenty talents to the Treasury. After the passing of the measure, Marius acted with great vacillation, if not with positive dishonesty. At first, he declared that to exact a compulsory oath was an insult to the Senatorial body; but, on the afternoon of the fifth day, he hastily convened the Senate, and proposed that the oath should be taken, as he had reason to apprehend violence if it were refused. This was accordingly done, with the reservation, proposed by Marius,

that the Senators would obey the new law only so far as it was valid. It might afterwards, urged the Consul, be set aside, as having been passed irregularly and under compulsion. The only Senator who refused to swear was Metellus, whom Saturninus ordered to be removed from the place of meeting when he appeared there on the following day. The demagogue then proposed that Metellus should be banished from the whole of Italy; and there would have been a serious conflict, had not the proscribed Senator, recoiling from the thought that blood should be shed on his behalf, quitted the city which his character adorned, and which shortly afterwards received him again with open arms.

Flushed by success, Saturninus continued to act with lawless violence, and at the same time endeavoured to secure the favour of the mob by a measure reducing the price of grain. In this he was defeated, but was soon afterwards re-elected to the Tribunate. Marius, warned by the unpopularity which had attended his sixth candidature for the Consulship, and possibly discouraged by the difficulties and anxieties which had beset him during his last year of office, did not ask for a seventh lease of power. The two candidates were Antonius the Orator, and Memmius, the Tribune who had inquired into Senatorial corruption in the earlier stages of the Jugurthine troubles. The latter was destined never to fill the office to which he aspired; for he was set upon by a band of ruffians in the pay of Saturninus, and beaten to death in the Campus Martius. So outrageous a crime led to a popular demonstration, which was defied by Saturninus and his myrmidons, who seized the Capitol, and prepared to stand a siege. When, however, the pipes which supplied the locality with water were severed, it was found necessary to surrender. Marius, insisting that the rebels should be tried in due form of law, instead of being slaughtered on the spot, as many of the populace desired, shut them up in the Senate-house; but the place was broken into, and the prisoners killed to a man, including three who held the high offices of Prætor, Quæstor, and Tribune. The Tribune was Saturninus himself, and the Senate afterwards conferred the citizenship on a slave who was believed to have given him the mortal blow. Saturninus was one of the worst specimens of the worst class of politicians. He took up some of the ideas of the Gracchi for his own personal ends, caricatured them, as such a person was sure to do, allied them with flagrant forms of injustice, and endeavoured to carry them out with such murderous violence as to rouse the opposition, not merely of the nobles, but even of the commonalty whom he professed to serve.

Now that Saturninus was removed, it was proposed to recall Metellus from Rhodes, whither he had retired. This was at first resisted, but at the beginning of 99 B.C. he was invited back by the general acclamation of the people. Nobles and commonalty met him outside the walls, and it was evening before he could pass through the gates, so numerous were the friendly greetings which detained him. The splendour of this reception carried bitterness into the heart of Marius, and, leaving Rome abruptly, he went to the court of Mithridates, King of Pontus. A few years of calm ensued, during a portion of which Sulla acted as Prætor. In 92 B.C. he was sent as Governor to Cilicia, with instructions to restore Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia, of which he had been deprived by Mithridates. This purpose was speedily accomplished, for Mithridates was not at that time in a position to resist. It was not long ere Rome was again agitated by the question as to what class of citizens should exercise the judicial power. The Knights, as we have said, were not so glaringly corrupt as the Senators had been; yet they were often swayed by personal interests. While, on the one hand, they exonerated Aquillius, who had been guilty of notorious rapacity in Sicily, because of the services he had rendered in putting down the insurrection of the slaves, they found Rutilius Rufus—a man of much superior character, who had served under Metellus in the Jugurthine War—guilty of extortion, on the indictment of a a man of bad repute. Rufus had, in fact, done his utmost to check the rapacity of the Equestrian farmers of the revenue, when he was acting as Legate in Asia; and the Knights, who acted as judges in the matter, were determined to protect their own order. The case excited so much dissatisfaction that proposals were made for depriving the Knights of their privilege of judgment. The leader of the movement was Livius Drusus, one of the Tribunes for the year 91 B.C., and a son of the Drusus who, about thirty years before, had obtained a factitious popularity by proposing certain measures for the creation of new colonies on more liberal terms than those of Caius Gracchus. The younger Drusus was a sincere and honourable man, and, having secured the support of the humble classes by the creation of colonies in the public lands of Italy and Sicily, and by an extension of the law which permitted the sale of corn below the cost-price, he proposed a reform of the judicial procedure. He wished to see the privilege of judgment divided between the Senatorial and

Equestrian Orders, and accordingly suggested that the number of Senators should be increased from three hundred to six hundred, and that the additional half should be selected from the Knights. The judges were to be chosen from the whole body of Senators thus augmented; but the plan, though offering the obvious advantage of a mutual check —or perhaps for that very reason—disappointed both parties. Finally, Drusus proposed to confer the gift of Roman citizenship on the provincial Italians. His desire was evidently to conciliate antagonistic interests. As a man of noble family himself, he could have had no wish to despoil the aristocracy; but he saw clearly, what so many refused to acknowledge, that if genuine grievances were not redressed, there would be a sweeping revolution, which might involve all classes in a common ruin.

That he might carry his measures with the greater facility, Drusus combined them all in one bill. This proceeding gave dissatisfaction to some whom it might have been wiser to conciliate. The Consul Philippus opposed the Agrarian Law in the Assembly, but by order of the Tribune was forcibly removed. Philippus was not supported by the Senate, and openly declared that it had become impossible to carry on the government. Drusus then complained that the Consul had made an attack on the Senatorial body, and Philippus replied in a bitter diatribe, which called forth an impassioned rejoinder from Crassus. A week later the great orator was dead, having (it was alleged) succumbed to an attack of pleurisy, resulting from his excitement and prolonged exertions. Thus matters stood in a very unsatisfactory state, and it must be admitted that Drusus had exhibited a want of tact and of conciliatoriness. His disinterested zeal for the public good is beyond question; but he had some faults of character and temper, which stood very much in his way. He boasted that he would leave his successors nothing to do in respect of popular concessions. His manners were dictatorial, and he sometimes spoke of the commonwealth as "his own." He expected the Senate to wait on him, instead of his waiting on the Senate; and he was not above soliciting the support of the people by a profuse expenditure. His championship of the Italian cause, which was really to his credit, procured him many enemies; and it was affirmed that he intrigued with men who were opposed to the predominance of Rome. It is certain, however, that he carried on no negotiations of an improper or discreditable nature. When the Italians formed a plot for murdering the Consuls at a festival, he denounced the contemplated iniquity, though he did not on that account withdraw his support from men who were undoubtedly the victims of very great injustice. The injustice was indeed so extreme that the provincials resorted to military force as the only means of obtaining their rights. Shortly before the introduction of the measure for enfranchising the provincials, ten thousand Marsians approached the metropolis along by-roads, and with concealed arms. Their progress was intercepted by a body of Roman soldiers, the commander of whom assured the leader of the malcontents that the Senate was about to concede the required boon. Yet the danger was only temporarily averted. The provincials continued to regard the Republic as their oppressor, and Drusus as a species of king, divinely appointed to redress their wrongs. When he was ill, all the cities of the peninsula—excepting Rome—offered prayers for his recovery. When the person of the generous Tribune was believed to be in danger, the provincials swore that they would have no other friends than his friends, that his foes should be theirs, and that they would spare neither their parents nor their children, nor yet their own lives, on behalf of their champion. The oath, moreover, contained the words,—"If I become a Roman citizen, I will esteem Rome my country, and Drusus my benefactor." The alternative, so far as Rome was concerned, was sufficiently apparent.

The laws of Drusus were indeed sanctioned for a short time, but were speedily abrogated by the Senate. The stormy contentions of the popular Assembly with the aristocratical body were now succeeded by general disturbances which fell little short of civil war. Armed bands patrolled the streets, and a collision seemed imminent, when the cause of all this agitation was himself removed from the scene by a murderous outrage. For some time past, Drusus had been aware that his life was in danger. He had avoided public places as much as possible, and transacted business with the other officers of State in a covered walk behind his house. On dismissing his visitors one evening, he cried out that he was stabbed, and it was found that a leather-cutter's knife had been thrust into his body. The assassin escaped in the twilight, and Drusus died in a few hours, asking with his dying breath when the commonwealth would again find so good a citizen as himself. He had certainly every right to claim the merit of having endeavoured to establish peace between classes which hated one another with a rancorous and mortal animosity. But he had failed, owing partly to the personal faults of which mention has been made, and partly to the obstinate selfishness of the aristocratic order.

Whether the Senatorial party or the Consul Philippus was guilty of the murder, it is impossible to say; but the act was generally imputed to the chief body in the State. The magistrates refrained from making any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, and reaction against the whole tenor of the deceased Tribune's policy set in strongly after his death. A Tribune named Varius, who, though born in Spain, had become a Roman citizen, carried a law by which it was declared that all who had favoured Italian claims were guilty of high treason against the Roman people. Under this law, some eminent Senators were impeached, condemned, and banished. Antonius the Orator was acquitted; so also was Æmilius Scaurus, who confined his defence to a very few words. "Varius the Spaniard," he observed, "says that Scaurus, the Chief of the Senate, has endeavoured to excite the allies to rebellion. Scaurus denies the fact. Choose ye, Romans, which of the two ye will believe." Such an appeal was not likely to be unsuccessful, though it really evaded the whole point at issue; but for the most part the reactionaries prevailed. The provincial Italians saw that their cause was hopeless by any of the ordinary modes of political agitation. They had struggled for years to obtain by peaceful means that which ought to have been granted long before. They had found many generous advocates among the Romans themselves; their claims had even been momentarily acknowledged; but that which was granted one day was ruthlessly annulled the next. It was now evident that, if their rights were to be won at all, they could be won only by the exercise of martial force. They were amongst the best soldiers that the Republic possessed; they had shed their blood on many fields for the glory and safety of the common-

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wealth; yet they found themselves humiliated by the denial of manifest rights, and subjected to tyrannies which were daily wrongs of the most substantial nature. It was impossible that such a state of things should continue. The privileged orders at Rome, and even the mass of the citizens, were every day provoking a civil war which was certain to be fraught with disastrous consequences. There were a few who would have averted the evil; but for them was reserved the judicial sentence, or the assassin's knife. Drusus was the last man who endeavoured to stand between the opposing forces. He fell by a secret crime which no one had the courage to unveil; and by his removal the last hope of peace was extinguished in a cloud of misery and blood.

THE TEUTONS ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SOCIAL WAR AND FIRST CIVIL WAR.

Insurrection at Asculum—Formation of a Federal Italian Union—Relative Strength of the Federation and of the Roman Republic—Development of a National Feeling among the Italian Communities—Early Successes of the Allies—The Julian Law—Recovery of the Romans—Submission of the Pelignians and Vestinians—Operations of Sulla in Campania and Samnium—Continued Successes of the Romans—Surrender of Asculum—Submission of the Marsians and Marrucinians—Sulla and Marius—The Samnites and Lucanians alone Hold Out—Decline of the Rebellion—Extension of the Roman Franchise to Italian Cities by the Lex Plautia-Papiria—Advantages and Disadvantages of the New Law—Creation of Additional Tribes—Evil Consequences of the War—Rivalry of Marius and Sulla—Candidature of Sulla for the Chief Command in the Mithridatic War—Intrigues of Marius—His Appointment to the Command, in Opposition to Sulla—Military Revolt, with Sulla as its Leading Spirit—Seizure of Rome by the Malcontents—Proscription of the Marian Party—Flight of Marius, and Singular Adventures—His Narrow Escape from Death, and Ultimate Escape to Africa—Policy of Sulla at Rome—His Departure for the East—Fresh Insurrection of the Samnites—Consulship of Cinna—His Advocacy of the Claims of Marius, and Expulsion from the Capital—Marius and Cinna Take the City by Investment—Dreadful Massacre of the Senatorial Party—Death of Cornelius Merula and of Catulus—Seventh Consulship of Marius, and Death Shortly Afterwards—Strange Incident at his Funeral—Further Boons to the Italian Communities, and to the Debtors.

A LARGE part of Italy was ripe for revolt when the triumph of the Senate showed how vain it was to hope for justice from the dominant class at Rome. Yet men who have been long accustomed to subjection are apt to hesitate before they take to the desperate resource of arms; and, in the case of the Italians, it was by a kind of accident that the catastrophe was precipitated in the year 90 B.C. Servilius, the Roman Proconsul in the territory of Picenum, had some reason for believing that the citizens of Asculum contemplated a seditious movement. Entering the place with a small retinue, he uttered violent threats against the people, who, irritated by his language, tore him to pieces in the public theatre, and afterwards massacred a number of Romans settled at Asculum. The die was now cast: a struggle with the tyrannical Republic was inevitable. The Picenians were joined by the Marsians, the Pelignians, the Marrucinians, the Vestinians, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians. Eight nations—if they may be so designated—were thus banded together for defence against the common enemy, and a formal statement of their claims was drawn up and sent to Rome. The allies here affirmed that they had furnished two-thirds of the armies of the Republic; that they had helped to conquer the world for the ruling city; but that, notwithstanding, they were treated like mere aliens. The allegations were at least partially true; the complaints were just. But the Roman Senate, not unnaturally incensed by the murder of its citizens at Asculum, replied that no embassies could be received until reparation was made for the recent acts of violence. The insurgents then declared Corfinium (a city of considerable strength in the Apennines) the capital of the League, which was straightway constituted as a Federal Republic, with two Consuls at the head, six Prætors under each Consul, and a Senate of five hundred for the transaction of public affairs. The two Consuls were Pompædius Silo, a Marsian, and Papius Mutilus, a Samnite.

The material strength of the new Confederation was very great; yet it was considerably surpassed by that of Rome. At the outbreak of the rebellion, the Imperial city could of itself arm 400,000 warriors,* and could count, moreover, on the support of the Etruscans, Latins, Umbrians, and Campanians. The hostile alliance was at first chiefly confined to communities of Sabellian origin: a large part of Italy stood aloof, and preferred to identify its fortunes with those of the powerful Republic which had made itself master of the entire peninsula. The Sabellian tribes were of Sabine descent, and therefore related to the Oscan or Opican stock, in the language of which race—a language analogous to the Latin, but not identical with it—the decrees of the Federation were issued. Consequently, the insurgents were for the most part closely bound together by community of blood, as well as by the tie of wrongs and sufferings which all alike had shared at the hands of one oppressor. But, great as this advantage was, it did not suffice to neutralise the military power of Rome; and the result ought never to have been seriously doubtful. It is a fact worthy of note in the struggle for independence, that the insurgents seem to have been animated by something like a national feeling, to which the sentiment of local

* Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic.

patriotism was willing to subordinate itself. Medals were struck, showing the Sabellian bull goring the Roman she-wolf.† The city of Corfinium was re-named Italica, as if to identify the federal capital with Italy at large; and the coins of the Confederacy bore the legend "Italia." Rome, on the other hand, clung to the old civic idea, which she held in common with the Republics of Greece, as well as with Carthage, her ancient enemy, and which taught that a city tenacious of its own freedom was entitled to hold other communities in subjection. The idea of nationality is much more modern than ancient, though it was not wholly absent from the pre-Christian world.

The confederates acted with promptitude and decision in the conflict which ensued, and which, though generally called the Social War (*i.e.*, the war of the Socii, or Allies), is also known as the Italian and the Marsic War—the war of the Italian provincials, or of those who had their chief leader in Pompædius the Marsian. They seized Campania, and checked the advance of a Roman army under Rutilius Lupus (one of the Consuls for the year 90), and his Legate, Caius Marius, who had by this time returned to Italy. The former, who commanded the left division, was utterly beaten, and forfeited his life in a vain attempt to annihilate the enemy; the latter, at the head of the right division, drove back the victorious Italians, but could do little more than prevent their further progress. In other directions the allies were repeatedly successful, and Rome began to tremble for herself. The First Consul for the year 90 B.C. was a man bearing a patronymic which, in the next generation, was to become more illustrious than that of any other Roman. The name of Julius Cæsar was borne by one of the Consuls for 91 B.C., as well as by one in the following year; and, by a singular coincidence, the chief Consul for 89 B.C. was Cneius Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great. Both the second of these Cæsars and Pompeius were in favour of effecting some compromise with the insurgents, who were making way with alarming rapidity in Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania, and whose example, it was feared, might spread all over Italy. This view was supported by other influential statesmen, and Cæsar was empowered by the Senate to draw up a measure, called after him the Julian Law, the object of which was to grant the franchise to such of the allies as had taken no actual part in hostilities. The result was that the communities so addressed began to waver, while the others showed still greater determination in their resistance to Roman supremacy. The Samnites even sent an embassy to Mithridates, to solicit the aid of that monarch, and issued a proclamation offering freedom to all slaves who should join the Italian army. But the tide was turning against the allies, and a great victory obtained by Marius over Herius Asinius the Marrucinian, followed by one over Pompædius the Marsian, damped the spirit of the confederates. The latter action was apparently fought with great unwillingness by Marius, and also by his soldiers, who, recognizing in the opposite ranks many of their own kinsmen, called out to them by name, and waved friendly greetings with their hands, while the two commanders, having met in front of their armies, mutually deplored the fratricidal contest. The victory was due to the energy of Sulla, who attacked the Italians in their retreat, and entirely routed them. The Umbrians and Etruscans, who had shown a momentary inclination to throw in their lot with the rebellion, now repented of their rashness, and the movement began to languish.

The second campaign began in the spring of 89 B.C., and was quickly signalised by the submission of the Pelignians and Vestinians. The Roman arms, however, were not at first successful, and a serious defeat was experienced at the hands of the Marsians, on which occasion the second Consul—a member of the family of the Catos—was killed. The chief command then devolved on Sulla, who, with an army augmented by a number of Numidians and Moors, advanced into Campania. The Italians, on the other hand, were aided by a body of Gauls, who, however, fled in dismay on finding one of their champions defeated and slain by a Moor whom he had challenged to single combat. The whole army sought refuge in Nola; but Sulla pursued so closely that numbers were cut off before they could enter the gates. The city was surrounded by a detachment of the Roman army, and Sulla proceeded to Samnium, where good fortune still attended his operations. Pompeius was equally successful in the north, and Asculum was strictly invested. The cause of the allies in that direction was now so desperate that they were compelled to transfer the seat of the Federal Government from Corfinium to Bovianum, in Samnium—a position some way south of the former. But Sulla was advancing from Campania, so that the insurgents were placed between two opposite forces. Scato, the commander of the Marsians, had an interview with Pompeius, at which the great Cicero, then an unknown youth of seventeen, was present. But no agreement could be effected,

† The origin of the bull as a Sabellian or Sabine symbol is explained on p. 50 of this volume.

and the war was resumed. The Samnite leader, Papius, was defeated by Sulla, to whom Bovianum was shortly afterwards betrayed; and the spirit of the allies was still further depressed by the arrival of a message from Mithridates, who, while promising assistance at some future time, professed his inability to send an army at once, as he was too hotly engaged with the Romans in Asia. The whole struggle was passing into the stage of hopelessness; and Judacilius, who had the command at Asculum, determined on a desperate course. Having put to death all who were opposed to the Italians, he gave an entertainment to his friends in the chief temple of the place, where he placed his own couch on the summit of a funeral pile. At the close of the feast he drank a cup of poisoned wine; the pile was then lighted; and under these dismal circumstances Asculum surrendered.

The citizens were treated with great cruelty; but the Roman success produced the desired effect. The Marsians and Marrucinians followed the example of the Pelignians and Vestinians, and gave in their submission to Rome. The other allies still kept possession of the field; but further disasters were in store for them, and the four confederates soon dwindled to two. The chief honours of the war were gained by Sulla, who, in addition to his previous triumph, reduced Herculaneum, Pompeii, and other cities of Campania, to which he had now returned. Marius, who unquestionably sympathised with the provincial Italians, had not distinguished himself in the struggle, and had exhibited a degree of apathy which some attributed to advancing years, and some to a defect of purely Roman sentiment. After a while, he gave up the command, and retired to his villa at Misenum, where formerly the mother of the Gracchi had lived. His great rival was restrained by no feeling of interest in the insurgents, and his military genius and energy, after he had obtained the chief command, produced the most important results. He was checked for a short time, however, by a serious mutiny in one division of his forces, when his lieutenant, Posthumius, was slain by the malcontents. Sulla soon recalled them to their duty, and, although at a large expenditure of life, gained a brilliant victory under the walls of Nola. The two allied nations which last held out were the Samnites and Lucanians, 30,000 of whom were shut up among the defiles of the Apennines. Pompædius the Marsian, who was at the head of this devoted band, attempted to arm the slaves, and at the same time sent emissaries abroad, to endeavour to procure support. He even obtained a victory over the Romans, and entered Bovianum in triumph. But ill-fortune soon returned, and in 88 B.C. Pompædius was killed in an encounter with the Prætor Metellus Pius, near Teanum, in Apulia, whither he had fled, in the hope of once more rousing the spirit of resistance. Venusia, in the same province, was taken shortly afterwards; but Samnium and Lucania still prolonged the war, and Nola, in Campania, was yet held for the expiring Federation by a Samnite garrison.*

The rebellion, however, was substantially at an end, and the Romans could turn their thoughts to the application of those reforms in the political constitution of the State which recent events had shown to be needed. In addition to the Julian Law, another statute of a conciliatory nature had been brought forward in 89 B.C.; and both these were now put in force. The object of the Lex Plautia-Papiria—so named after the two Tribunes who brought it in—was to extend the privileges of the Lex Julia to the burgesses of all Italian cities, provided they registered their names within sixty days. Rome was indisputably the head of Italy; but it was fitting that the unity of the land should be acknowledged by a common franchise, which should confer equal rights on all. Such, indeed, appears to have been the opinion of most of the Italian cities; yet, as those who accepted Roman rights were obliged to renounce their local franchises — for the same individual, it was argued, could not simultaneously be the citizen of two States—some of the towns refused the proffered boon. Naples, Heraclea, Puteoli, and other of the Greek cities in the south, chose rather to retain their ancient and special privileges, though it is probable that this position was abandoned after some years. The advantages conferred by the Roman franchise were very substantial. In this way, the Italians acquired the right of holding property in Rome, the power of intermarriage with Romans, immunity from taxation, and inviolability of person. But there were also some disadvantages. Citizens of the most distant towns were compelled to attend personally at Rome whenever they had occasion to vote; for all elections and other political acts were associated with religious ceremonies, which, by immemorial usage, could be conducted only in the Roman Forum—a sanctified spot. Nevertheless, it was generally felt that the benefits of the suffrage were well purchased at the expense of a little inconvenience. The thirty-five Tribes were now increased to forty-three, or,

* The events of the Social War (which are rather confused) are related in somewhat different order by various writers.

according to some authorities, forty-five; and the Consul Pompeius brought in a law for conferring on the Gallic communities beyond the Po the modified citizenship called the Latin Right. These arrangements belong to the year 89 B.C.; but they could not have been carried out with any completeness until after the almost entire collapse of the war in 88 B.C.

The results of the struggle had in many respects been very serious. It is said that, during those fatal three years, as many as 300,000 of the prime of Italian manhood perished in the several battles; and although by far the greater number of the victims belonged, doubtless, to the provincials, Rome herself was a sufferer by the depletion of races which had furnished some of the best of her recruiting fields. In other ways, the provinces affected by the war continued, long after its termination, to feel the evil effects of an unnatural contest. When all regular fighting had ceased, bands of marauders still prowled about the mountainous districts, either endeavouring to renew the rebellion, or simply taking advantage of the general anarchy to live by plunder. The great forest of Sila, in Bruttium, sheltered large numbers of these banditti; and, for more than half a century, political outlaws and fugitive slaves defied the utmost power of Rome in those dim and intricate recesses. Men were kidnapped even on the public roads; the nobility did not dare to stir abroad without a host of retainers; and in the cities themselves the custom of wearing arms became general.

But the very worst effect of the Social War was seen in the creation of a bitter spirit of antagonism among the citizens of Rome itself, and in the fostering of personal rivalries which were soon productive of the most evil fruit. The two great generals, Marius and Sulla, had long been opposed to one another, not merely on political grounds, but on grounds of individual ambition. Marius was unquestionably jealous of Sulla; Sulla, on the other hand, was eager to displace Marius in the popular esteem. To some extent, indeed, he had already done so. It had happened two or three times that Sulla, when acting as the lieutenant of Marius, had reaped the chief honours of victory by some bold or lucky stroke; and Marius had come to regard him with a moody and bitter distrust. The contest was now much in favour of Sulla; for, with equal genius and more determination of character, he had the advantage in point of years. In 88 B.C. Marius was about seventy, while Sulla was not more than forty-nine. The former was consequently beyond the time of life at which a man's active powers are at their best, while the latter possessed a wide and varied experience, combined with the full vigour of manhood. The rivalry which had existed for several years was intensified by many circumstances which seemed almost naturally to array the men against one another. Marius was a person of comparatively humble origin, whereas Sulla, though poor, belonged to an illustrious house. The younger man was at once a sensualist and a scholar; the older, who had gained so many laurels in the field, was blunt, uncultured, and severe in private life. However great his faults of character and disposition, Marius had hitherto shown himself a more respectable man than Sulla, the energy of whose nature, unchecked by any lofty principle, carried him into the worst excesses. His red face, covered with pimples and blotches, was lighted up by eyes of piercing blue, the expression of which is described as sinister and menacing. Except by a few personal favourites, he was greatly disliked; but his powers enforced respect, and the aristocracy were glad to accept him as the champion of their interests. Marius, on the contrary, was still the leader of the democratic party, consisting of the provincials, and of those among the Romans who supported their cause. When first entering public life, he had vowed to avenge the Gracchi, and to carry out the reforms which they had vainly sacrificed their lives to accomplish; and this promise he yet remembered in the midst of many distractions.

In recognition of his services as the chief agent in terminating the Social War, Sulla was elected to the Consulship for the year 88 B.C. It was not long ere an occasion arose for requiring his services in a military capacity. Mithridates, King of Pontus, was evidently preparing to make war on Rome, and it became necessary to select a general of approved genius for encountering that warlike and active monarch. Under such circumstances, the usual practice was to give the chief command to the First Consul, and assuredly Sulla had no possible rival but Marius. The latter had to a considerable extent excluded himself from the position by his voluntary withdrawal from the field during the Social War. Yet he was by no means inclined to relinquish what he regarded as his claims, and, returning to Rome, he appeared daily in the Campus Martius, sharing in all the athletic exercises of the young soldiers, as if to show that age had not impaired his physical powers. The Roman citizens were for the most part in favour of Sulla; but the provincial Italians recollected that in bygone years Marius had been their friend, and their support was given to him.

Circumstances favoured his candidature for the chief command against Mithridates. Although the Italians had been recently admitted to the Roman franchise, it was under conditions which marked their inferiority. They began to complain anew of grievances which they described as infractions of the recent compact; and at the same time an angry feeling arose between the Equestrian Order at Rome and the dissipated young nobles to whom they had lent money at a high rate of interest. The discontented parties found a powerful advocate in Sulpicius Galba, one of the Tribunes for 88 B.C. —a man of remarkable eloquence, a friend of the second Livius Drusus, and a member of the nobility who had renounced his social standing to qualify himself for the popular office. With this influential leader Marius effected an alliance, and Sulpicius at once gave notice of a measure of reform, by which the new Italian citizens were to be placed on a level with the older citizens. Thus, for objects which were purely selfish, certain members of the aristocracy were coalescing with the democratic party in order to bring about the extension of popular privilege. It was hoped in this way to obtain a majority in all the Tribes, such as would be certain to uphold the claims of Marius. The proposal, however, excited the fury of the Roman people, and riots were of frequent occurrence. The Consulship of Sulla, and of his colleague, Pompeius Rufus, had just begun, and, foreseeing that in all probability a terrible outbreak would occur when the day for voting on the new law arrived, they ordered special religious solemnities, during which all public business would of necessity be suspended. The only effect of this decree was to precipitate the very crisis which it was designed to prevent. Sulpicius Galba determined to take the vote in spite of the Consular proclamation to the contrary, and, in order to effect his purpose with the greater readiness, ordered a body of 3,000 young men, who habitually attended him, to assemble in the Forum with concealed daggers, and to strike when he commanded, even should it be necessary to slay the Consuls themselves. A tumult ensued: the son of Pompeius Rufus, who was married to a daughter of Sulla, fell beneath the attack of the rioters. The two Consuls escaped with difficulty, and Sulla himself was compelled to declare the religious holiday at an end. The proposed law then passed without opposition, and Marius, with the title of Proconsul, was soon afterwards invested with the command he coveted.

"DURST THOU KILL CAIUS MARIUS?"

Before this point had been reached, Sulla had quitted Rome, and repaired to the camp before Nola, where the Samnites were still holding out against the authority of the Republic. He designed to proceed thence to the seat of war in the East; but, before he could do so, two Tribunes arrived in camp, with an intimation that Marius had been appointed to the command. Sulla was naturally disinclined to recognise this revolution, but, shrinking from the terrible alternative of civil war on his own undivided responsibility, consulted his soldiers as to what they themselves were disposed to do under the circumstances. He was careful, however, to enlist their cupidity on his own side by assuring them that, if the command remained with Marius, other soldiers would be enlisted for the war, and their own chance of obtaining booty would speedily come to an end. The men gave him their support without hesitation, and stoned the Tribunes to death; but, with the exception of one Quæstor, the superior officers of Sulla's army declined to countenance what was in fact nothing short of a rebellion. This did not deter Sulla from at once marching on Rome, and the consternation in the city was extreme when it was known that so redoubtable a captain was approaching at the head of a powerful force. In a little while, the First Consul was joined by his colleague Pompeius Rufus, and from that time all acts ran in their associated names. The situation was a very remarkable one, and somewhat difficult to define. Marius had been invested with the chief command against Mithridates, and was in actual possession of Rome. Sulla, in the prosecution of his own personal ends, was leading an army against him; yet it must not be forgotten that Sulla was at that very moment the highest executive officer of the State, and therefore held a legal authority which Marius was bound to respect.

MARIUS AMONG THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE.

Without any opposition, Sulla pursued his march

to Rome, and, when about five miles from the city, was met by a deputation from Marius and Sulpicius, begging that he would halt until the Senate had taken some resolution as to what should be done. Sulla promised to comply, but, in violation of his word, resumed his march shortly afterwards, and penetrated into the capital despite the opposition of the people, who, mounting to the roofs of their houses, threw tiles and stones upon the legions. On arriving at the market-place, near the Esquiline Gate, a regular body of soldiers was encountered, and a prolonged combat ensued, of which the issue was for a time extremely doubtful. When, however, Sulla's reserve legion entered the city, Marius found himself attacked in flank as well as in front, and, in the desperation of his fortunes, offered liberty to all slaves who would fight for him. This offended the others, and Marius, being deserted by a large portion of his army, took to flight, together with Sulpicius and some others. Sulla was now completely master of Rome. He vindicated his conduct in a speech delivered to the populace, and the Senate then issued a decree, branding as traitors Marius himself, the Tribune Sulpicius, and ten others. All of these were sentenced to death as public enemies, and officers were sent out to pursue and capture them. Sulpicius was discovered in a villa near Laurentum, and, being betrayed by a slave, was killed. His head was exposed on the Rostra—a barbarity until then unknown, though often repeated in later days; and Sulla recognised the act of the slave after a twofold fashion, which combined bad faith with cruelty. Having first enfranchised the man for his obedience to the edict of the Senate, he immediately afterwards caused him to be thrown from the Tarpeian Rock for his treachery to his master. A price was set upon the head of Marius, who went through a remarkable series of adventures, of which Plutarch has given an animated and picturesque account.

On quitting Rome, the old man retired to his farm at Solonium, whence he despatched his son to get provisions from a relation in the neighbourhood. Soon afterwards, altering his plans through fear of a surprise, he departed for Ostia, where he had reason to believe that a vessel would be waiting for him. The son (who was equally proscribed with the father) found himself surrounded by the enemy's scouts, and escaped with difficulty in a waggon, where he was hidden under a load of beans. On the following night he got to the seashore, and embarked in a vessel for Libya. In the meanwhile, the elder Marius and his companions sailed in a southerly direction along the coast of Latium, but were ultimately compelled to land near Circeii. The wind had become unfavourable to their further progress; Marius was suffering from sea-sickness, and the provisions on board were running short. They accordingly quitted their ship, and wandered along the shore, making their way through woods to the mouth of the Liris. The depths of the forest shrouded Marius and his friends from the observation of their enemies, but could furnish them with nothing for the support of life; and, after passing a night of extreme suffering, they issued out of the woodlands on to the nearest highway, in the hope of discovering some place where they could find food and shelter. Under these forlorn circumstances, the aged general maintained an undaunted spirit, encouraging his followers by relating to them the prodigies which had foretold his greatness, and confidently asserting—what, indeed, ultimately proved to be true—that he would still be Consul a seventh time. When the party were within two or three miles of Minturnæ, after having wearily accomplished a distance of about forty miles, a number of Roman horsemen were seen approaching, and no escape was open to them, unless they could reach one or two vessels which at the same moment they observed off the shore. Hurrying towards the beach, they threw themselves into the water, and, with great difficulty and no little danger, reached one of the ships. This refuge, however, was but temporary; for the sailors, though at first refusing to give up the fugitives to the horsemen, who shouted loudly to them from the land, were afterwards afraid of resisting what they doubtless knew to be the commands of the Senate. On reaching the mouth of the Liris, therefore, they persuaded Marius to go on shore, pretending that he might thus obtain food and rest, and that it was necessary for them to lie-to until the land-wind rose. Trusting to these representations, the old man suffered himself to be lifted out of the vessel, and laid upon the grass in a desolate spot where succour of any kind appeared unlikely. The treacherous mariners then hoisted sail, and were soon out of sight.

The situation was desperate. The country at the outfall of the Liris was a desolate and lonely swamp, and Marius lay for some time in a state of stupefaction, not knowing what to do. At length he rose, and, wading through the wet and miry ground, reached a cottage occupied by an old man, whom he begged on his knees to save him from the dangers by which he was surrounded, adding that it would at one time be in his power to reward him to an extent of which he little dreamed. The

cottager promised to do his best, and hid the fugitive in a hole by the side of the river, where he covered him with reeds and sedge. But Marius was not safe even here. Geminius of Tarracina, a personal enemy of the ex-Consul, was following on his track, and, entering the hut in the morass, he questioned its occupant as to whether he had seen anything of the great general, now flying from the wrath of Sulla. Marius, who was close by, heard the voice of Geminius, and, being seized with terror, rushed from his hiding-place, and plunged up to his middle in the muddy waters of the marsh. From this retreat he was dragged forth with a rope, and carried before the authorities at Minturnæ, who resolved to put him to death, and claim the reward. But none of the citizens would consent to strike the fatal blow, and a Cimbrian slave—one of the very men whom Marius himself had captured in the Northern campaign—was commanded to execute the sentence of the law, if such it can be called. The man entered a dark room in the house where Marius was confined, and found him crouching against the wall in a corner. Advancing sword in hand, the Cimbrian (if we are to believe what he is said to have afterwards related) saw two flames leap from the eyes of the captive, and heard his voice exclaiming in terrible tones, "Man! durst thou kill Caius Marius?" He rushed forth, crying, "I cannot kill Caius Marius!" and the councillors at Minturnæ, struck by the incident, repented of their previous decision. They are reported to have said, "Let him go where he pleases as an exile, and suffer in some other place whatever fate has reserved for him; and let us pray that the gods visit us not with their anger for ejecting Marius from our city in poverty and rags." They even conducted him to the sea-coast, and supplied him with necessaries for his voyage. Entering a vessel which was in readiness, he set sail for the island of Ænaria, the modern Ischia, where he was joined by his son-in-law Granius, and by the other companions of his flight. After a brief period of rest, they departed for Eryx, in Sicily, from which place the magistrates ordered them away, and they then made for the northern shores of Africa, where Marius hoped to find allies among some of the Numidians. The Prætor Sextilius, however, warned the illustrious outlaw to depart, on peril of immediate death; and the messenger found him in a spot ever memorable in the history of Rome, as of the whole world. The man demanded what answer he should take back to the Prætor. "Tell him," said the fallen hero of old days, "that you have seen Caius Marius, a fugitive, sitting among the ruins of Carthage." He was soon afterwards joined by his son, and, together with him, found refuge in an island off the African coast.

While Marius and his friends were being hunted down by the emissaries of Sulla, the victorious general was consolidating his power at Rome, and abrogating those reforms which had been effected by the revolutionary ardour of Sulpicius. He also repealed a statute which gave the force of law to the *Plebiscita*, or resolutions of the people; but the ordinary exercise of the franchise was not disturbed, and, upon the whole, Sulla acted with much more liberality than might reasonably have been anticipated. The Consular elections for the next year bestowed the divided office on Cneius Octavius, a supporter of the Senate, and Cornelius Cinna, a partisan of Marius. From the latter, Sulla demanded a solemn undertaking that he would not disturb the measures of his predecessor; and Cinna, ascending the Capitol, took the required oath, and hurled to the ground a stone, at the same time expressing a wish that he might be cast out of the city with equal violence if he broke his vow. To the Romans this looked like sincerity; but, upon succeeding to power, Cinna at once began to undo what had been done, and caused a process to be commenced against Sulla for bringing an army within the walls of Rome. Sulla did not stay to meet the charge, but in 87 B.C. departed on his Eastern expedition, leaving the ally of his rival Marius to shape the course of events. The position of Sulla was indeed very insecure, and even his friends seemed marked for immediate destruction. When Pompeius Strabo, commanding as Proconsul at Picenum, was superseded by Pompeius Rufus, Sulla's kinsman and late colleague, the latter was speedily murdered by the soldiers as he was sacrificing at the altar, and Strabo resumed the command, while professing great indignation at the crime that had been committed. Plots were formed against the life of Sulla himself, and he was doubtless glad to get away from a city where his opponents were both numerous and powerful.

Affairs altogether wore a dark and menacing aspect. The Samnites, who had never been entirely subdued, were now beginning a fresh movement under their leader, Pontius Telesinus. The slaves and brigands in the south of Italy, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of Rome, threatened a descent on the Sicilian shores; and Metellus Pius, who had command of the Republican army, was not able to make much progress against the insurgents. It was at this moment of general disturbance that Cinna gave notice of a bill for again distributing the provincial Italians, and the freedmen, through all the Tribes, where

they would have formed a majority, and conferred overwhelming power on those who had acted as their friends. It was likewise proposed by Cinna that Marius and his companions should be recalled from exile; and it was apparent that his object was to weaken the party of Sulla to such an extent that it should be incapable of again rising to the head of affairs. Sulla, however, though absent, had still many partisans in Rome, and they determined on an energetic opposition to the plans of the second Consul. The result was a sanguinary battle in the Forum, which ended in the expulsion of the Italians with great loss. Cinna, deprived of the Consular office by the Senate, and compelled to leave Rome, made his way to the army left by Sulla before the city of Nola, amongst whom a spirit of insubordination was secretly lurking, in consequence of their exclusion from the profits of the Mithridatic War. These men were easily persuaded to take the part of Cinna, who went about from town to town—especially to those which had been engaged in the Social War—declaiming on his own wrongs, and also on the wrongs of the provincials. He presently found himself at the head of a considerable force, which was soon afterwards augmented by the arrival of Marius from Africa with a thousand Numidians. The old general expressed his willingness to serve under Cinna, and, to prove his disinterestedness, refused the rank of Proconsul when offered to him. A small fleet was added to these armaments, and the movement assumed alarming proportions. The Senate accordingly took measures of defence, and ordered Pompeius Strabo to march with his army from Picenum. This command he obeyed, and took up a position at the Colline Gate, though his fidelity to the Senate was for some time doubtful.

On the arrival of Cinna and Marius, together with Quintus Sertorius and Papirius Carbo, Rome was completely invested, and all traffic on the Tiber stopped, so that supplies could not be brought into the city. Pompeius Strabo was some time afterwards struck dead by lightning (if he was not in truth assassinated), and the Senatorial army was seriously reduced by a pestilence. Metellus, who had arrived from Samnium, seemed disinclined to take the position rendered vacant by the death of Pompeius; many of the Senatorial troops deserted; famine set in, and it was at length found necessary to open negotiations. These were not immediately successful; but, on the hostile commanders drawing their forces still nearer to Rome, the Senate despatched a second deputation, with instructions that Cinna should be saluted as Consul—a point on which he had sternly insisted at the earlier interview. The emissaries asked for nothing more on behalf of the Senate than that Cinna should take an oath not to allow any massacre when he entered the city. Cinna gave the required undertaking; but the deputies must have felt considerable distrust when they observed the sinister aspect of Marius, as he stood beside the Consul's chair. He was dressed in the black rags of an outlaw, with hair and beard untrimmed, and with a gloomy frown upon his brow. Still, the moment was not one for hesitation. A decree was passed by the Senate, inviting Cinna, Marius, and their partisans to enter the city; but when word was brought to the commanders that such was the desire of the chief Republican body, Marius bitterly replied that an exile must not enter Rome. He insisted that his outlawry must be reversed by an Assembly of the people before he would pass the gates; and this being done, Marius found himself once more in Rome.

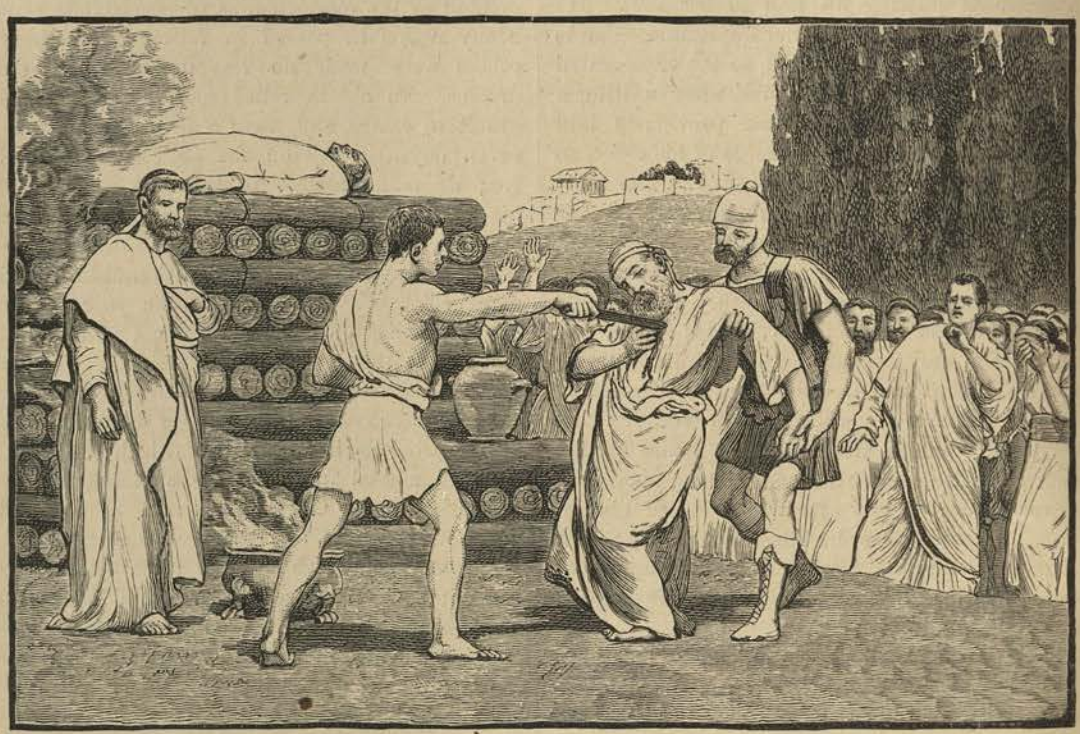
A horrible massacre was then sanctioned by the victorious generals. The composition of the army was such as to give the utmost intensity to the wild spirit of the moment. The proportion of Romans in its ranks was but small, the soldiers for the most part consisting of slaves, Italian guerillas, foreigners, and men collected haphazard from the offscourings of society. Some were animated by the desire of vengeance for wrongs long endured; others were swayed by no higher motives than the greed of rapine and the love of cruelty. Marius himself appears to have been inspired by rancorous malignity. The memory of his grievances and his sufferings had transformed his nature, and he directed the band of ruffians by whom he was surrounded to strike down every man of rank whom he passed without a salute. The persons slain during this horrible orgie of blood included some of the most illustrious citizens. The Consul Octavius was slain on Mount Janiculum while seated in the curule chair, with the ensigns of his office gathered around him. Senators, orators, nobles, and men who had held high office, were alike slaughtered by the infuriated soldiers, and Marius but seldom listened to the prayers for mercy frequently addressed to him. The massacre soon became indiscriminate; for there is a drunkenness of bloodshed which knows not where to stop. The mangled heads of the Senators were exhibited in the Forum, while persons of less consequence were left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. At length the evil proceeded to such an extent, that Cinna and

Marius themselves were obliged to take measures against it. A body of Celts, under the command of Sertorius, was sent against the enfranchised slaves, who were cut down to a man for too freely indulging the ferocity to which they had first been incited. Yet acts of great cruelty continued to be committed by the more deliberate processes of law. Cornelius Merula, who, much against his own will, had been elected to the Consulship in place of Cinna, was indicted for that offence, and, knowing that his condemnation was certain to follow, determined on putting an end to his life. He was a Flamen, or priest, of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter; and, having retired to the consecrated edifice, he there opened his veins, after writing a solemn declaration that he had previously laid aside the fillet which was the badge of his office, so that he might not involve his country in the guilt of sacrilege. Catulus, who had fought with Marius in the last battle against the Cimbri, but who had offended his former colleague by supporting his exile, was now condemned to death. His friends interceded on his behalf; but Marius would not listen to them, and Catulus, shutting himself up in a newly-plastered room, died from the fumes of charcoal. Sulla was proclaimed a traitor; his property was confiscated, and his house pulled down. His wife and children, however, succeeded in escaping, and shortly afterwards joined him in Greece. The massacre had lasted five days, and during that terrible period some thousands of Romans must have fallen victims to the revenge of Marius and of Cinna.

When the fury of the two leaders had been sufficiently glutted, an attempt was made to re-organise the government; but Cinna and Marius dreaded to summon the Assembly of the Tribes, and Cinna, having reappointed himself Consul for the ensuing year, named Marius as his colleague. Thus the latter became Consul for the seventh time; but he lived only a very brief space to enjoy the honour, if honour it could be called, or if any enjoyment were possible to an overburdened and miserable conscience. Cinna reserved to himself the administration of home affairs, while Marius was destined to the command of the army abroad. But the old general had abundant cause for fearing that no further opportunity of distinguishing himself now remained. It was rumoured that Sulla had succeeded in his operations against Mithridates, and was about to return to Rome, with the intention of putting down the faction which had triumphed in his absence. Old and broken in health, Marius dreaded the encounter that must ensue, should these anticipations prove correct. Walking one day after supper with his friends, he began to talk of his experiences from the beginning of life down to the existing time; relating how often fortune had favoured him and turned against him, and finally coming to the conclusion that no man of sense ought to put his trust in that fickle goddess. Having made these observations, he parted from his friends, and straightway took to his bed, from which he never rose again. He had once more attained the summit of power; but an evil fate seemed darkly advancing towards him, and his mind was tormented by the consciousness of stupendous crime. Many nights he passed in miserable watchings; others were made no less dreadful by terrific dreams. To obtain relief from his sufferings, he drank to excess, and, after a feverish delirium of seven days, expired on the 13th of January, 86 B.C., dreaming almost to the last that he led his soldiers against Mithridates, uttering the cries of battle, and imitating the very gestures of combat. His appointment to the Consulship by the mere edict of Cinna was in the year 87 B.C.; but, according to custom, he did not enter on the office until the 1st of January in the following year. His seventh tenure of this great position was therefore confined to the brief term of thirteen days, during the greater part of which he was in a state of mental incapacity from illness, remorse, and dissipation. Only one exercise of authority is recorded of him, and that was characterised by the insane fury which had now taken possession of his mind. On the very first day of his seventh Consulship, Marius ordered a Senator, named Sextius Licinus, to be thrown from the Tarpeian Rock without any previous trial; and had his life been spared, it seems only too probable that such would have been the prevalent nature of his rule. The opening years of this singular man's life seemed to promise a nobler future than was actually fulfilled. But a sort of madness had come over the whole of Rome, and even the grandest principles of justice—as, for instance, the emancipation of the Italians from a selfish dominion—were abused by contending factions to their own ends. Marius was drawn within the whirlpool of the times; but he was not worse than many others, and appears so only because of the brighter prospects of his early days.

The obsequies of the deceased Consul were celebrated with the pomp becoming his rank and the grandeur of his achievements; but they are said to have been accompanied by a terrible ceremony, the relation of which is to be found in the writings of Valerius Maximus, though not in the ordinary historians. "In ancient times, according to

tradition," says a modern authority on the history of Rome, "it had been customary to slaughter slaves or captives on the tomb of the departed hero; but, if any such usage had actually prevailed among the Romans, it had been long softened, at least into an exhibition of gladiatorial combats. On this occasion, however, the Tribune Flavius Fimbria determined to immolate a noble victim to the manes of the dead. He caused the venerable Mutius Scævola, the chief of Roman jurists, to be led before the pyre, and bade the sacrificer plunge a sword into his bosom. The wounded old man was allowed to be carried off and tended by his friends, under whose care he recovered. But when Fimbria heard that he still lived, he brought him to the bar of judgment, and, being asked what charge he had against him, coldly replied, 'Having escaped with life.' The story is founded, perhaps, on a misapprehension of a passage in Cicero, who only says that Fimbria required Scævola to be wounded. If the Tribune had intended to make a sacrifice, he would hardly have suffered it to remain incomplete. Only eleven years before, human sacrifices had been abolished by a decree of the Senate. But in many expiatory and lustral rites, the shedding of a drop of blood was retained as a type of the ancient usage with which it has been frequently confounded."*



SACRIFICE OF SCÆVOLA.

Valerius Flaccus was now appointed by Cinna to the vacant Consulship. Flaccus had occupied the same post fourteen years earlier, when he had aided Marius (then Consul for the sixth time) in crushing the conspiracy of Saturninus. But he had not greatly identified himself with either of the two political parties whose contentions had recently convulsed the State, and his accession to office seemed to furnish a guarantee of impartiality. It must be related to the credit of Cinna that, having obtained power, he did not forget the pledges he had made while still aspiring to the Consulship. Censors were elected to bring about the complete emancipation of Italy by combining the new citizens created by the Lex Plautia-Papiria with the thirty-five Roman Tribes. Most of the provincial communities received this additional boon with gratitude; but the Samnites, Lucanians, and some others, refused to accept it. Another measure, carried out by Flaccus, may perhaps have been necessitated by the impoverished state of numerous citizens, resulting from the civil turmoils

* Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic.

of the last few years; though all such acts are of doubtful policy, unless the necessity be so extreme as to permit no other course. It was enacted by the second Consul that the poorer citizens should be relieved from the payment of their debts to the extent of one-fourth. After passing this measure, Flaccus took command of the legions destined for the war against Mithridates, and at once proceeded to the East, where the movements of Sulla required watching by the adherents of the opposite faction, whose power, even in Rome itself, was threatened by the dangers of a changeful time.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC AND SECOND CIVIL WAR.

The Kingdom of Pontus—Its Character and Traditions—Early Life of Mithridates the Great—His Physical and Mental Acquirements—Foreign Conquests in the Early Part of his Reign—The Greek Kingdom of Bosphorus in the Chersonesus Taurica—Preparations of Mithridates for War with Rome—Quarrel with respect to the Succession in Bithynia—Designs of the Pontic King—Support Furnished by the Greeks—Commencement of the First Mithridatic War—Defeat of Nicomedes of Bithynia—Mithridates Hailed as a God—His Arbitrary Measures Against the Romans—Operations in Greece—Sulla in Command of the Roman Forces in that Country—Siege of the Piræus and of Athens—Reduction of Athens by Famine—Defeat of the Pontic and Greek Armies near Chæronea—Arrival of the Consul Flaccus in Greece, and Subsequent Withdrawal into Asia—The Allies again Defeated by Sulla in Bœotia—Growing Discontent among the Asiatic Greeks—Conspiracy of Flavius Fimbria against Flaccus, and Assassination of the Latter—Defeat of the Younger Mithridates, and Flight of the Pontic Sovereign—Conclusion of Peace—Defeat of Fimbria by Sulla—Heavy Fines Laid on the Greek Cities which had Supported Mithridates—Haughty Position of Sulla towards the Senate—Preparations for the Second Civil War—Assassination of Cinna—Popular Measures of Papirius Carbo—New Agrarian Law—Return of Sulla from Greece to Italy—Triumphant Advance on Rome—First Appearance of Pompey on the Historic Scene—Third Consulship of Papirius Carbo—Burning of the Capitol—Carbo Supported by the Provinces—Renewal of Civil Strife—Defeat of the Younger Marius Before Præneste—Assassination of Mutius Scævola, the Chief Pontifex—Entry of Rome by Sulla—Hostile Movement of Samnites, Lucanians, and Campanians—Failure of Carbo in Etruria, and Flight to Africa—Rome Attacked by the Italian Allies, and Relieved by Sulla—Desperate Battle Before the Walls—Sanguinary Despotism of Sulla—Reduction of the Provinces—Extinction of the Etrurian Nationality.

WHILE the opposing factions of Marius and Sulla were convulsing Rome with their struggles for power, events of the utmost gravity were arising in the Asiatic kingdom of Pontus. The realm so called was originally that portion of Cappadocia which received from the Greeks its distinctive appellation, as lying on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus. In the declining days of the Persian Empire, Pontus, which had been included in the dominions of the Great King, established its independence, and in time became a monarchy of some importance. The situation of the country was in many respects extremely favourable. It was bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Cappadocia, on the west by Galatia and Paphlagonia, and on the east by Armenia. Within these limits was included a rich and varied region, favourable to commerce by reason of the neighbouring sea, and abounding in mineral wealth. The western plains towards the river Halys were celebrated for their fertility, and some of the best-known fruits of Europe (as, for instance, the cherry, the name of which is derived from the Pontic city of Cerasus) were introduced from this Asiatic kingdom. Towards the east, ranges of barren mountains rewarded the explorer by vast stores of iron, which were certainly worked at an early period. It was here that the Greeks placed the Chalybes, a savage race of men, who neglected agriculture for the deep ferruginous mines which gave to them their name. According to Xenophon, these people attacked the Ten Thousand on their retreat; but the Greeks knew something about the country long before that date. In very ancient times, Hellenic mariners, passing through the Thracian Bosphorus, had coasted the southern shore of the Euxine, and made acquaintance with its several tribes and nations. The Amazons were supposed to dwell on the river Thermodon, which flowed through Pontus; and the Argonauts were described as visiting this remote and obscure land. Of the early history of the people we know very little. They appear, however, to have been the most western division of the Semitic race; though it is not improbable that there was an admixture of Aryan blood also.

The reader has seen that, for a long while past, Rome had been obtaining considerable influence over the States of Asia Minor, and that the kingdom of Pergamus had become a Roman province

by the bequest of Attalus III. Pontus, however, maintained its independence, and in the latter part of the second century B.C. the throne was occupied by a man of remarkable powers and energetic character, destined to cause the Romans more anxiety than any one since the time of Hannibal. The name of Mithridates (or, properly, Mithradates) had been borne in succession by several of the Pontic kings. It was in fact a sacred appellation belonging to the royal family of Persia, and signifying "given by the Sun" (*i.e.*, Mithra); so that the sovereigns of Pontus must be regarded as having a sacerdotal as well as a secular character. The Mithridates with whom we are now concerned, and who is sometimes called Eupator (the well-descended), but more frequently the Great, has been variously described as the fifth, sixth, and seventh of that name: he was probably the sixth. On succeeding to the throne after the assassination of his father in 120 B.C., he was under twelve years of age. His early life was surrounded by dangers, and it is said that not only his guardian, but even his own mother, conspired against him. To protect himself from these perils, he left his capital while yet a boy, and wandered about the wilder parts of the kingdom for seven years, changing his resting-place every night, and following the life of an adventurous hunter. These hardy exercises, together with the influence of an invigorating air, caused the youth to grow up into a strong, active, and courageous young man. The accounts which are left us of his prowess and his physical accomplishments may have been magnified and coloured by popular tradition; but they are doubtless true in the main. Mithridates the Great is one of the most singular figures of his age, and his personality stands out with vivid distinctness across the interval of two thousand years.

When Mithridates had drawn attention to himself as a powerful king and warrior, it was stated that at his birth, and again on his accession to the throne, a comet appeared, which covered a fourth part of the heavens. But, to the superstitious in early times, this was the usual harbinger of grand events. Mithridates was remarkable, not for his comet, but for himself. Accustomed to feats of manly daring and fortitude, his frame attained gigantic proportions, and his armour, in later life, excited the astonishment of all who saw it. In running, in riding, and in driving chariots drawn by sixteen horses, his achievements are said to have been marvellous. As a huntsman, he could hit the game at full gallop, and obsequious flatterers averred that he had never been known to fail. With respect to more intellectual matters, he professed a great admiration of Hellenic culture, and was constantly surrounded by a number of Greek historians, philosophers, and poets. Anticipating a modern taste, he was a collector of curiosities and objects of art, and was the owner of a cabinet of rings which acquired a wide celebrity in the ancient world. To some of these rings he probably attached a talismanic virtue; for Mithridates was decidedly superstitious, and spent much time in the interpretation of dreams and of religious mysteries. Yet there was another and a very different side to his nature. He was a gross eater and drinker; encouraged the same habits in others; and would offer prizes for extraordinary feats of revelry, with the result that he frequently distanced all competitors in the ignoble strife. In some respects, his character was similar to that of Peter the Great of Russia: it presented a like admixture of penetration, energy, and coarseness. Like the Muscovite Czar, he had abundant cause to dread secret assassination, and it is certain that he had no objection to the removal of others by illicit means. It is related of him that he made experiments in poisons and their antidotes, as a necessary part of the science of government, and that he successfully inured his body to the effect of particular poisons, in order that he might be able to resist them when treacherously administered. His mental powers must have been equal to his physical, if it be true that he could dispense justice to each of the twenty-two nations over which he ruled in its own tongue, and that he understood three other languages as well. He had been educated by Greek masters at Sinope, on the Euxine, and, by travelling in disguise through the whole of Asia Minor, had studied all the cities and nationalities of that important region. This was after he had become the actual as well as nominal ruler of Pontus; for he shared the opinion afterwards held by Haroun-al-Raschid, that a leader of men should see the world for himself.

In 112 B.C., when about twenty years of age, Mithridates took possession of the throne which he had nominally occupied since the death of his father in 120. The policy of the previous reign had been favourable to Rome; but the new sovereign—offended by the resumption of the gift of Lesser Phrygia, which the Romans had bestowed on his father—resolved to pursue a different course. He was far too astute a ruler, however, not to know that his strength was as yet insufficient to meet so formidable an antagonist. He therefore commenced a series of foreign conquests, directing his arms towards the East, that he might not awaken the jealousy or distrust of the great Republic. For seven years he continued his warlike

operations with marked success, adding to his dominions the Lesser Armenia, Colchis, the eastern coast of the Euxine, the whole of the northern shores as far as the river Tyras, and the very interesting region of the Chersonesus Taurica, now the Crimea. The last-named of these countries had a history which connected it with the widely-spread Hellenic race. The original inhabitants of the peninsula were doubtless Cimmerians. Afterwards, a Scythian or Sclavic horde entered the land, and imposed their yoke on the Cimmerians, who appear to have kept up a piratical independence among the mountains of the south, under the name of Tauri, which is derived from the old root *tau*, a mountain. The Greeks had a very bad opinion of these people, whom they accused of behaving with systematic cruelty to shipwrecked mariners, and of offering human sacrifices to a virgin goddess whose temple stood on the promontory of Parthenion, at the south-western extremity of the coast. This temple is associated with the legend of Iphigenia, and therefore with one of the most celebrated plays of Euripides. The earliest Greek colonies in the Chersonesus Taurica were settled there in the sixth century B.C. They were at first somewhat numerous, but were ultimately formed into two States—the Chersonesus in the south-west, and the kingdom of Bosphorus in the south-east. At a later period, the Greeks seem to have become masters of the whole peninsula, and the population of Athens was to a great extent fed by the large stores of corn thence imported. But the principal of these Hellenic States was the small but prosperous monarchy of Bosphorus, the capital of which was at Panticapæum, now Kertch. Parisades, the reigning king in the time of Mithridates, was reduced to such extremities by the Sarmatians, Roxolani, and other barbarous tribes of the northern steppes, that he was glad to become the tributary of the powerful sovereign of Pontus. After his death Mithridates incorporated the kingdom with his own dominions, and made it one of his favourite places of residence. To him is attributed the beautiful Greek temple at Panticapæum, which, with its museum of antiquities, was so wantonly destroyed during the Crimean War.

The eastern and northern conquests of Mithridates provided him with a large number of martial subjects, and at the same time gave him maritime command of the Euxine. He also concluded alliances with the wild tribes of the Danube, and effected matrimonial connections between his own family and those of neighbouring monarchs. All these arrangements were made with a view to an eventual war with Rome, the growing power of which in Asia was hateful to an ambitious prince like Mithridates. But it was long ere war broke out between him and the colossus of the Tiber. Nevertheless, causes of offence were not wanting, and one of these occurred in 92 B.C. Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, had been put to death through the agency of Mithridates, who was his brother-in-law, and the choice of a new monarch was referred to Rome. The direction of the Senate was that Ariobarzanes, a native chief, should be selected for the office, and this was done. The Pontic monarch drove him out; the Republic restored him by the arms of Sulla; and thus a feeling of mutual antagonism was generated, which subsequent events increased. The reader is aware that during the Social War, which began in 90 B.C., Mithridates offered to help the provincial Italians against their Roman oppressors as soon as he had finished certain enterprises in Asia on which he was then engaged. Those enterprises had for their object the destruction of Roman influence in the East. Nicomedes III. of Bithynia had recently succeeded to the throne of his ancestors; but Mithridates intrigued in favour of a younger brother, named Socrates; and Tigranes of Armenia, entering Cappadocia for the second time, expelled Ariobarzanes. Both sovereigns went in person to Rome to plead their cause, when Manius Aquillius, who had put down the slave-war in Sicily, was sent to restore the one to the throne of Bithynia, and the other to that of Cappadocia. This was in the year before the outbreak of the rebellion in Italy. Mithridates, hesitating to attack Aquillius, treacherously abandoned the cause of Socrates, and even put him to death; but he kept a watchful eye on public affairs, and patiently awaited an opportunity for advancing his plans.

An occasion was soon furnished by the Romans themselves. The Bithynian king found himself under the obligation of presenting largess to his European supporters, and in 90 B.C. was advised by Aquillius to raise the money by an inroad into the kingdom of Pontus. Mithridates, unable to obtain redress, though the Bosphorus had been closed to his vessels, and the western plains of his kingdom were devastated by the invaders, determined to resort to war, notwithstanding that Aquillius had warned him that resistance to Bithynia would be regarded as an act of hostility to Rome. "Does not even he who must succumb at last, defend himself against the robber?" he asked; and certainly he had justice on his side. With as little delay as possible, he sent his son into Cappadocia, and the Roman envoy replied by a declaration of war, in 89 B.C. At first, everything turned to the advan-

tage of Mithridates. It was understood between him and the Armenian king, Tigranes, that the whole of Asia Minor was to be conquered, and that, while Mithridates enjoyed the sovereignty, Tigranes should appropriate the spoil. Addressing himself to the Grecian cities as their liberator from the Roman yoke, the Pontic monarch calculated on obtaining the enthusiastic response which he in fact received. The Greeks in general appear to have thought that the time of their deliverance was at hand. The Cretan League, which preserved some slight degree of Hellenic freedom in the midst of wide subjection, furnished numerous recruits to the Punic army, and in various parts of the Grecian mainland a spirit of insubordination showed itself. Even Syria, Egypt, and Numidia seemed inclined to throw off their vassalage to Rome; and while these dangers threatened the Republic abroad, the State was being torn to pieces at home by the convulsions of the Social War. The actual conflict between Mithridates and Rome did not commence until the spring of 88 B.C., when Mithridates took the field at the head of 250,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry. The army was more numerous than well organized; but it was commanded by Greek generals of experience, the chief of whom were the brothers Neoptolemus and Archelaus. A body of Italian refugees, armed after the Roman fashion, gave strength to the incoherent mass of Greeks and Asiatics, and a fleet of four hundred vessels held possession of the Euxine, from which numberless pirates issued forth to prey upon the Mediterranean commerce. The forces of the Romans and of their Bithynian ally were comparatively weak, and it is not surprising that, in the first instance, Mithridates had by far the best of the struggle.

The army of Nicomedes held an advanced position in Paphlagonia, and here it was entirely defeated by Neoptolemus and Archelaus. The Roman generals, Aquillius, Cassius, and Oppius, were unable to render the aid they had promised, and compelled to shut themselves up in fortresses, while Mithridates advanced towards the Roman province of Asia, receiving as he went the cordial welcome of the several populations. By the Greeks he was hailed as Dionysus, or Bacchus—a god anciently regarded as the benefactor of the East. All Greek prisoners of war were set free, and the fervour of enthusiasm passed from the continent of Asia Minor into the adjacent islands. Aquillius, who had sought shelter in Mitylene, was given up by the Lesbians to Mithridates, and carried about the cities of Asia Minor, seated upon an ass. The unfortunate general was forced to confess that the war was owing to his covetous disposition, as shown by his obliging the Bithynian king to present him with largess, which Nicomedes had no alternative but to obtain by ravaging the kingdom of Pontus. Finally, he was put to death by having molten gold poured down his throat. This, however, was a crime upon a small scale, compared with what shortly afterwards took place. Mithridates issued an edict from Ephesus, commanding the simultaneous massacre of all Romans, together with their Italian supporters; and the abominable order was so well obeyed that, if we are to credit what has been related, 80,000 persons—or, according to some accounts, 150,000—were killed in one day. The property of the victims was applied by the Pontic sovereign to his own purposes, and he was thus enabled to remit taxation for five years, and to expunge all debts due to the Roman Government.

Mithridates now regarded himself as the monarch of Asia, and he fixed his new capital at the city of Pergamus. Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Bithynia received the position of satrapies, and nearly all the islands of the Ægean speedily submitted to the conqueror. On the Asiatic mainland, Caria and Lycia remained untouched, and the city of Magnesia, in Lydia, held out against superior force. The Roman power in Asia was almost completely destroyed; but Rhodes afforded an asylum to Lucius Cassius, who had escaped with several other Romans. Mithridates made an attempt to take the capital of that island, but was obliged to retreat, after prolonged and fruitless efforts. At Delos, and in most of the islands, the partizans of Rome were massacred. The Thracian tribes were instigated to attack Macedonia, which was also entered by an army under Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates; at Athens, Aristion, an Epicurean philosopher of that city, induced the people to rise against Rome, and to deliver up the Piræus to the Pontic fleet, which soon made its appearance off the coasts of Attica, under the command of Archelaus, one of the best generals in the service of Mithridates. Aristion supported his power at Athens by the exercise of a sanguinary despotism; but it is probable that he was countenanced by considerable numbers of the citizens. All Greece, as far as Thessaly, was soon in revolt, and it seemed as if that ancient land would ere long recover the independence it had lost. It was a bold stroke thus to select a new and remote battle-field in Europe. The exultation of his rapid and too easy success in Asia had inflamed the mind of Mithridates with schemes of vast proportions; but, although his courage was great, and

his ability considerable, he had not the genius of either Pyrrhus or Hannibal, and was now extending his operations beyond the limits of a reasonable prudence.

The capacity of the Romans to deal with these threatened perils was gravely lessened by the exhaustion consequent on the Social War, and by the administrative paralysis caused by the contentions, in Rome itself, of the partizans of Marius and Sulla. At a period when every day was of importance, the Roman State was divided on the question as to which of those great generals should have the command against Mithridates. At length, as the reader is aware, the position was secured by Sulla, who left for Greece in the early part of 87 B.C. Landing in Epirus in the spring of that year, with a very small force, he marched into Bœotia as soon as he could collect supplies, and attacked the army under Archelaus and Aristion with so much success that the first of those commanders retreated into the Piræus, while the second was glad to retire behind the battlements of Athens. Sulla endeavoured to take the Piræus by escalade; but the extraordinary height of the walls baffled the attempt to surmount them. The place was then besieged in set form, and Sulla used the stones of the Long Walls, which once connected the port with the city, but had long fallen into decay, for the formation of a great embankment, sloping upwards from the ground to the fortifications surrounding the Piræus. Two enormous battering-towers were pushed up this inclined plane; but no progress was made, as the vigilance of Archelaus defeated every assault. At the same time, Athens also was besieged, and the venerable trees of the Academy and the Lyceum, associated with some of the greatest triumphs of Athenian intellect, were cut down to furnish material for the Roman engines. The communication between the city and the port was so entirely intercepted by Sulla's forces that, by the close of the year, Athens was suffering from the extremity of famine, although Aristion and his friends still managed to live luxuriously. Offers of capitulation were made; but Sulla preferred to take the city by brute force, and on the 1st of March, 86 B.C., Athens was captured, and given up to the Roman soldiery, who treated the citizens with every aggravation of outrage. Having thus enforced the supremacy of Rome, Sulla restored the municipal freedom of the illustrious Grecian city, and even allowed it to retain the island of Delos, which had been made over by Mithridates. All this while, the Piræus remained untaken, nor could anything be done in Asia, as Sulla was unprovided with a fleet. To supply the want, he had despatched Licinius Lucullus, then serving as Quæstor in his army, to collect ships from Egypt, Rhodes, and Syria. But for these it was necessary he should wait, and his position became extremely serious when the Consul Flaccus was appointed by the Roman Senate to supersede him in his existing command.

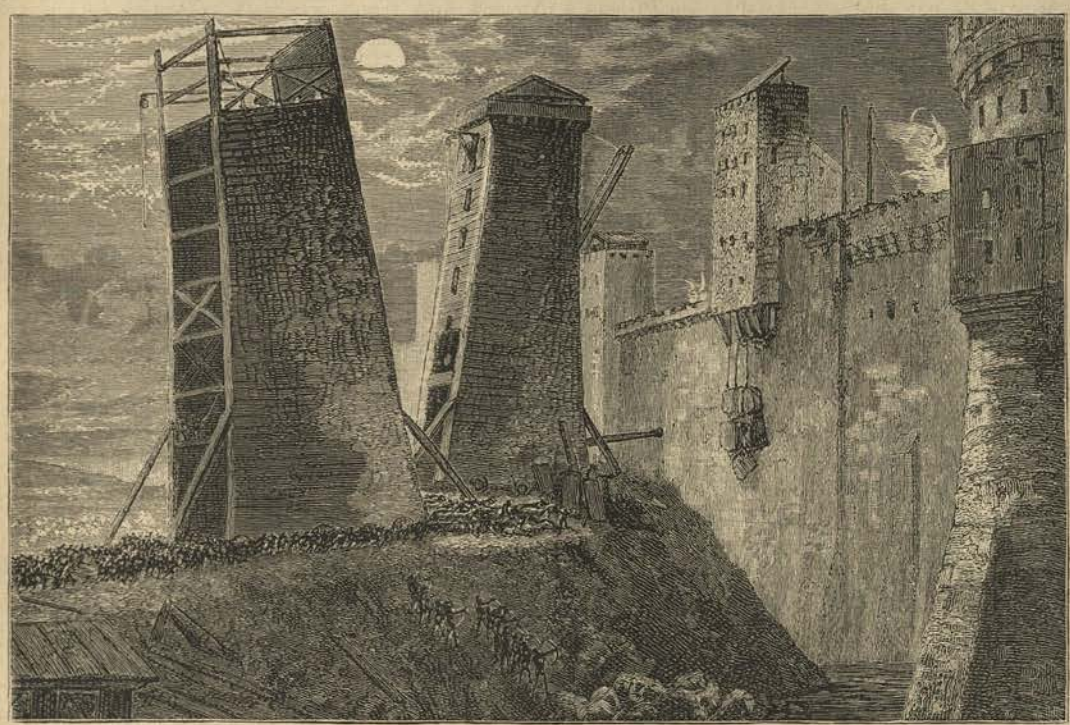
Under the circumstances, Sulla determined to attempt a fresh attack on the Piræus. Archelaus had for some time past expected the advance of succours through Macedon to the southern parts of Greece, and these arrived shortly after the fall of Athens. Taxiles, the general in command, halted in Thessaly, and sent word to Archelaus that he was to join him at once for a grand attack on the enemy. The Athenian, therefore, departed for the north; the Piræus surrendered, and Sulla burned the dockyards, the arsenals, and several buildings of historic repute. On being reinforced by Archelaus, Taxiles advanced to the neighbourhood of Chæronea, and, much against the advice of his colleague, offered battle to the Romans. The numerical superiority of the allies was enormous; but Archelaus saw reason for distrusting either the quality of the troops, or the ability of the chief commander. Immediately after taking possession of the Piræus, Sulla had marched into Bœotia, and was now prepared to dispute the passage of his adversaries. His generalship on this occasion was of the most masterly kind, and his small army inflicted a crushing defeat on the multitudinous hosts of Taxiles and Archelaus. The latter retreated into Eubœa, with not more, it is said, than a twelfth part of his forces. Having command of the sea, he consoled himself by operations against the Ionian Islands, and Sulla was compelled to encounter in Epirus an army of his own countrymen, under the orders of Flaccus. The Consul, however, had only two legions wherewith to support his authority, and, being unable to draw any of Sulla's men over to his lines, while some of his own troops deserted, he withdrew into Asia, where he conceived that a greater probability of distinction awaited him. The winter of 86-5 B.C. was spent by Sulla at Athens; but in the spring of the latter year he was again called into the field by the arrival of another Pontic army in Bœotia, where Archelaus now found himself reinforced by 80,000 men. Again did this cautious Athenian endeavour to dissuade his colleague from attacking the redoubtable Sulla. The immense preponderance of numbers, and the advantageous character of the position, determined Dorylaus, the other general, to risk all upon an attack; and so terrible were the charges of the Asiatic cavalry that the Roman

lines wavered before the fierce assault. The personal heroism of Sulla came to their rescue. Seizing a standard, the Roman general rushed into the thickest of the fight; and ultimately the allies were repelled with great loss. Archelaus escaped with difficulty into Chalcis, and Sulla wintered in Thessaly, where he awaited the arrival of the ships which he had already taken measures to obtain.

By this time, a great change had passed over the feelings of the Greeks towards Mithridates. That monarch had acted in many places with the accustomed tyranny of an Asiatic despot, and the Greek cities began to discover that the sovereign of Pontus was neither a god nor a deliverer, but simply a person acting for his own ends, and ruling with a sterner rod than that of Rome. Plots to assassinate the king were so numerous that sixteen hundred men were executed for complicity in those attempts. The Galatians were already in a state of insurrection, and in all quarters there was a disposition to receive the Romans rather as friends than enemies. In the meanwhile, Lucullus had brought together a serviceable fleet from various seaport towns, and by its aid had recovered several islands on the Carian and Ionian coasts. Flaccus had succeeded in reaching Chalcedon, on the Asiatic shores of the Thracian Bosphorus; but here he was assassinated at the instigation of his lieutenant, Flavius Fimbria—the same man who is accused of having wounded the Pontiff Scævola at the funeral of Marius. Fimbria had been actively concerned in the massacres incited by Marius in the latter days of his life; but he was a favourite with his troops, because of the license he allowed

them. Taking advantage of this fact, he conspired against Flaccus, usurped the command, and finally deprived the unfortunate Consul of his life. But, however great his villany, Fimbria was an able commander, and he soon obtained a decisive victory over the younger Mithridates at Rhyndacus. The effect of this success was very important: the city of Pergamus surrendered to the Romans shortly afterwards, and the Pontic sovereing escaped to Mitylene. In the meanwhile, Sulla had been conducting negotiations with Archelaus, who proposed that the Romans should leave Asia to Mithridates, on condition that that monarch should assist Sulla in conquering his enemies at home. The character of Sulla does not stand very high; but at any rate he had the self-respect and loyalty to refuse such a compact. Archelaus, however, was won over to the Roman side, perhaps by bribes; and terms of peace were concluded, so far as the Greek province was concerned. Shortly afterwards, Mithridates himself professed a willingness to treat. His cause was entirely lost in Europe; Fimbria had prevailed against him in Asia; and now his fleet was worsted by Lucullus off Tenedos. An interview was arranged between him and Sulla, and they met at Dardanus, in the Troad. The result was that the Pontic king agreed to resume the position he had occupied before the war, to indemnify Rome by the payment of three thousand talents, and to surrender a fleet of eighty ships.

This brought the First Mithridatic War to a close; but Sulla had still an enemy to encounter, for Fimbria, as the representative of the opposing faction, was not likely to obey his commands. The latter general was encamped at Thyatira, a city of Lydia; and Sulla, marching against him in 84 B.C., drew lines of blockade round his position. Fimbria, with his usual resort to treachery, attempted at first to procure the assassination of his rival, but, this having failed, requested permission to depart unmolested. Sulla, however, was busy distributing gold among his adversary's soldiers, and large numbers deserted. Fimbria soon found himself with only a small body of troops on whom he could rely, and he saw that the game was played out. Sulla offered him a vessel in which to escape, on condition that he should withdraw from Asia; but, with a dignity which was hardly to be expected from one of his character, he replied that he knew a shorter and a better way, and threw himself upon his sword in the temple of Æsculapius at Pergamus. The wound was not mortal, and, at his own request,



SIEGE OF THE PIRÆUS.

he was killed by a slave, who immediately afterwards slew himself upon his master's body. In all directions, Sulla was triumphant, and he now proceeded to distribute rewards and punishments among those who had supported, and those who had opposed, the Roman Republic. The Greek States which had espoused the cause of Mithridates, and which embraced pretty nearly all the Hellenic cities of Asia, were amerced to the enormous amount of 20,000 talents—a sum nearly equal to five millions sterling; while the public spoil reserved for the triumph reached a million. In the spring of 83 B.C., Sulla returned to the Piræus, and, after making arrangements at Athens, set sail for Italy, taking with him a magnificent library of Greek books, which had been collected by a friend of Aristion. The command in Asia was left in the hands of Licinius Murena, and Sulla now turned his attention to home affairs, which certainly required some change from the illegal despotism of Cinna.

The arrival of Sulla in Italy was preceded by a letter in which he announced his return, and gave a full account of his campaigns, without taking the least notice of his deposition from the command. In this communication he assumed the loftiest tone with regard to his position in the Republic. He asserted his right to regulate the affairs of Rome, and to punish those who had been concerned in the recent outrages; but at the same time he promised to respect the rights of the new citizens—in other words, of the provincial Italians, to whom he had hitherto been opposed. Sulla addressed his letter to the Senate, which was indeed the proper recipient of such a message; but that body had now very little real power. Cinna had established a complete tyranny, and had three times over—viz., in 86, 85, and 84 B.C.—re-appointed himself to the Consulship. Such an act was of course flagrantly unconstitutional and illegal; but Cinna had military force at his disposal, and could do what he pleased in the absence of any controlling power. Moreover, he enjoyed the support of the Italian and other provincials, as, whatever his motives, he had undoubtedly advocated their cause against the overweening pretensions of the Roman citizens. On the other hand, he had incurred the lasting enmity of Sulla, whom he had deprived of his command, and whose property he had pillaged, besides stripping him and his friends of the honours they already enjoyed. The Senators were placed in a difficult position by the receipt of Sulla's letter. They feared to offend so great a commander; but at the same time it would not have been prudent to oppose Cinna, who was there upon the spot. The Consuls (the first of whom, in 84 B.C., was Papirius Carbo) had commenced their preparations for attacking Sulla in Greece; but the Senate now mustered up sufficient courage to direct that all proceedings should be suspended, and that commissioners should be appointed to mediate between Sulla and his enemies, and to guarantee the personal safety of the general, if he would return to Rome. Carbo and Cinna paid no attention to these orders, and continued to push forward their preparations for military action. An army was assembled at Ancona, and transports were collected to carry it across the Adriatic. The first division was landed in Dalmatia; the second was driven back by a storm, and the men then dispersed, declaring that they would not fight against their fellow-citizens. Cinna hastened to Ancona, where some portion of the army still remained, but found the soldiers in a state of sullen discontent and half-suppressed anger. The leaders of the disaffection appeared before his tribunal, when it was evident that the men were ripe for immediate revolt. One of the lictors struck a soldier; the blow was returned; and a riot ensued, in which Cinna lost his life.

Some time after the death of Cinna, the Senate received the reply of Sulla to its proposals. The latter protested that he could never make terms with such men as the leaders of the Marian faction, but added that he had no objection to their lives being spared. As for his personal safety, and that of his friends, his army was sufficient to provide for it. He demanded that he should be immediately restored to all the property and honours of which he had been deprived, and that this should be preliminary to any further negotiations. The reply put an end to all attempts at conciliation, and Carbo, who had prevented the election of another colleague in the place of Cinna, took measures for strengthening himself and his party, in view of the renewed civil war which was now inevitable. The franchise was largely extended, and numerous emancipated slaves were enrolled in the thirty-five Tribes. All enemies were treated with despotic violence; several were hurled from the Tarpeian Rock. The tribunes were expelled from the city, and the Senate obsequiously ratified whatever Carbo chose to decree. Towards the end of 84 B.C., it became necessary to convene the Centuriate Assembly for the election of Consuls for the succeeding year. Unscrupulous as he was, Carbo appears to have considered it imprudent to follow the example of Cinna, and to re-appoint himself to the principal office; but both of the newly-elected Consuls—Lucius Cornelius Scipio, a

grandson of Scipio Asiaticus, and Lucius Norbanus —were adherents of the Marian party. That party, therefore, still maintained its predominance, and another appeal for popular support was made in the proposal for a new Agrarian Law, by the provisions of which the public lands of Campania were divided amongst the needy citizens of Rome. The course of events prevented this measure from passing into law; but it answered its purpose of rallying a large number to the support of the existing Government. The Italians in particular, who naturally regarded Sulla as their enemy, and the successors of Marius as their friends, placed 200,000 men in the field, to oppose the advance of the great general who had just discomfited Mithridates. It was the spring of 83 B.C. when that commander landed at Brundusium. He had with him barely 40,000 soldiers; but they were veterans, and their leader was a man of consummate ability and large experience. To the boldness of a warrior he added the craft of a diplomatist; and, whatever his willingness to fight when no other course lay open, he was always ready to employ underhand methods, if by such means he could obtain his objects without expenditure of blood.

He now resorted once more to his favourite expedient of bribery, and large numbers of the opposing soldiers were induced by money payments to desert. Thus strengthened, Sulla marched along the Appian Way into Apulia, frequently receiving deputies from the chief cities, to whom he granted treaties ratifying the new franchises. Disregarding the unfriendliness, or at least the indifference, of the Samnites, Sulla crossed the Apennines into Campania. Before leaving Greece, he had obtained from his men a solemn promise that, upon reaching Italian soil, they would refrain from those acts of licence which had been permitted in foreign lands; and this vow they faithfully kept. Their march from Brundusium to the capital was distinguished by great orderliness, no injury being done either to the people themselves, or to their property. But the troops of Sulla were now to encounter such forces as the two Consuls were able to bring against them. Norbanus was stationed before Capua, while Lucius Scipio guarded the Latin Way at a point nearer to Rome. The legions of Sulla encamped on Mount Tifata, and were there attacked by Norbanus, whose forces were routed. The beaten army then retired into Capua, and Scipio's men deserted when Sulla appeared before their camp at Teanum. The successful general had previously proposed the conclusion of an armistice, that some attempt might be made to effect an amicable arrangement; but Scipio was unfortunately advised to reject all compromise, and, on the desertion of his force, he and his son were taken prisoners. Perhaps from merely politic motives, Sulla on this occasion behaved with generosity, and at once dismissed his captives. But men had only too much reason to fear the extremity of his vengeance, should he become master of the capital.

While these events were progressing, Sulla had received the adhesion of several distinguished persons; among them, one who was destined, some years later, to occupy a position in Roman affairs second only to that of Julius Cæsar. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius Strabo—a man better known to English readers as Pompey, and whom for that reason it will be advisable to describe henceforward by the abbreviated name—was then a young man of about twenty-two. He had served in the army of Cinna, but was disliked by the democratic party, and would have been the subject of a prosecution to recover certain monies said to have been embezzled by his father at Asculum, had not the authority of the Consul Papirius Carbo been exerted on his behalf. His defection from the democratic interest was probably due to annoyance at the danger which he had so narrowly escaped; at any rate, he determined thenceforward to support Sulla, the great champion of the aristocracy. The principal estates of Pompey were in Picenum, and in that district he levied a body of troops in aid of Sulla. His personal qualities, which were at once daring and attractive, induced many to join his flag. Three legions were soon assembled under his command, and, having effected a junction with Sulla, after repulsing a threefold attack on Picenum, he was saluted by that general with the title of Imperator (ruler, or chief captain). Sulla had every reason to be satisfied with the progress he had made. For the present, however, he suspended his advance on Rome, and, returning into Campania, took up his winter-quarters there, with the determination of resuming his enterprise when the proper season should have arrived. In the meanwhile, he blockaded Capua, and devastated the lands of all belonging to the Marian party. Money was also freely spent by him in purchasing the support of those who were willing to sell their consciences. The Campanian rights of citizenship were confirmed, and Sulla acted in every respect as the legitimate master of Rome.

Sertorius, the ablest member of the Marian party, was despatched to raise new levies in Etruria, whence he was to proceed to Spain, where he after-

wards distinguished himself; and, in the absence of Scipio and Norbanus, the Consuls for 83 B.C., the conduct of affairs was left almost entirely in the hands of Carbo. The violent character of this man was rapidly creating great distrust in the city which he governed, and persons of rank availed themselves of every opportunity to escape, and join the camp of Sulla. A disastrous incident had occurred during the night of July 6th, 83 B.C., which some attributed, whether justly or not, to the contrivances of Carbo. A fire of great magnitude broke out on the Capitol, and the temples of Jupiter and other gods were burnt to the ground. It is just as probable that the conflagration, if intentionally caused at all, was the work of Sulla's partizans; but, in the judgment of many, it was visited on the existing Government. Such a suspicion was certain to turn many against the dominant party, and day by day Carbo found his adherents decreasing, and the cause of Sulla gaining in strength. The inevitable result was that the most violent men came to the head of affairs, or remained there; and the principal reason why Carbo was glad to be rid of Sertorius was that the latter had shown himself displeased with the reckless and illegal course that had for some time past been adopted. But, if Carbo was weakly supported in Rome itself, he had numerous adherents in the provinces. The Italians furnished him with volunteers in plenty, and the old soldiers of Marius were ready to fight on his behalf. The Social War still smouldered among the Samnites and Lucanians, and with these insurgents the leaders of the Marian party formed a coalition. At the capital itself, Carbo was elected Consul a third time, for the year 82 B.C. His associate was a son of Caius Marius, then a very young man, necessarily unacquainted with the conduct of affairs, and possessing the vices of his father without his virtues. This youth had served in none of the subordinate offices required by the Roman Constitution as preliminaries to the occupation of the highest post; but it was probably anticipated that his name would stand in place of personal ability and experience.

Hostilities were resumed in the early part of 82 B.C., when Sulla advanced from Campania along the Latin Way. The commander in opposition to this veteran and consummate general was young Marius, whose courage, indeed, was beyond question, but who had neither talents nor knowledge. His head-quarters were at the city of Præneste, where he had collected a force of 40,000 men, together with all the gold which had been saved from the Capitol. Carbo undertook to close the passes of the Apennines, and, operating from Etruria, to check the advance of Metellus Pius and Pompey, who were approaching from Picenum. Some advantages were obtained by Carbo over Metellus; but he was speedily obliged to retreat, in consequence of a disaster which had befallen his colleague. The forces of Marius had encountered those of Sulla at Sacriportus, between Signia and Præneste, and had suffered a crushing reverse. For a time the issue had appeared doubtful; but when five cohorts of the army of Marius deserted to the enemy, the remainder gave way, and fled to Præneste. The walls of that city were closed against them, lest Sulla's men, who were in hot pursuit, should enter the place together with the fugitives. Large numbers were accordingly slaughtered, and Marius himself escaped only by being drawn up the walls by a rope. Rome being now defenceless, Marius sent a confidential messenger to the city, ordering the Prætor, Damasippus, to slay all the adherents of Sulla whom he found within his power. The work was so thoroughly executed that amongst those who perished were a cousin and namesake of the elder Consul, and the venerable Pontifex, Mutius Scævola, who was sacrificed before the altar of Vesta, and of whom it was related that the scanty blood in his veins did not suffice to extinguish the sacred fire which was supposed to burn there eternally. Immediately after, Sulla's army entered Rome without opposition. Damasippus fled towards Etruria, and Sulla, having established a strong force in the capital, and sent a detachment to blockade Præneste, turned his attention to Carbo, who appeared to be the only opponent he had cause to dread. A battle ensued before Clusium, in Etruria; but the result was so uncertain that both parties claimed the victory. Carbo was on his way to the succour of Marius when this encounter took place. It now became necessary that he should guard himself against the attacks of Metellus and Pompey, who were advancing against his rear at the head of enormous forces, while Sulla was still in front. He therefore turned back, to encounter the assailants by whom he was so seriously menaced.

The position of Sulla, however, was by no means devoid of anxieties. While in the neighbourhood of Clusium, he received information that a large body of Samnites, Lucanians, and Campanians was on its march to relieve Marius in Præneste. This was a movement which it behoved him to check without a moment's delay, and, leaving part of his army in Etruria, he seized the passes of the mountains opening into Latium. His advance was so rapid that these important positions were occupied before the allies could come up, and Sulla was soon afterwards joined by Crassus, who brought

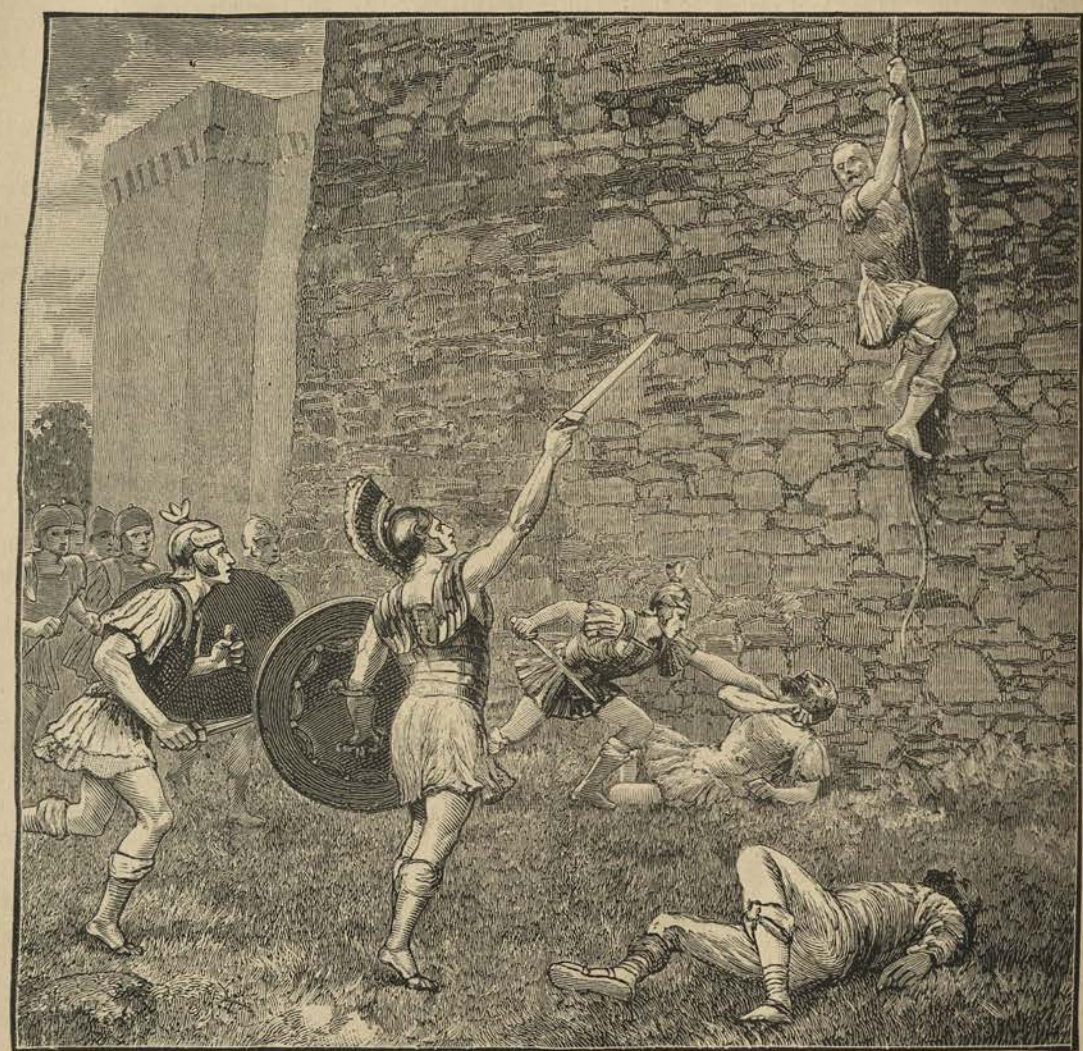
with him numerous auxiliaries. In the meanwhile, Metellus was proceeding cautiously against Carbo, who, hoping to intercept his enemy, crossed the Apennines, and attacked the camp of Metellus, near Faventia. The attempt was a failure; numberless desertions followed; and although Carbo repeated his efforts again and again on subsequent occasions, fortune always declared against him. His calamities were due as much to treachery as to the generalship of his opponent; and he at length fled secretly to Africa, leaving the remnant of his troops to be cut to pieces by Pompey, with the exception of a few who escaped towards the south, in the hope of joining the Samnites. The survivors succeeded in effecting a junction with Pontius Telesinus, the Samnite general, and Lamponius, the commander of the Lucanians. Eluding the vigilance of Sulla, these forces gained the Latin Road, and encamped before the Colline Gate of Rome. The old national spirit of the Samnites was still alive and fiercely active. These people cared little or nothing whether the Marian or the Sullan party prevailed. It was enough for them if they could pour like a devastating flood into the city which had for ages been the object of their hatred, and involve all factions in a common and irremediable ruin. On the day following his arrival, Pontius told his men that Rome's last hour had come; that the wolves which had so long preyed on Italy would soon cease from ravaging, because their lair would be utterly destroyed.

The attack presently began; but soon afterwards a body of horse was seen approaching along the road from Præneste. The garrison of Rome had found means to communicate with Sulla, and it was his advanced cavalry which appeared in the distance. But the danger was by no means over. The fate of Rome hung in the balance during the remainder of that terrible day, and the whole of the ensuing night. The combat was not only desperate, but for a long time doubtful. The newcomers were exhausted by the rapidity of their march; but the moment was not one for resting. The left wing of the relieving force was commanded by Sulla himself, who, mounted on a white steed, plunged into the thickest of the encounter. The right wing was under the directions of Crassus. In the earlier part of the engagement, it was the latter of these generals who had the better fortune. The wing commanded by Sulla was driven back, and saved from destruction only by the arrival of Crassus, who had by this time disposed of the enemy in his immediate front. But the Samnites and Lucanians still maintained the struggle with furious determination. The work of mutual slaughter was prolonged throughout the hours of darkness; but at daybreak a body of 3,000 men belonging to the allies went over to the Roman side, and victory then declared itself in favour of Sulla and Crassus. The loss in both armies was terrible, and Pontius, still breathing, though mortally wounded, was discovered among the slain. All the prisoners were massacred, but Rome was saved. The younger Marius soon afterwards put an end to his existence; Præneste surrendered to the stronger party; and from that time forth no Italian foe ventured to dispute the supremacy of Rome.

Having now obtained possession of the capital, Sulla addressed the people in a speech which, while holding out favourable promises to the obedient, denounced all of the Marian party in terms which foreshadowed the terrible revenge which was about to be taken. It might have been supposed that, as Marius, his old rival, was dead, and the whole faction was entirely crushed, Sulla would have shown some magnanimity in the hour of triumph. But his hatred of the dead hero was so extreme and acrimonious that the trophies on the Capitol, commemorating the glories of the African and Cimbrian wars, were destroyed, while the tomb of Marius on the Anio was desecrated, and his ashes were scattered on the waters of the river. A kinsman of the general was killed by a process of slow torture, too horrible to be described. Any one who sympathised with the fallen party was made a mark for sanguinary vengeance, and Sulla triumphed over the head of the younger Marius with bitter gibes and taunts. Successive lists of the proscribed—a term now introduced into politics for the first time, and derived from *proscribere*, to post up a written bill—were issued by authority, and a reward of two talents was offered to those who would betray any offending citizen. The rich suffered more than others. Many were slain for no other reason than that their property tempted the avarice of the successful faction; and the favourites of Sulla, including even his slaves, sold the right to inscribe on the black roll the names of those whom any one wished to destroy. During several months, this venal massacre continued, and, as the provinces suffered equally with Rome, the total number of victims must be reckoned by thousands.

By a subtle elaboration of cruelty, Sulla refused to give any information as to whom he would spare, or whom he designed to exterminate, but kept publishing new lists from time to time, as caprice or interest suggested. The wealthy and illustrious were thus kept in a prolonged agony of suspense, and each new list was scanned with

sickening eagerness by all who had the least cause for apprehension. The property of these unfortunate persons was confiscated for the benefit of Sulla and his agents, and, from day to day, heads of the slain were affixed to the Rostra. Bands of Celts executed sentence in the metropolis, assassinated his own brother, placed his name upon the list of those condemned to death, in order to secure his estate. Similar iniquities were committed at Præneste, which was given up to pillage after several thousands had been slain. Norba, a city of the Volscians, was betrayed into the hands of

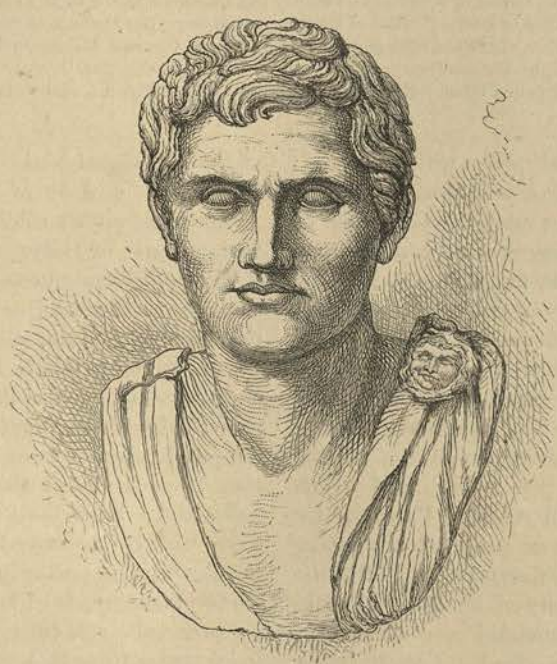


ESCAPE OF MARIUS THE YOUNGER AT PRÆNESTE.

and the proscribed were hunted down in other parts of Italy by the troops of Sulla. The uncertainty as to when or in what manner the fatal blow would descend, combined with an oppressive sense that it was absolutely inevitable, produced a stupor of horror and despair such as few times have witnessed. One of the principal of Sulla's instruments in the execution of these designs was Sergius Catilina, who afterwards became infamous for the conspiracy which he headed, and who, having Sulla, and the inhabitants set fire to the town, to avoid the still greater horrors which would otherwise have been their lot. In various directions, scenes of equal rapacity and barbarism were enacted without check; and Sulla, who began by professing a desire to liberate Rome from an illegal despotism, ended by establishing a tyranny more severe even than that which his military genius had destroyed.

All the active functions of government were now centred in the conqueror himself, who soon

afterwards assumed the title of Felix, or the Fortunate. The Senate did nothing more than carry out his will; for, of the two Consuls, one was dead, while the other had taken to flight. Sulla was already in possession of absolute power by the bare right of the strongest; but he desired to occupy some definite position, and plainly told the Centuries, whom he caused to be assembled for the purpose, that he considered himself entitled to hold the post of Dictator—an office which had been in abeyance for a hundred and twenty years. There was in truth no choice in the matter: Sulla had declared his will, and the electors obeyed. The conqueror of Rome was appointed Dictator for a period so indefinite that it could be terminated only by his own pleasure. The most unrestricted powers were confided to him, and, on assuming office, he appointed the elder Valerius Flaccus, Chief of the Senate, his Master of the Horse. Four-and-twenty lictors attended him in public, and he was surrounded by a body-guard for the protection of his life. This was in the latter part of 82 B.C. The proscriptions were still in force, nor did they cease until the beginning of June in the following year. The embers of insurrection and civil war continued, however, to burn sullenly for some time longer. In seeking refuge on the coast of Africa, Carbo appears to have thought that he should be able to bring together a fresh army, by which he might once more attempt to gain possession of Rome. Being disappointed in this expectation, he crossed over to the island of Cossyra, whence he intended to pass into Egypt. The island, however, was attacked by Pompey, who, with six legions and a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, had been sent to reduce Sicily, Africa, and Spain. Sicily abstained from all resistance when she beheld the formidable array of Pompey's forces; the reduction of Cossyra was a matter of very little difficulty; and Carbo was put to death, with the usual indignities, in 81 B.C. Nola was not taken until 80 B.C., nor then without a gallant and obstinate defence. The Etruscan city of Volaterræ, where some of the Marian forces had sought refuge, resisted for a period of three years, when the garrison was treacherously massacred as the men were marching out of the town, from which they had been permitted to depart. Etruria generally was made to suffer with great severity for its association with the Second Civil War. Many of its towns were delivered over to Roman colonists. Fæsulæ was dismantled, and the city of Florentia (now Florence) was erected out of its ruins. The distinctive character of Etruria ceased to exist, and numbers of the original race disappeared from the land which their peculiar civilization had adorned.



POMPEY THE GREAT.

CHAPTER XXII.

SULLA, SERTORIUS, AND POMPEY.

Despotism of Sulla—Election of Consuls under his Dictation—Sale of Estates, and Distribution of Lands—Widespread Condition of Anarchy—Chief Provisions of the Sullan Constitution—Augmentation of Aristocratic Power at the Expense of the Democracy—Judicial Reforms—Insubordination of Pompey—Abdication of the Dictatorship by Sulla—His Life of Dissipation, and Death—Condition of Rome after his Retirement—Consulship of Lepidus—Attempted Renewal of Civil War—Sertorius in Spain—Metellus and Pompey sent against him—Independent Rule of Sertorius—His Assassination by Conspirators—Defeat of Perperna by Pompey, and Recovery of Spain by the Sullan Party—The Insurrection of the Gladiators—Early Successes and Ultimate Defeat of Spartacus—Pompey and Crassus Elected to the Consulship on Popular Principles—Democratic Reforms Instituted by Pompey—Rise of Cicero as an Orator—His Defence of Sextus Roscius—Subsequent Studies of Cicero—Indictment of Verres for Extortion and Cruelty in Sicily—Cicero's Magnificent Triumph over Hortensius—The Pirates of the Mediterranean—Extraordinary Power and Audacity of the Sea-Rovers—Expedition of Pompey for their Suppression—Early Life of Julius Cæsar—His Capture by the Cilician Pirates, and Subsequent Retaliation—Reaction in Favour of the Marian Party.

ONCE more Rome was at peace within herself; but it was the peace of a relentless despotism. Sulla was a Dictator in the most absolute sense of the word. No Asiatic king was ever more completely master of the lives, fortunes, and liberties of his subjects than Sulla was master of the Roman people. Not only were thousands of persons proscribed and slain without trial, as related in the last Chapter, but their descendants were declared incapable of public office. The domineering soldier forbade any one to appear as a candidate for the Consulship without his permission; and when Lucretius Ofella, who had subdued Præneste for Sulla during the recent war, persisted in putting himself forward without having previously filled the office of Prætor, and in spite of an order to withdraw, the Dictator commanded a centurion of his body-guard to cut the offender down. Ofella had originally been an officer of Marius, and it is possible that some distrust of a late convert may have influenced the mind of Sulla in directing this extreme measure. But the simple disregard of his will was doubtless sufficient reason for sacrificing even one who had done good service to the reactionary cause. The Consuls elected under such auspices were of course mere creatures of the tyrant. After celebrating a splendid triumph for his successes in the Mithridatic War, Sulla, in the early part of 81 B.C., directed that the property of the proscribed should be sold by auction, and the proceeds be paid into the national Treasury. The Republic gained but little by this proceeding, for Sulla allowed his favourites to obtain estates of great value for very inadequate sums. The sales were conducted in the presence of the Dictator himself, who threatened with severe penalties any bidder of whom he disapproved, and, whenever it pleased him, remitted payment altogether. Many of the confiscated lands were handed over to Sulla's legionaries, and it is recorded that more than 100,000 disbanded soldiers received allotments in various parts of Italy.

The evil consequences of these acts were felt throughout the peninsula, and in many outlying provinces of the Roman dominions. The depopulation of Italy, which had progressed to a very serious extent even in the time of the Gracchi, now proceeded with accelerated pace. In several places, the people, driven from their ancient homes, were massacred in large numbers; the Samnites are believed to have been annihilated; whole towns were utterly destroyed, and extensive districts became almost entirely destitute of inhabitants. On the eastern side of Italy, men who had formerly led peaceful lives, cultivating their fields, or deriving revenue from their estates, took to the sea, and filled the Adriatic and the Grecian waters with fleets of pirate-vessels. Brigandage was equally rife upon the land. Even walled cities were scarcely safe from attack, and bands of desperate outcasts roamed about, kidnapping all whom they could seize, and selling them as slaves to the land-owners. Poverty was widely spread throughout the country, while the people were vexed by heavy imposts. Sulla and his troops had brought back to Rome a vast amount of spoil, and the plunder of private individuals had to some extent enriched the State. But the safety of the Roman world was threatened in so many directions that it became necessary to add largely to the armaments of the Republic. To meet these extra expenses, taxation was laid even upon those communities which had previously been exempt. Many cities, unable to furnish the required quota from their own immediate resources, were obliged to pledge their public lands, their temples, their ports, and even the very stones of

their walls. Sulla presumed to sell the kingdom of Egypt, over which he had not the slightest right; and foreign sovereigns were asked to furnish contributions to the need of Rome.

It was under these circumstances that Sulla brought forward a series of laws by which the constitution was revolutionised—not, however, in a popular, but mainly in an aristocratic, spirit. Nevertheless, he was too prudent to attempt a complete reversal of the reforms recently effected, as that would probably have raised against him a degree of opposition which even he might not have been able to withstand. He adopted—at any rate, nominally—the act which had conferred the Roman franchise on Italian citizens; but he excepted the freedmen, and also those who had taken part with the Marian faction, which must have reduced the total number very considerably. As a counterpoise to the influence of the remainder, he enfranchised ten thousand young and active slaves formerly belonging to the proscribed. These men, as citizens of Rome, might safely be relied on for upholding the cause of Sulla; indeed, so great was their devotion that they called themselves Cornelii, after the second name of their patron. The power of the Tribes was greatly curtailed by the Dictator, who decreed that candidates for the Tribunate should thenceforward always belong to the Senate, and who in various ways limited the functions, and reduced the privileges, of the popular representatives. The old rule was restored, by which no measure could be submitted to the Assembly of the Tribes, or to that of the Centuries, without having first received the approval of the Senate. Thus, an all-controlling authority was placed in the hands of the aristocratical body, which, however, was in itself reconstituted. The number of Senators had been greatly diminished by the late troubles. It is calculated that the arbitrary executions carried out first by Marius, and afterwards by Sulla, had swept away about four hundred of these legislators; and several more must have perished on the various battle-fields. Here was an immense gap to be filled, and Sulla filled it by selecting three hundred persons from the Equestrian Order, taking care, of course, that these should be his own partisans. The number of Quæstors annually elected was raised to twenty, and from the ranks of these officials the Senate was well supplied with new members as vacancies occurred.

Up to this period, the duty of revising the roll of the Senate had been entrusted to the Censors; but, without expressly abolishing those functionaries, the Dictator put an end to them as a matter of fact, by not permitting the election of any to that office. Of Prætors, there were thenceforward to be eight instead of six. Every one who offered himself for the Consulship must have first gone through the inferior grades, with fixed intervals between each; and, by the re-enactment of a law already existing, re-election to the same office was prohibited under a period of ten years. The judicial power was restored to the Senate; at the same time, the people were deprived of their right of appointing to the College of Pontiffs, which function was transferred to a corporation formed out of the highest members of the aristocracy. The general effect of these measures was undoubtedly restrictive of democratic power; yet, by a ruler of less judgment, the change might have been carried further. The Assembly of the Centuries still retained the election to the higher magistracies; and, as the Quæstors, from whom the Senate was to be replenished, were chosen by the Comitia of the Tribes, a representative element was introduced, though not by a direct process, into the composition of the highest body in the Republic. Still, it would be easy to exaggerate the importance of this concession to popular feeling. The indirectness of the democratic influence over the Senate very greatly moderated its force and efficacy; and the elections were by this time so much under the sway of rank and wealth as to have sadly degenerated from their pristine character. None but rich men could aspire to the office of Consul; for the Consuls were expected to provide the people with costly shows at their own expense, and the splendour of these entertainments increased with every year. The whole tendency of the day, no less than of Sulla's legislation, was to make the exercise of power a monopoly of the noble and the opulent.

In addition to these constitutional changes, the Dictator ordained certain special laws, one of which had reference to the offence of treason against the Majesty of the Republic. A measure with this view had been passed by the Tribune Saturninus; but the great object of Sulla was to fence round the Senate with every protection which his ingenuity could devise. He also enacted sumptuary laws for the restriction of luxury, which in his own person he disregarded, and rules for fixing the prices of commodities, which have never been found to succeed in any society where they have been tried. Murder and adultery he specially denounced; yet the profligacy of his own life was notorious, and he was certainly not averse from the shedding of blood, though he would probably have defended himself on the latter ground by the argument that the executions he had sanctioned were acts of justice necessary to the safety of the

Republic. On the whole, the judicial reforms of Sulla were wise and useful, and they survived when his political system was upset. They made a distinction, as regarded the methods of trial, between civil and criminal cases, and, while leaving a good deal of power to the people, corrected the excesses of party zeal which had sometimes interfered with the course of justice. With all his crimes of bloodthirstiness and personal malevolence, it is possible that Sulla really desired to save the Republic from what he regarded as serious and even fatal errors. Absolute as his power was, he preserved the ancient forms of the commonwealth, and it does not appear that he ever intended the Dictatorship to be permanent.

Sulla now felt so secure in his authority as to allow it to be occasionally defied. One remarkable instance of this is to be noted in the career of Pompey. That youthful general conducted a very successful campaign, in 81 B.C., against the remnants of the Marian party in Africa, and in the course of this war (which lasted only forty days) defeated a Numidian usurper, named Hiarbas, who acted as an ally of the enemy. We have seen that Pompey had been a great favourite of Sulla; but the latter had recently learned to distrust him. He therefore sent out peremptory orders that he should disband his troops. Exasperated by this mandate, the soldiers threatened to revolt, and Pompey quieted them by undertaking to go to Rome in person, that he might use his influence in persuading the Dictator to alter his decision. On reaching the capital, he was met by a procession of the citizens, headed by Sulla himself, of whom he demanded the honour of a triumph. But Pompey was still only in his twenty-fifth year, and had filled none of the great offices of State. He had not even been made a Senator, and Sulla objected that it was against all precedent to grant so high a distinction to one who was as yet so little famous. To soothe his wounded feelings, however, he greeted him by the title of Magnus (the Great). The matter remained for some time in abeyance, and it was reported to Sulla that Pompey had said, "Let him beware lest the rising sun have more worshippers than the setting!" A year before, the Dictator would have ordered the immediate execution of any one using such bold language. As it was, he merely exclaimed, with a sort of contemptuous toleration, "Let him have his triumph!" From that time forth, Sulla regarded the young soldier with dislike. To do Pompey justice, he had never been among the worst of Sulla's creatures. He had had no concern in the proscriptions, and had refrained from enriching himself with private spoils. Yet his subserviency was often sufficiently marked. Shortly after the taking of Rome, he consented, at the desire of Sulla, to divorce his wife Antistia, and marry Metella, the step-daughter of the Dictator. But his vanity was great; he saw that his own opportunity was coming; and to obtain an advantage over Sulla was to score a point in the game.

While still retaining his dictatorial powers, Sulla condescended, in 80 B.C., to occupy the position of Consul as well. His colleague was Cecilius Metellus Pius; but the great general was of course absolute in all things. The partisans of the latter desired to re-appoint him for the following term; but, with a politic regard to his own law prohibiting re-election within ten years, he refused to consent. The Dictatorship was doubtless enough for him, and even in this position he began to show greater moderation. The truth is, he was getting weary of the weight and responsibility of such a post. He had always been fond of pleasure, and, although now growing old, was none the less devoted to a life of indulgence. Moreover, the habit of his mind disposed him to a superstitious fatalism. He considered that up to this moment he had been a favourite of the goddess Fortune, but that, if he presumed upon her good will any longer, he would be liable to some unforeseen and terrible reverse. Everything he desired had been accomplished: it was time that he should quit the stage. Accordingly, he appeared in the Forum one day early in 79 B.C., and laid down the Dictatorship, which he had held for a little more than two years. Having thus divested himself of exceptional powers, he asked if any one had reason to complain of his actions during the days of his supremacy. No one answered, nor was any answer probable. It is, indeed, related that a young man followed him home with bitter revilings; but such an incident does not seem very likely. The greater number of his enemies were dead or banished; the survivors who remained in Rome were too much cowed to venture on impeaching the policy of one who was still a power in the Republic, though no longer an officer of State. Sulla, after feasting the Roman people with immoderate lavishness, retired to a villa on the Bay of Naples, where he passed the brief remnant of his days in as much debauchery as his enfeebled body would permit, in hunting and fishing, in the society of low favourites and buffoons, in the study of Greek authors, and in writing Memoirs of his life, the substance of which is believed to have been preserved by Plutarch.

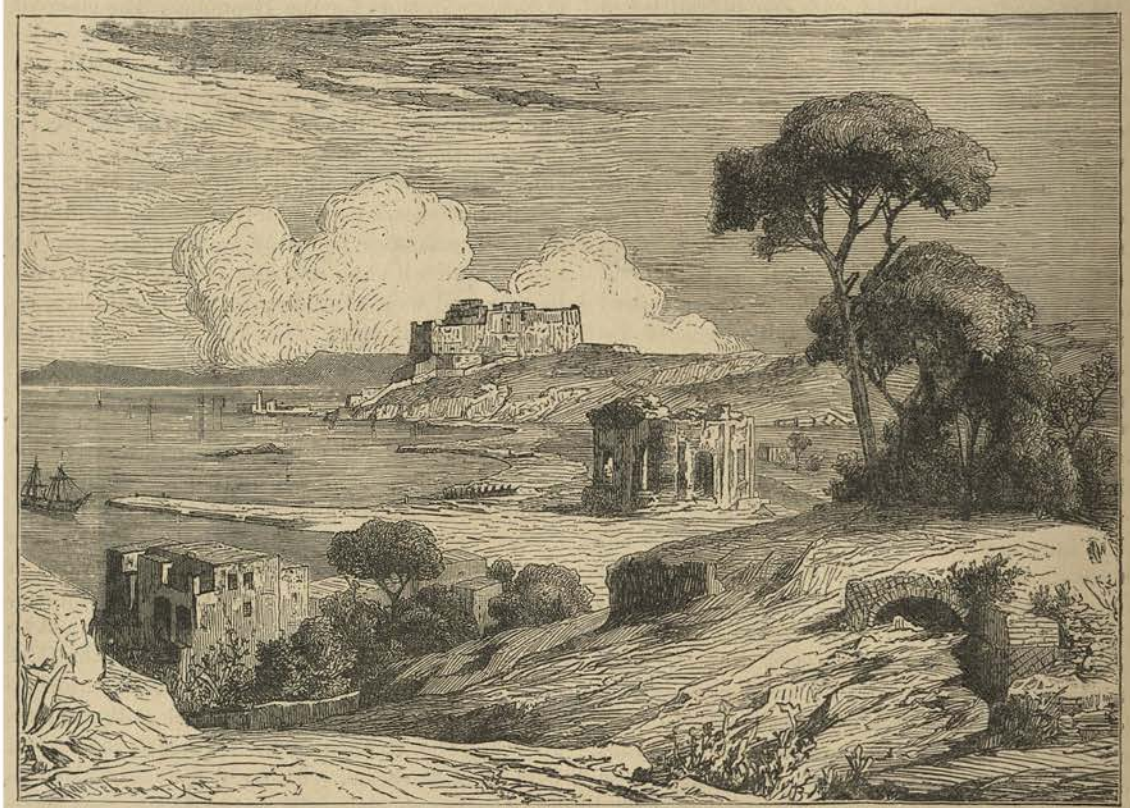
One might well suppose that the recollection of his former crimes prompted Sulla to a perpetual

round of dissipation; but it is extremely doubtful whether he had any touch of remorse, or any other sentiment with respect to his whole life than one of supreme self-satisfaction. He was a prodigious egotist, and, whatever his vices, a man of coarse sincerity, who never affected what he did not feel, nor ever doubted the excellence of his objects, so long as success attended on them. He had once been assured by Chaldæan astrologers that it was his fate to die, after a happy life, at the very height of his prosperity; and although the infirmities of age were now rapidly gaining upon him, and active disease was added to passive decay, he appears to have considered, up to the very last, that he was specially blessed and favoured. Shortly after renouncing the Dictatorship, Sulla lost his wife, Metella; and a little before his own death he dreamed that a deceased son appeared to him, begging that he would rest from his troubles, rejoin his lost wife and child, and dwell with them in eternal peace and happiness. The end was indeed very near; but, with the habitual energy of his nature, Sulla continued to write down his Memoirs until within two days of his death. The fatal attack has been variously described as a fever, the breaking of a blood-vessel, and a terrible complaint which caused his body to corrupt before life was yet extinct. The year of his death was 78 B.C., at which time he was about sixty. His figure stands out darkly from the annals of his epoch, as that of a man whose objects were bad, and whose methods of obtaining them were worse. His cruelty surpassed that of Marius, because it was more deliberate and prolonged; and the total absence of a conscience, which preserved his tranquillity to the last, gives to his character something monstrous and preternatural. The powers of his mind and the energy of his will were nevertheless remarkable. Perhaps his strongest tastes were those of an indolent sensualist; yet he repeatedly triumphed in the field, and in political affairs was more than a match for Marius and his friends. A clear conception of what he wished to do, and unswerving resolution in doing it, were the secrets of his great success. He used men as counters in the Imperial game which he played with such consummate skill; and he probably said not much more than the truth in the epitaph which he wrote for his own tomb on the Campus Martius—namely, that no friend ever did him a kindness, and no enemy a wrong, without receiving full requital.

The Sullan constitution was not destined to last; but for the present it had secured the pacification, not only of Rome itself, but of all Italy. The peace was that of exhaustion and terrorism; but Sulla doubtless believed that it was the legitimate result of measures wise in themselves, and destined to be permanent. To him at least, no sign of reaction was apparent before the close of his life, though the causes of reaction were at work below the surface, and were visible to those who still took part in public affairs. The government of the nobility, as embodied in the Senate, had been restored; but the popular inclinations of the Roman people still survived, and further contests were in store for the Republic. The chief of the Senatorial party after the abdication of Sulla was Lutatius Catulus, son of the Catulus who was the colleague of Marius in his fourth Consulship, and who in the following year had the chief command of the Roman forces at the battle of Vercellæ. The elder Catulus had afterwards quarrelled with Marius, who ultimately put him to death. This circumstance probably inclined the son to ally himself with the opposite faction. In 79 B.C., he appeared as a candidate for the Consulship, on aristocratic principles. He was elected, together with Æmilius Lepidus, and in the following year (78 B.C.) both entered on their office. As long as Sulla continued to live, matters went on with tolerable smoothness; but immediately after his death, Lepidus announced himself as the head of the popular party, and declared that his great object was to rescind the legislation of the late Dictator. The Senate entertained so serious a dread of the renewal of civil war that they imposed, both on Lepidus and Catulus, a solemn oath not to have recourse to arms. At the close of the Consular year, however, Lepidus considered himself no longer bound by this promise, and, gathering an army together in Etruria, he threatened the capital with fresh invasion. Being defeated by Catulus and Pompey, in the early part of 77 B.C., he fled to Sardinia, and died soon afterwards. His army, however, was still in existence, and his lieutenant Perperna transported the best of the soldiers into Spain, where a conflict of considerable magnitude was then proceeding.

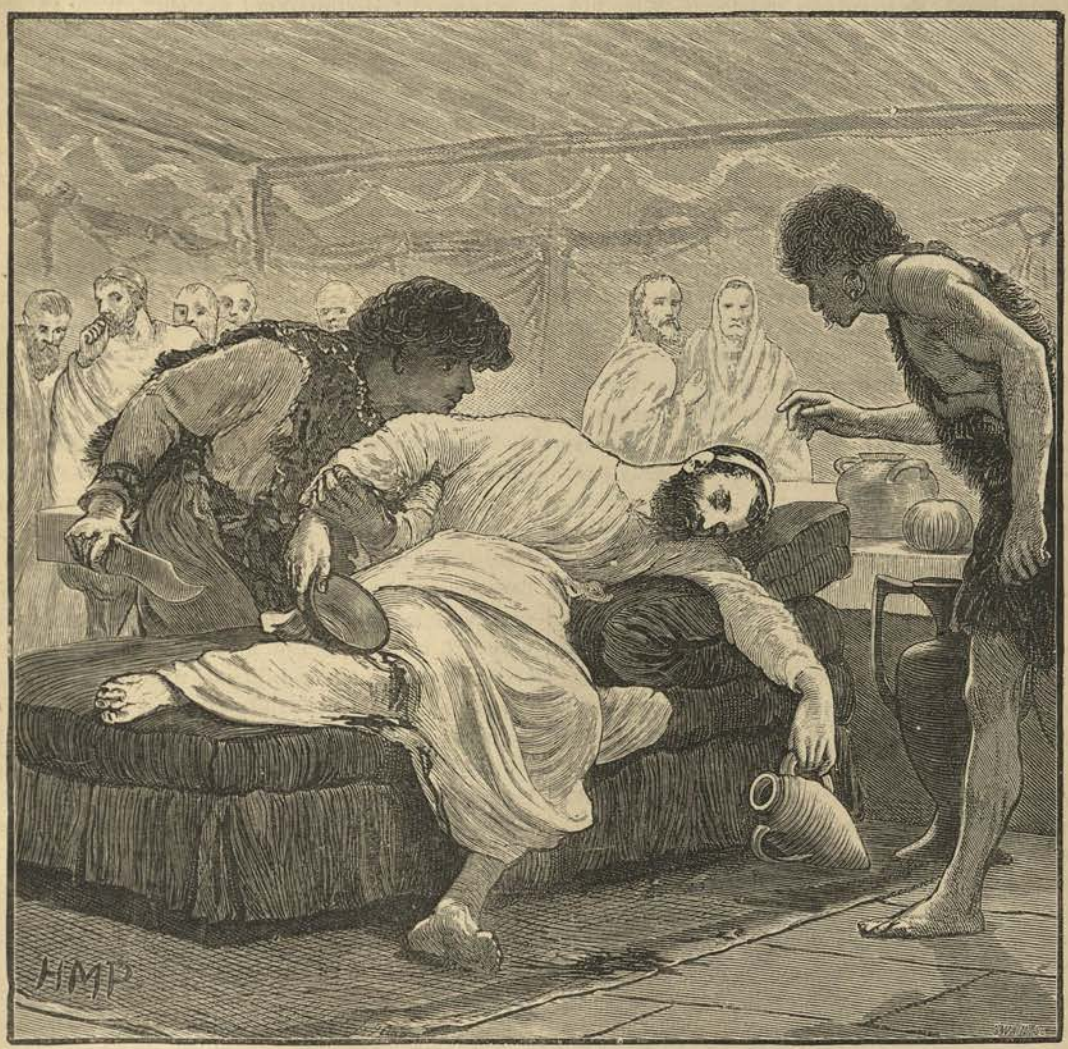
In the year 83 B.C., Quintus Sertorius, a native of the Sabine village of Nursia, and an adherent of the Marians, who in former years had distinguished himself in the Gallic, Teutonic, and Celtiberian Wars, was despatched by Papirius Carbo into Spain, which was appointed as his province. This important country he endeavoured to hold on behalf of the party to which he was attached; but, finding himself feebly supported by the natives, and strongly opposed by the partisans of Sulla, who were reinforced by the arrival of an army from Rome, he quitted Spain, and cruised for a time in the

Mediterranean. Africa offered a favourable arena for his adventurous spirit, and, allying himself with one of the native princes, he defeated Pacianus, a general of Sulla. On again putting to sea, he encountered the fleet of Annius, the Sullan commander in Spain, but, escaping from a violent tempest, once more landed on the Iberian peninsula. Here, at the mouth of the river Bætis, he fell in with certain sea-rovers, some of whose reports excited in him a romantic desire to pass the remainder of his life in those exquisite islands of the Atlantic which the ancients called the Fortunate Islands, and which are supposed to be the Canaries of the moderns. This plan, however, he speedily abandoned, and again departed for Africa, apparently uncertain what course he should pursue under circumstances so entirely discouraging to his views. After a while, he received from the Lusitanians (the people of modern Portugal) a request that he would head them in an insurrection against Rome; and this he consented to do, hoping to turn the movement to account as a means of discomfiting the adherents of Sulla. From Lusitania the revolt spread into other parts of the peninsula, and Sertorius was soon joined by large numbers of Marians, whose existence had hardly been suspected before this gleam of fortune called them out. In the early part of 79 B.C., the sedition became so serious that Metellus Pius, who had been Consul in the previous year, was sent into Spain to oppose Sertorius; but the latter had by this time created a formidable power in the western peninsula, and it was a very difficult matter to make any impression on the compact mass by which the new commander from Italy was confronted. Sertorius had in truth done more than raise an insurrection. He had established a political State which showed signs of permanence. Affairs were administered by a Senate of Three Hundred, consisting of proscribed Romans, and the army, though mainly formed of Spanish troops, was organised after the Roman fashion. Sertorius did much towards educating the youth of Spain in what he regarded as the old Roman virtues of discipline and patriotism. Adopting a device which, if not very dignified, was at least harmless, he worked upon the superstition of the people by persuading them that a milk-white fawn which had been presented to him by a countryman, and which always accompanied him to the wars, was a gift



THE BAY OF BALÆ, WITH RUINS OF ROMAN VILLAS.

from Diana, through the medium of which he was made acquainted with things that had not yet happened. The people were thoroughly persuaded that this fawn was a familiar spirit; and, by an adroit management of their credulity, as well as by the genius with which he commanded his armies and administered his commonwealth, Sertorius acquired an ascendency over the natives which has made him, even in comparatively modern times, a favourite hero of romance.



THE LAST BANQUET OF SERTORIUS.

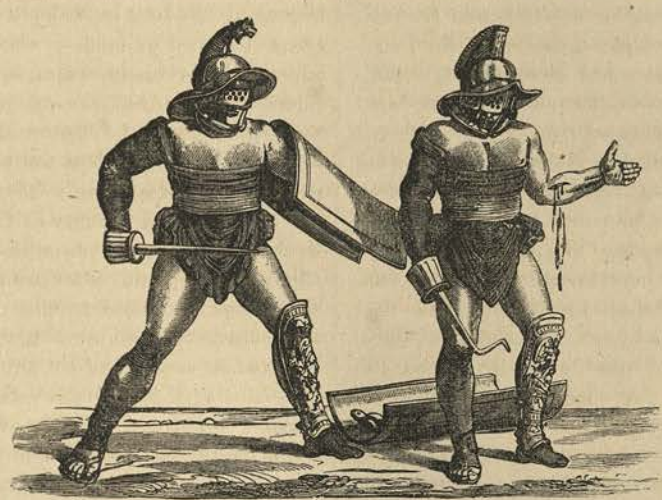
During the years when Sertorius thus ruled in Spain, that country was as independent of Rome as it had formerly been of Carthage when Hamilcar held the reins of power. Sertorius was surrounded by all the symbols of Consular dignity, and his edicts were obeyed with equal willingness by the Spaniards themselves, and by the Roman colonists and garrisons. The affability, generosity, and benevolence of his nature distinguished him in a very striking degree from the leading Romans of that time, while his valour and capacity as a general were not exceeded by any of his contemporaries. Metellus conducted two campaigns against this brilliant commander, but was unable to gain any advantage. His adversary turned to the best account that genius for guerilla warfare which has always distinguished the Spaniards; and, as he asserted the equality of the provincials with the Romans themselves, he was highly popular with the natives of the peninsula. The forces of Sertorius were largely augmented by the troops which Perperna had taken over from Italy, and

the fortunes of Metellus became more desperate the longer he remained in the country. His legions were worn out by a succession of small engagements, and all attempts to bring Sertorius to a decisive encounter were baffled. The Roman Senate, fearing that Sertorius would march into Italy, ordered Pompey to reinforce Metellus. Pompey himself was anxious for the command, and, crossing the Alps in the early summer of 77 B.C., he passed the Pyrenees late in the autumn, having spent the intermediate months in forming a new pass over the former range of mountains, and in subduing some of the Gallic tribes. The opening of the campaign of 76 B.C. was marked by a success achieved by Pompey over the forces of Perperna, which were stationed on the Lower Iberus. The passage of the river was forced by the attacking commander, who shortly after took the city of Valencia. Sertorius hastened to the assistance of his colleague, and in time completely out-manœuvred Pompey. Metellus, however, achieved some success against Hirtuleius, the best general of Sertorius, who was defeated near Italica. In the following year (75 B.C.), Hirtuleius endeavoured to retrieve his reputation by occupying Segovia, so as to oppose the march of Metellus, who desired to form a junction with Pompey; but he was again worsted by his opponent, and paid the forfeit of his life. Without waiting for the arrival of Metellus, Pompey hazarded a battle on the Sucro, but was severely wounded, and, in a contest of two days, nearly vanquished by Sertorius. The arrival of Metellus on the second day saved Pompey from a crushing reverse; but even then Sertorius was able to maintain himself, though now opposed by a formidable combination. Towards the close of 75 B.C., Pompey wrote an urgent letter to the Senate demanding reinforcements, and two more legions were sent out to him. Additional supplies of men and money were from time to time despatched to his relief; but the cause he represented made no progress.

The situation was peculiarly menacing, for Rome was again threatened by the ambition of Mithridates. Sertorius had actually received an envoy from that enterprising prince, and a treaty was proposed, by which each was to give support to the other in a combined scheme of operations against the party then dominant at Rome. In the grandiose style of an Oriental potentate, Mithridates wrote that Rome could not withstand the union of the new Pyrrhus with the new Hannibal. But when his envoy ventured to propose a partition of the Roman Empire, Sertorius rejected the plan with disdainful anger. For some three years longer, he maintained his anomalous position in Spain; but they were years of disappointment, for the people began to weary of the conflict, and to conceive a dislike of their Roman officers, who treated them with inconsiderate arrogance. Losing heart as to the future, Sertorius approached the Senate with overtures of reconciliation; but these were peremptorily declined. Owing, perhaps, to the ruin of all his anticipations, a change now passed over the character of Sertorius, who gave himself up to drunken and luxurious habits, and, suspecting that he was surrounded by traitors, became moody and revengeful. His fears were not without reason: plots had actually been formed among his own officers for putting an end to his life. In a moment of passion, he ordered all the boys at Osca to be massacred or sold as slaves. They were the children of native chieftains, and had been retained as hostages; so that the crime of Sertorius would seem to have been prompted by a desire to punish his former allies for their defection from his cause. Such an act was well calculated to precipitate the crisis which it was designed to avert. A conspiracy was formed by Perperna, who aimed at succeeding to the power which Sertorius had now wielded for eleven years. The general was invited to a banquet at Osca, and, when confused by intoxication, was assassinated by the conspirators in the year 72 B.C. The life of Sertorius was characterised by so much nobility of nature and tenderness of feeling that the detestable act which marked the close of his career seems irreconcilable with all that had preceded it. One of his principal reasons for wishing to come to terms with the Roman Senate is said to have been that he might again visit his widowed and otherwise childless mother, who was still living at Rome. His desire to settle in the so-called Fortunate Islands was occasioned by a pathetic longing, very unusual with the warlike commanders of antiquity, to separate himself from the sanguinary turmoils of the world, and to pass his days in the tranquillity of a remote and almost fabulous paradise. Yet, inflamed by wine, and exasperated by disappointment, this same man could massacre the children whom chance had placed within his power. It would have been better for the memory of Sertorius had he died upon the sword of Pompey.

Perperna must not be regarded as an agent of justice in avenging the wrongs of Spanish chieftains. He was simply following the lead of his own ambition; but he had entirely miscalculated his abilities, and the resources on which he could rely. The soldiers of Sertorius yielded him but a grudging obedience; and when he came into

collision with Pompey, who had lately received fresh reinforcements, he was defeated and taken prisoner. With despicable treachery towards his former associates, he endeavoured to save his life by giving up the papers of Sertorius, which contained the names of various supporters at Rome. Pompey, whether from generosity or some less noble motive, committed the papers to the flames, without possessing himself of their contents; and Perperna was given up to the death he merited. The other captive officers were also executed, and the revolt was speedily at an end. Pompey filled the province with adherents of the Senate, and erected a trophy on the summit of the Pyrenees, which he inscribed with a boastful record, setting forth the magnitude of his exploits. Returning through Gaul, where the people had been induced by him to support the party of the nobles, he arrived at Rome in 71 B.C., and was received with a degree of favour which the extent of his services in Spain was hardly sufficient to justify.



GLADIATORS, FROM A PAINTING ON THE PARAPET OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT POMPEII.

Before the conclusion of the Sertorian War, Rome was threatened by a domestic outbreak, which promised disastrous consequences. For some time past, large numbers of captives taken in battle had been bought up by speculators, and trained for the arena in certain gladiatorial schools, the owners of which supplied these wretched beings on hire to the Ædiles, whenever the Roman people were to be entertained with a grand show. One of the largest schools was at Capua, and amongst the prisoners there detained was a certain Thracian named Spartacus, who had at one time served in the Roman army, but who, having afterwards adopted the life of a brigand, ultimately fell into the hands of the troops sent against him. In 73 B.C., this man persuaded seventy of his fellow-captives to begin an insurrection, and, having taken up a strong position upon Mount Vesuvius, was soon joined by large numbers of slaves and fugitive criminals. Here he was attacked by two Roman Prætors, both of whom were beaten with heavy loss. Spartacus was now in command of 100,000 men, whom he organised with great ability, and, brigand though he was, restrained from acts of wanton outrage. A large part of Southern Italy was brought within the power of this adventurer, and it was considered necessary to send against him both the Consuls for the year 72 B.C. But Spartacus was by this time sufficiently strong to take the offensive, and, having forced the passes of the Apennines, he entered Picenum. Still pressing northwards, he was encountered by both the Consuls, whom he worsted; after which, turning towards the south-west, he moved in the direction of Rome itself. If, however, he had ever formed the desperate design of attacking the capital, he relinquished it after a little while, and gave his undivided attention to collecting treasure and arms. Discipline was entirely broken down, and the whole country within his power was ravaged by bands of armed and furious men. The conduct of affairs was now committed to Crassus, to whom the victory at the Colline Gate in 82 B.C. was mainly due. In the capacity of Prætor, this able commander started from Rome with six new legions, who were to act in combination with the other armies already in the field, or rather with the remains of them, for the slaughter had been great. Crassus found the battalions of his predecessors in a state of disorganisation; but by measures of extreme severity he succeeded in restoring discipline, and the result was seen in the defeat which he inflicted upon Spartacus at their first encounter.

The discomfited rebel fled south, and the insurgents were speedily driven back to the extremity of the Bruttian peninsula. The hope of Spartacus was that he should be able to cross over into Sicily, and there renew the insurrection of slaves which had twice before proved so formidable. But he was without ships, and some Cilician pirates, who had undertaken to convey two thousand of his men across the straits, treacher-

ously broke their promise, directly they had received the sum for which they had bargained. The leader of the gladiators was now shut up in a small neck of land near Rhegium, and all communication with the rest of the country was cut off by strong entrenchments, which Crassus rapidly constructed. Two attempts were made in one day to break through these lines; but both were foiled, and Spartacus was reduced to a position of defence which promised little for the future. On the return of Pompey from Spain in 71 B.C., he was joined in the command with Crassus; and the latter, desiring to bring the war to a close before the arrival of his colleague, made an assault upon the enemy's position. In the course of this action, Spartacus, by a tremendous effort, broke through the lines in his front, and hurried towards Brundusium, whence, if he could have seized a sufficient number of vessels, he and his principal followers might have escaped from Italy. On his way thither, he learned that the city had just been occupied by a force of veterans from Macedon, and, turning back, he prepared to meet Crassus, who was closely following him from the south-west. A sanguinary action ensued, in which Spartacus, after fighting heroically, was first wounded in the thigh, and afterwards slain. Enormous numbers of dead were left upon the field of battle; but five thousand of the rebels made their way northwards, and were exterminated by Pompey, who met them as he was advancing to the assistance of Crassus. Of the six thousand who were captured by the Prætor, many were hanged at intervals upon the highway from Capua to Rome. Although the merit of suppressing this gladiatorial war was due almost entirely to Crassus, Pompey was allowed to usurp the larger share of the honour. He was also granted a splendid triumph, in consideration of his somewhat doubtful services in Spain. Crassus, as the conqueror of the slaves, received nothing more than an ovation, although his genius as a commander had been brilliantly displayed in the suppression of a revolt which had brought terrible suffering to a large part of Italy.

Both generals now sought to obtain the office of Consul; but there were difficulties in the way, which might at a first glance have appeared insuperable. As Crassus was still Prætor, two years ought, by the laws of Sulla, to have elapsed before his candidature for the higher office. Pompey had not yet passed through the intermediate stages which had been made necessary qualifications for the chief political post. Neither, therefore, was in a position to put himself forward for the honours of the Consulship. But Pompey was the spoiled child both of fortune and of the Roman populace. He had his army at the gates of Rome, and he gave the Senate plainly to understand that he would not disband his forces unless his wishes were gratified. Moreover, he made an appeal for democratic support by promising to restore the Tribunitian power; and the Senate thought it prudent to give way. Crassus also kept his soldiers close at hand, and the wrath of a very formidable commander would have been aroused, had that which was granted to Pompey been refused to him. Both candidates were accordingly elected; Pompey to the first position, and Crassus to the second. Entering on their office at the beginning of 70 B.C., they lost no time in paying court to the populace, whose countenance was necessary to their ambition. Pompey brought forward two measures of great importance: one for restoring to the Tribunes the full exercise of their power; the other for reforming the judicial procedure of the State. The reader is aware that the magisterial authority had been originally vested in the Senators; had from them been transferred to the Knights; and, after some fluctuations, had by Sulla been restored to the members of the Senatorial body. The new law proposed by Pompey established a court of threefold formation, wherein one-third of the jurymen was to be furnished by the Senate, one-third by the Knights, and the remainder by the Tribunes of the Treasury. However reluctantly, the nobility had assented to the restoration of the Tribunitian functions; but they were not prepared to sanction this revolution in the legal system, which deprived them of one of their most influential privileges. Rather than do so, they were ready to take up arms. An unexpected event, however, hastened the change which Pompey desired to see effected.

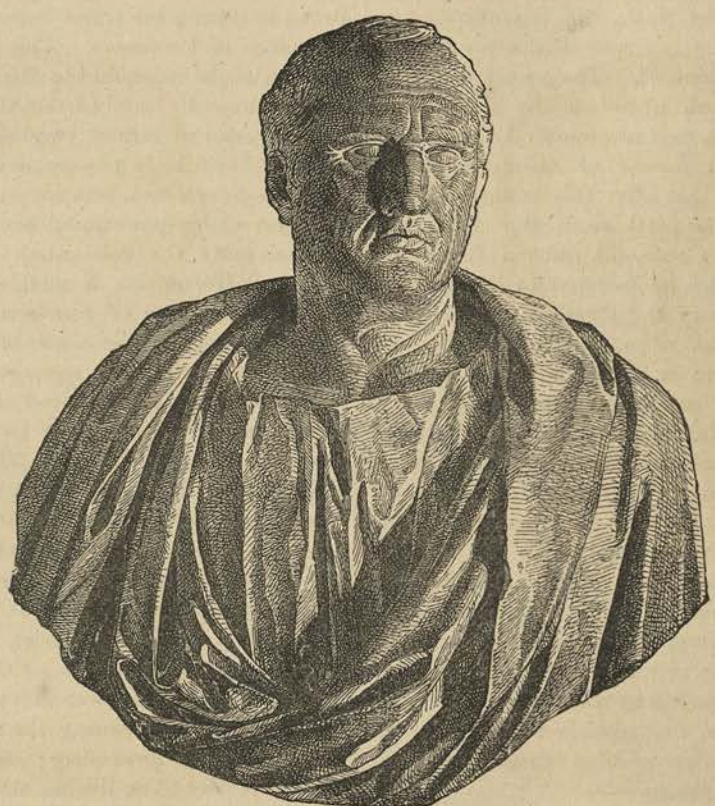
In the last year of Sulla's Dictatorship (80 B.C.), a young man, named Sextus Roscius, was brought to trial on a charge of parricide, preferred by one of Sulla's freedmen, named Chrisogonus. The defence of the accused was undertaken by a young orator who had at that time appeared only once before in the law-courts at Rome, but who was shortly to achieve one of the most brilliant reputations ever attained by any public speaker. Marcus Tullius Cicero was then not more than twenty-six years of age. His family belonged to the small town of Arpinum, in Latium—a place belonging at one time to the Volscians, but afterwards to the Samnites. Young Marcus, when seventeen years of age, served in the Social War under Cneius Pompeius Strabo; but his principal

studies were in the law, and in early life he enjoyed the instruction of a very eminent master of jurisprudence, the augur Mutius Scævola. He was also a student of philosophy, and followed in particular the teachings of Plato. The speech in which he defended Sextus Roscius was marked by extraordinary vehemence and power. Its boldness was perhaps characteristic of the speaker's youth; but it also exhibited a degree of address which was rather to be expected of an older man. While concentrating his sarcasm and vituperation on the favourite freedman of Sulla, he ingeniously insinuated, without directly expressing, a condemnation of the Dictator himself. The result was that Roscius was acquitted, although the jury, being composed of Senators, may reasonably be suspected of a predilection in favour of their champion, Sulla. It is possible that after this triumph Cicero felt himself in some peril from the Dictator's resentment. At any rate, he quitted Rome for about two years, which he devoted to literary and philosophical studies in the Grecian cities. Like Demosthenes, he was a man of slight physical powers; but his tour in Greece and Asia Minor did much towards establishing his health at a critical period of life. On returning to Italy, he once more devoted himself to his profession with the laborious assiduity which is generally characteristic of genius. It was his practice, in the generality of instances, to undertake the cause of the defenceless. He but seldom appeared as an accuser, and the generosity of his disposition secured to him the confidence of the populace. In 75 B.C. —the very first year in which he could hold such an office—he was elected to the Quæstorship, and, being sent to Sicily, distinguished himself in the financial administration of that island by uniform integrity and benevolence.

It was his connection with Sicily that once more brought Cicero forward in a forensic capacity at Rome. After his return to the capital, the southern island fell beneath the power of a Governor who abused his opportunities of tyranny and extortion to a degree which appears to have surpassed the ordinary license of Roman officials. Caius Verres had already disgraced himself, both in Greece and Asia, by conduct of the most shameless and brutal description, even while he was yet in a merely dependent position; and upon obtaining the province of Sicily, he observed no measure in his avarice, profligacy, and despotism. He embezzled the sums advanced from Rome in payment of corn required for the sustenance of the people. Having been directed to send a fleet against the pirates of the neighbouring seas, he diverted to his own purposes the funds which he should have laid out in equipments, and, when the naval force was worsted, in consequence of its inefficient state, he caused the officers to be executed for cowardice. His extortions were so inordinate that more than half the cultivated lands were abandoned by their owners, who found it impossible to subsist under such exactions. His cruelty was equal to his rapacity, and the scandal at length became so extreme that, after his return to Rome, Verres was impeached for the mal-administration of his province during the three years when he had held the office of Proprætor. Cicero was requested to undertake the cause, and to this he readily assented. Verres himself had boasted that, even should he be compelled to refund two-thirds of the plunder, he would still be in possession of an ample fortune. He was determined, however, to defend himself to the best of his power, and accordingly engaged as his advocate the celebrated lawyer and orator Quintus Hortensius, a man who had begun his career at the age of nineteen, and was now the principal figure in the courts of justice.

The accused had the support of the aristocracy, and Hortensius endeavoured to postpone the trial until a period which might be more favourable to the interests of his client. This having failed, he put forward a sham prosecutor in the person of Cæcilius Niger, who had been Quæstor under Verres, and of whom it was plausibly alleged that he must necessarily have the best knowledge of the imputed crimes. It thus became necessary to institute a preliminary trial, called *Divinatio*, to decide whether Cæcilius or Cicero should be the accuser. The device was so transparently contrived as a means of screening the accused that Cicero was named as prosecutor; and, after a postponement of fifty days, during which the great orator was collecting evidence in Sicily, this memorable trial commenced. In the meanwhile, Hortensius had become Consul-elect, and Cicero, fearing that, if the investigation extended into the following year, his opponent would use the powers of his office in favour of the accused, confined his opening speech to a brief statement of the case, and at once proceeded to call his witnesses. The testimony was so overwhelming that Hortensius retired from the defence, and Verres, seeing that his condemnation was inevitable, quitted the country as a voluntary exile. Cicero afterwards wrote out and published the five pleadings which he intended to deliver in his speech; and from these interesting compositions, which still remain, a knowledge of the Proprætor's iniquities has been transmitted to all time. The effect on the popular mind

produced by the trial proved favourable to the passing of the law for reforming judicial procedure, which, at the instance of Pompey, had been brought forward by the Prætor, Aurelius Cotta. Cicero at once took the very highest place among Roman orators and lawyers, and in the following year (69 B.C.) filled the office of Curule Ædile, to which he had been chosen during the progress of his inquiry into the misdeeds of Verres. For the present, he continued to be the advocate

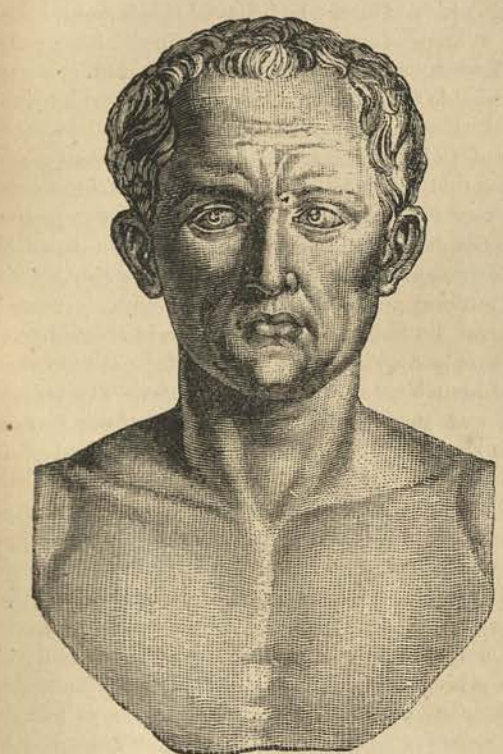


CICERO.

of popular measures, though increasing practice gradually disgusted him with the wide extent of dishonesty which it brought to his knowledge. He was at this period a hearty supporter of Pompey, and co-operated with him in all those liberal measures of which he considered it his interest to be the author or the champion. It was not until a later date that Cicero became the mouthpiece of the aristocracy.

During these events, Pompey maintained the extraordinary popularity he had won by deeds of arms, and by a politic regard to the popular wishes. He was undoubtedly a man of action and resource, though not so consummate a genius as he desired the world to suppose, and as a concatenation of fortunate events had almost seemed to declare him. His energy and self-reliance were unquestionable, and in 67 B.C. he was considered the fittest man to reduce the pirates who had for many years infested the Mediterranean. The ravages of the freebooters had grown into an evil of the greatest magnitude. Since the destruction of Carthage, the Roman navy had been suffered to fall into decay, and there was no efficient check upon the fleets of pirate-vessels which issued from the ports of Cilicia and other places in Asia Minor, and visited with devastation all the coasts of southern Europe. Active measures were taken against these robbers in 102 B.C., and again in 74; but the evil was checked only for a brief while, and in 67 B.C. it had become worse than ever. Not merely was commerce on the high seas almost entirely destroyed, but towns themselves were attacked by bands of men who landed from their ships, and, after collecting tribute, and doing an immense amount of damage, took once more to the ocean. A magistrate of one of the Italian cities was seized upon the Appian Road, and carried off with his band of lictors. The supplies of corn from foreign countries were intercepted to such

an extent that Rome was threatened with famine, and the people began to clamour when they found their accustomed largesses of grain withheld. The pirates were in truth becoming a military and naval power of no ordinary character. Several were men of Greek race, accustomed to the sea, and driven into wild and irregular courses by the subjection of their native land. Others were Italians from the eastern coast, and others, again, Cilicians of Oriental blood. The indented shores of Asia Minor, the multitude of bays, harbours, and narrow inlets, and the winding channels between the innumerable islands of the Ægean, afforded every facility for watching the approach of argosies from east or west, for suddenly swooping down upon them, and for escaping into an intricate maze of waters, where strangers did not dare to follow. Men of distinguished birth were to be found among the captains of pirate-vessels, and leaders like Sertorius bargained for their alliance, as if with a recognised and independent sovereignty. They were said to be in command of a thousand vessels; the towns they had stormed and plundered were reckoned at four hundred; and they had arsenals and storehouses in various places, together with beacons all along the coasts, to give warning of the approach of enemies. Being partly Asiatics, they had become familiar with the mysteries of the Persian sun-god, whose worship they celebrated from time to time on the summit of Mount Olympus. Home-staying Greeks looked on with horror while their temples were desecrated and their rites profaned. Not a few of the Mediterranean cities mourned the loss of numerous citizens whom the robbers of the deep had carried off with them to the slave-markets, where they sold them to the highest bidders; and the whole western world trembled before an illicit tyranny, which was uncertain in its visitations, and equally capricious and cruel in its acts. Piracy was the most lucrative of trades. The banditti, according to popular report, affected a style of regal luxury and splendour, with gilded poops, oars inlaid with silver, and sails of purple silk; and when they occasionally landed in some calm bay, their tables were spread with the choicest viands, and they feasted to the sound of flutes and tabors.* The existence of such a power was in itself an affront to Roman supremacy; but it needed the imminence of a famine at the capital itself to



HORTENSIUS.

* Plutarch: Life of Pompey.

induce the Roman Senate to take measures on a comprehensive scale against a danger by which the Republic was continuously, and now mortally, threatened.

It was in 67 B.C. that the Tribune Gabinius proposed the appointment of a man of Consular rank as absolute commander of the Mediterranean for three years, with a fleet of two hundred ships, a military chest of 6,000 talents and as many soldiers as he might require. His authority was to be irresponsible, and was to extend over all the adjacent coasts for fifty miles inland. It was well known that the intention of Gabinius was that this power should be conferred on Pompey, and indeed it is probable that Pompey himself would not have suffered it to be wielded by any one else. The members of the Senate, who were becoming jealous of the popular hero, resisted to the utmost; but the bill became law, and the price of corn fell the very same day, in anticipation of the discomfiture which was shortly to wait upon the pirates. Pompey at once put to sea, and handled his force with so much ability that in forty days he had cleared the western half of the Mediterranean. He surrounded the pirates with a network of naval and military power, and only a minority escaped to Cilicia. His forces, indeed, were large, for he had with him 120,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 500 galleys. But even this array might have been insufficient, had it been directed with a less masterly judgment. Having reconstituted his force at Brundusium, Pompey set sail for the Cilician coast, destroyed the united fleet in a great naval battle, and, pursuing the fugitives to the very walls of their forts, situated in the narrow creeks and tortuous inlets of the coast, obliged them to capitulate to the number of 20,000. He then dispersed them in small parties among the neighbouring towns, and settled some of their number in places which had been depopulated by war. Pompey had certainly every reason to be proud of his achievement, and it was to his credit that, having vanquished his opponents, he treated them with so much moderation. At the same time, however, he showed the worse side of his nature in the jealousy with which he regarded Metellus, who, at a still earlier period, had been appointed to act against the pirates in the neighbourhood of Crete. He was still employed in this service when Pompey forbade him to continue the war; and when he refused to submit, the arrogant commander despatched his lieutenant Octavius, with orders to treat him as an enemy, and to assist the cities he was besieging.

In all his appeals to the populace, Pompey had the support of a man six years younger than himself, who was destined in time to be his rival and conqueror, but who as yet occupied a far inferior position. Caius Julius Cæsar, the greatest figure in the long and varied annals of Rome, was born in the year 100 B.C., on the 12th of Quinctilis, the month which was subsequently called after him July. Cæsar was the cognomen, or distinctive family name, of a branch of the Julian Gens. This family was one of the oldest patrician houses of Rome, and the branch which bore the name of Cæsar boasted of being derived from Iulus, the son of Æneas. To those who believed this legend, Cæsar was a man of divine descent, since the mother of Æneas was the goddess Venus; and it is not improbable that the tradition did him good service in his subsequent career. His aunt Julia was the wife of Caius Marius, and in his seventeenth year he married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. He was therefore identified by his family connections with the democratic party, and Sulla, on acquiring the Dictatorship, regarded the youth (for he was still nothing more) with great disfavour. At first, however, he did not evince any decided animosity, but simply required of Cæsar that he should repudiate his wife, as Pompey had done. He refused, and was immediately subjected to persecution. Sulla deprived him of his wife's dowry and of his own fortune, stripped him of his office of Priest of Jupiter, and showed every disposition to put him to death. Cæsar fled to the Sabine mountains, but was followed by the paid assassins of the tyrant. The Vestals now interfered on his behalf, and some even of Sulla's own adherents argued that so reckless and idle a youth was quite incapable of working mischief to the State. Sulla judged with more discrimination, and, while yielding to the requests of his friends, said, "I spare him; but beware! In that dissipated boy there is more than one Marius." Cæsar now thought it prudent to withdraw from Italy, and, going to the East, he gained his first military experience at the siege of Mitylene, which was still holding out for Mithridates. He then visited the court of Nicomedes III., King of Bithynia, where he is said (though perhaps untruthfully) to have disgraced himself by profligate conduct. In 78 B.C. he served under Servilius Vatia in Cilicia, but shortly afterwards returned to Rome, on hearing of the death of Sulla.

Here he soon took part in public affairs, and busied himself by indicting Cneius Dolabella for extortion in his province of Macedonia. Though failing to obtain a conviction, he considered that his genius marked him out for the law, and, in order to perfect himself in the art of oratory,

departed for Rhodes in 77 B.C. On his way thither, his ship was captured by the Cilician pirates, and his ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of fifty talents, equal to about £12,000 of English money. This he obtained from the maritime cities of Asia; but, while still a prisoner, he used to threaten the pirates with the vengeance he would take when he had regained his liberty. His captors regarded these menaces as uttered more in sport than in earnest; for his small and weakly frame gave no token to those fierce sea-rovers of the mighty spirit which lay within. But what he said he meant, and what he meant he found power to accomplish. He got together a small squadron at Miletus, manned it with warriors on whom he could rely, and, attacking the pirates in their haunts, took them prisoners, and sailed for Pergamus, where he caused the offenders to be crucified. Arriving at Rhodes in 75 B.C., he became the pupil of the rhetorician Molo, by whose instructions Cicero had previously benefited. But his natural disposition was to military pursuits, and, on the outbreak of the Third Mithridatic War (the events of which we shall have shortly to relate), he raised troops on his own account among the cities of Asia, and distinguished himself by his abilities as captain. He was again at Rome in the course of 74 B.C., and, mingling in political affairs, gave all the weight of his influence, and all the activity of his mind, to opposing the aristocratic party. His family connections and traditions were such as rather to incline him to the support of that party; so that we must attribute the course he adopted either to a generous sympathy with the oppressed, or to a profound estimate of the political tendencies of the age, which revealed to him the scope and direction of impending changes. The chiefs of his house had for the most part acted with the Senate in its struggles with the commonalty; and Marius, though married to one of the race, had killed several of its members in the days of his fierce supremacy. But the personal association of the youthful Julius with Marius and Cinna, and in many respects the inherent qualities of his own nature, inclined him to the popular side; and he saw that the decay of the Republic, and the changed conditions of society, foreshadowed a new development, which, by anticipating, he could shape.

For the present, however, he was little more than a supporter of the measures instituted by Pompey. Probably he was in no hurry to obtain office: he desired rather to ingratiate himself with the people before assuming the responsibilities of power. His fortune was spent in acts of lavish generosity, and his genial and pleasant manners obtained for him the affection of the humbler orders. When acting as one of the Military Tribunes in 69 B.C., he procured an enactment for the restoration of his wife's brother, the son of Cinna, and of the partisans of Lepidus who had joined Sertorius in Spain. He was Quæstor in that country during 68 B.C.; but part of the year was spent at Rome, where he attracted great attention to himself by two funeral orations—one over his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, the other over his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. The occasions were memorable, because the speaker took advantage of them to refer to the former leaders of the democratic party in terms of panegyric; and at the obsequies of his aunt he placed the bust of Marius among his family images in the funeral procession. Had there been any doubt before as to the position of Cæsar, there could be none after so bold a manifestation of political feeling. The effigy of Marius had not been seen in public since the Dictatorship of Sulla began. It now arose once more as if from the grave; and it arose under the presiding genius of a man who was capable of giving to the better principles of Marius a vitality and force such as they had never shown before.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND AND THIRD MITHRIDATIC WARS: LUCULLUS AND POMPEY IN ASIA.

Attack on Mithridates by Licinius Murena; the Second Mithridatic War—Preparations of Mithridates for a Further Contest—Bithynia Bequeathed by Nicomedes III. to the Roman People—Commencement of the Third (or Great) Mithridatic War—The Consul Cotta Blockaded in Chalcedon—Advance of Lucullus into Mysia—The City of Cyzicus—Unavailing Attempt of Mithridates to Take the Place—His Flight to Sinope, after Terrible Losses—Renewed Fighting before Cabira, and Further Defeats—Mithridates in Armenia—Reorganisation of the Roman Province of Asia by Lucullus—Tigranes, King of Armenia—His Refusal to Give up Mithridates to the Romans—Invasion of Armenia by Lucullus—Defeat of Tigranes before Tigranocerta, and Capture of the City—Progress of Lucullus into the Heart of Armenia—Disaffection of his Soldiers, and Plots for Transferring the Command—Roman Troubles in Pontus—March of Lucullus from Armenia to Resist the New Operations of Mithridates—Mutiny in his Army—Pompey Appointed to the Dictatorship of the East—Return of Lucullus to Rome—His Luxurious Style of Living during the Remainder of his Life—Pursuit of Mithridates by Pompey—Defeat near the Borders of Armenia—Abandonment by Tigranes, and Flight to the Cimmerian Bosphorus—Operations of Pompey against Armenia—Conclusion of an Alliance with Tigranes—Pompey in the Vicinity of the Caucasus—Scheme of Mithridates for the Invasion of Italy—His Deposition and Death—Incorporation of Syria with the Roman Dominions—Affairs in Palestine—Civil War between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of the House of Maccabæus—Intervention of Pompey—Hyrcanus Supported by the Romans—Siege and Capture of the Temple at Jerusalem—Mild Treatment of the Jews by the Conqueror—Settlement of Western Asia by Pompey—Revival of the Strife of Parties at Rome—Support of the Marians by Julius Cæsar—Crimes of Catiline—His Ineffectual Efforts to Obtain the Consulship—The Catilinarian Conspiracy—Election of Cicero to the Post of Consul—Progress of the Plot—Catiline Brought to Bay.

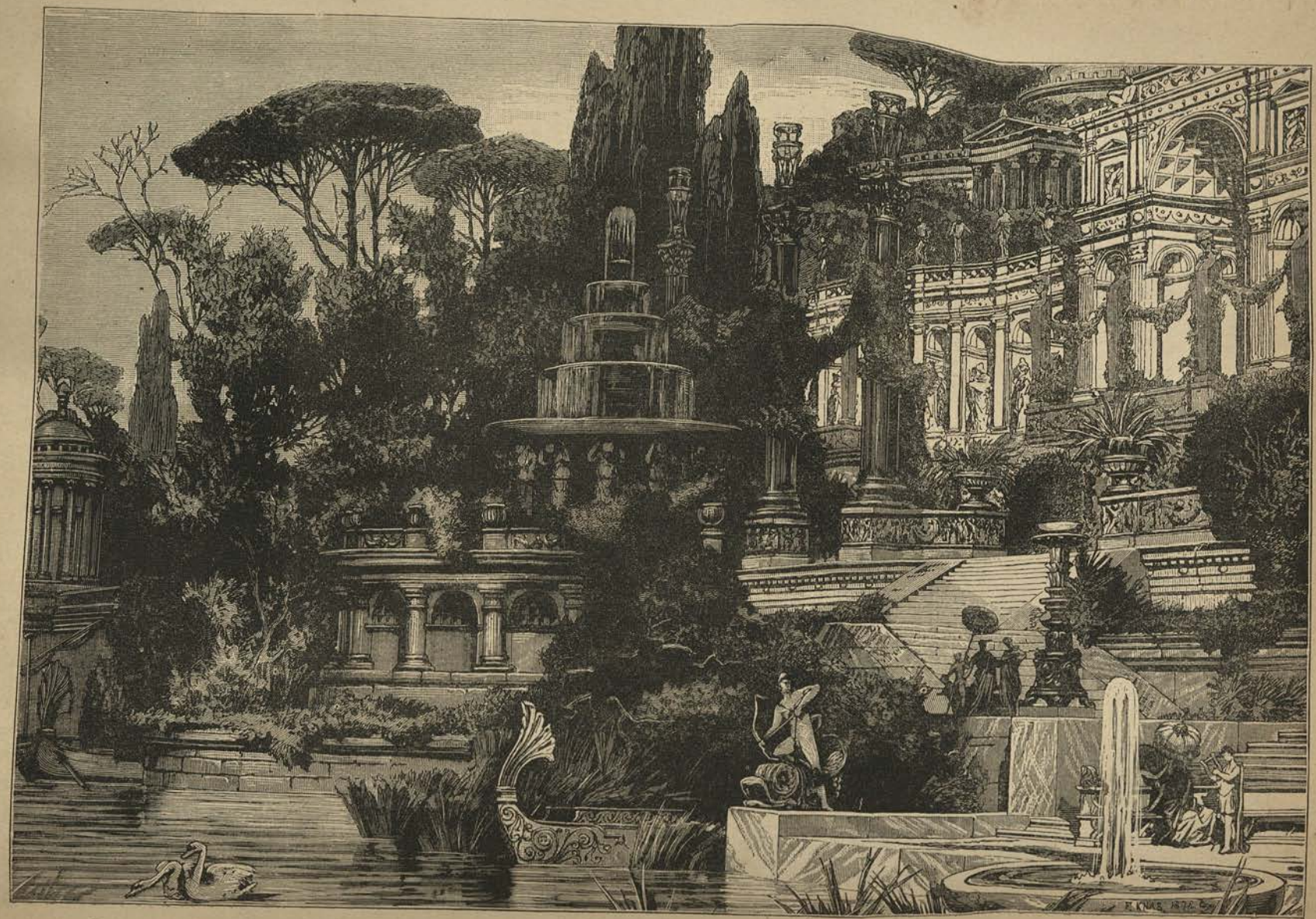
MITHRIDATES had been reduced to temporary submission by the decisive operations of Sulla; but his ambitious designs were not relinquished, and he simply awaited a favourable opportunity of renewing the attack. Before he could take any measures, however, he was himself assailed. When Sulla quitted Asia, in 84 B.C., he left Licinius Murena, one of his legates, in command of the Roman forces, but at the same time gave him strict injunctions not to renew hostilities with the Pontic king. Murena was disinclined to wait, and, on the pretext that Mithridates was unnecessarily delaying the evacuation of Cappadocia, he crossed the Halys in 83 B.C., and ravaged the plains of Western Pontus. To this breach of faith he was incited by the Greek Archelaus, who, after acting as the ally of the Asiatic monarch, had now turned against him. Mithridates appealed to Rome; but in the meanwhile Murena pursued his plans of conquest, and the king, advancing against him with his whole force in 82 B.C., gained a brilliant victory near the Halys. The Roman commander was obliged to retire into Phrygia, and Mithridates was recovering some of the ground he had lost in the former war, when an envoy arrived from Sulla with instructions which put an end to the struggle. Murena was peremptorily ordered to desist from any further proceedings, and thus the Second Mithridatic War, as it is called, came to an end. The wanton and unprovoked attack on Mithridates not unnaturally increased his feeling of animosity towards Rome. Sulla, it was true, had interposed to check the action of his lieutenant; but the Pontic sovereign was doubtless aware that this was owing rather to the existing state of the Republic, which was still breathless with the late civil war, than to any sense of generosity, or even of justice. The feeling at Rome was clearly in favour of Murena. On his return to the capital, that commander claimed a triumph, though it is impossible to understand on what ground; and the Dictator, in all the plenitude of his power, did not dare to refuse this undeserved honour to the man who had disobeyed his orders.

Mithridates kept a watchful eye on the progress of affairs at Rome; but he did not hurry his action, and in the meanwhile gave his mind to the reorganisation of his army. By the aid of refugees, he introduced the Roman discipline and the Roman arms into the semi-barbaric levies which he commanded, and began to look about for possible allies. The independent rule of Sertorius in Spain, and the known fact of his opposition to the men then in power at Rome, induced the Pontic king, in 75 B.C., to glance in that direction for the support he needed; but, as the reader is aware, the desired alliance came to nothing. The Third Mithridatic War broke out in 74 B.C., and was occasioned by the death of Nicomedes III. of Bithynia, who, expiring without children, left his kingdom by will to the Roman people, as Attalus III. of Pergamus had done before him. Bithynia was accordingly made into a Roman province; but Mithridates, disliking the arrangement, and conceiving that he was now strong enough to venture on war with his old enemy, brought forward a person whom he de-

scribed as the legitimate son of the late king, and whose claim he supported by an army consisting of 120,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry, and 100 scythed chariots. A powerful fleet, which had command of the Euxine, co-operated with the land force, and Bithynia, being wholly unprepared for resistance, submitted at once to the invaders. This was before the Romans could go to the succour of their new subjects; but Mithridates could hardly have supposed that he would be allowed to remain in quiet possession of the country he had seized. The Consuls for the year were Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Aurelius Cotta, the latter of whom had acted under Sulla in the First Mithridatic War. The province of Bithynia fell to Cotta after his year of office, while Lucullus had that of Cilicia; and both addressed themselves to rescuing Bithynia from the grasp of Mithridates. Cotta, though furnished with very inadequate forces, imprudently attacked the enemy both by sea and land, and in 73 B.C. was obliged to seek refuge within the walls of Chalcedon, one of the Bithynian cities, built on the eastern shores of the Bosphorus, opposite Byzantium. Here he was blockaded by the adversary's troops, and Lucullus advanced to his relief.

The army with which Lucullus was provided on leaving Rome consisted of only one legion; but this was augmented by the four legions formerly commanded by Fimbria, and still remaining in Asia. They were not the best of troops, having been accustomed to a lax discipline, and the insubordinate habits which such a rule entails. But numbers were essential, and it was with some feeling of confidence that Lucullus marched into Mysia at the head of 30,000 foot and 2,500 horse. Mysia was a country of Asia Minor, adjoining Bithynia on the south-west. Its principal city was Cyzicus, founded on what was once an island of the same name, though it is now a peninsula. The island was situated in the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, and the town lay in that part which was nearest to the Asiatic continent. The inhabitants were originally a colony of Milesians, and their city was so favourably planted for commerce that it became one of the wealthiest places of Western Asia. At one time belonging to Persia, it achieved its independence in the latter part of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, when, becoming the ally of the kings of Pergamus, it was enabled to preserve the freedom it had won. Its administration was characterized by justice and wisdom, and the gold coinage of Cyzicus was celebrated throughout the civilized world for its purity and artistic excellence. This renowned city (called by Florus the Rome of Asia) attracted the attention of Alexander the Great during his eastern expedition. It was he who built the mole which connected the island with the opposite shore, and the sides of which formed the two harbours of the city. In the lapse of ages, this mole grew into so broad an isthmus that the insular character of the locality has never since been recovered. Cyzicus was now besieged by Mithridates, who withdrew from Chalcedon on hearing of the advance of Lucullus.

The Roman commander saw the necessity of at once relieving the threatened city, and, arriving in its vicinity, posted his troops so as to command the enemy's lines, while occupying a position of security themselves. As the winter advanced, the Pontic fleet was unable to retain possession of the sea, and Lucullus cut off supplies from the interior. When the force attacking Cyzicus was enfeebled by inadequate food, Lucullus drew nearer, and placed Mithridates in considerable danger. The king attempted to take the city by storm, as his only hope of retrieving the campaign, but was repulsed, and in the course of 73 B.C. saw no alternative but to raise the siege. He himself escaped at night, leaving orders that his army should march to Lampsacus, a city on the Hellespont, not far from the Propontis. The men were disheartened by their sufferings, and in no condition to resist the troops of Lucullus, who followed closely on their path, harassing their ranks by repeated attacks. Large numbers were slaughtered on the banks of the Æsapus, and again on those of the Granicus (celebrated for the first defeat of the Persians by Alexander), so that nothing more than a wreck of the army arrived at Lampsacus. On gaining the shores of the Euxine, Mithridates learned that the greater part of his fleet had perished in a storm, and it was only by the help of a pirate-vessel that he was enabled to reach Heraclea Pontica, on the shores of Bithynia, whence he passed on to Sinope, the capital of his kingdom. The campaign which opened so favourably had ended in nothing but disaster, and Lucullus, aided by the operations of Nature, had deprived Mithridates of the splendid land and sea forces on which he had so confidently reckoned. The Roman province of Asia, and the protected States adjoining, were now relieved from further anxiety, and it seemed as if the power of the Pontic sovereign were entirely broken. Such, however, was not the case. With the extraordinary self-reliance and indomitable spirit which characterized him, Mithridates proceeded at once to raise a new army to replace the old.



A ROMAN VILLA.

Lucullus, having delivered Cyzicus, marched towards the kingdom of Pontus during the remainder of 73 B.C. and the following year, winning frequent victories over the forces of the enemy. Unable to maintain himself in the field, Mithridates retired to the mountain-fortress of Cabira, situated on the river Iris, near the centre of Pontus. He was beginning to be alarmed for the safety of his realm, and had already sent requests for assistance to his son-in-law, Tigranes I., King of Armenia (a very powerful and warlike prince), and to his own son Machares, whom he had established on the throne of the Chersonesus Taurica. Against the stronghold of Cabira, Lucullus advanced in the spring of 71 B.C. Several engagements followed, in which the Romans were victorious, and at length Mithridates fled towards Armenia, hotly pursued by his antagonists. On one occasion, the king had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner; but, fortunately for him, the Roman cavalry were diverted from the pursuit by a quantity of gold which had fallen from a mule or pack-horse, and which the soldiers stopped to pick up. Mithridates now took greater care as to the safety of his person, and, fearing that his wives and sisters, whom he had left at Pharnacia, would fall into the hands of the enemy, he sent a eunuch thither, with orders to put them all to death. It is said that the women generally submitted to their fate without reluctance, but that one of the sisters uttered imprecations and reproaches against her brother for his cruelty. When the death of these unfortunate women came

THE PRAYER OF ONIAS.

to the knowledge of Lucullus, he shed tears at so lamentable a tragedy; but the act was quite in accordance with the usual practice of Oriental despots when reduced to extremities.

Leaving his country to the invaders, Mithridates took refuge in Armenia, and Lucullus abandoned the pursuit, that he might complete the conquest of Pontus, which was already to some extent effected. Before doing this, he sent Appius Clodius to require of Tigranes ("the Tiger King," as his name signified) the surrender of the Pontic sovereign. Clodius did not return as soon as was expected, and Lucullus, having reduced the whole of Pontus to obedience, made a tour through the Roman province of Asia, to investigate the abuses which were known to exist in that dependency. His arrival there, in 70 B.C., must have been a welcome fact to the inhabitants; for in former years, when collecting the tribute imposed by Sulla, he had performed his task with a degree of benevolence and consideration to which the Roman provinces were but little accustomed. Since his departure, the imposts had been multiplied six-fold, and the people were oppressed by extortionate usurers and tax-collectors. Many of these wretched persons were obliged to sell their sons and daughters to satisfy the extravagant demands by which they were constantly harassed; and, as they had been forced to borrow money at excessive interest, to pay the tribute of 20,000 talents, the evil continued year by year, without any prospect of abatement. Lucullus now fixed the rate of interest at twelve per cent., struck off the arrears of interest (which had accumulated to an enormous amount), and in various ways consulted the well-being of the people, rather than the rapacity of capitalists. He forbade his soldiers to commit acts of pillage; but while, by these measures, he acquired the affection and esteem of the Asiatics, he raised against himself a host of enemies among his Roman countrymen.

When Appius Clodius arrived at the court of Tigranes, he found that the monarch had not yet admitted his father-in-law to his presence. There was consequently some doubt as to whether he intended to espouse the cause of Mithridates, and, had Clodius acted more in the spirit of a courtier, it is not improbable that he might have gained the Armenian sovereign over to the Roman side. But the envoy adopted a tone of independence and self-assertion, and Tigranes was particularly annoyed at the refusal of his visitor to recognise the title of "King of Kings" which this haughty monarch arrogated to himself, and which he justified by the retinue of vassal princes who constantly attended him. Tigranes was, in truth, a ruler of great strength, and of large military resources. He had added to his kingdom the mountainous district of Kurdistan, together with the Median province of Atropatene; and his new capital of Tigranocerta (the fortress of Tigranes) occupied a formidable position on a height bordering the river Nicephorius, which courses through the valley between Mounts Masius and Niphates. In an invasion of Cappadocia, Tigranes had carried off 300,000 Hellenic captives, whom he settled in his metropolis; he had also a large Syrian population under his sceptre, as the greater portion of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ had been voluntarily conferred on him after the death of Antiochus XII., when fighting against the Arabians, in 83 B.C. So powerful a sovereign as Tigranes was naturally indisposed to admit the pretensions of Appius Clodius. He refused to give up Mithridates, and prepared for war. Lucullus also put his army in readiness for an active campaign, and early in 69 B.C. crossed the Upper Euphrates with a small body of picked troops. The expedition was very hazardous, for it involved a long and fatiguing march into mountainous deserts which no Roman army had ever yet entered, and was directed against a vast military dominion, which stretched from the Euxine to the Caspian, and boasted the services of many warlike tribes.

Tigranes had hitherto refrained from embroiling himself with the Romans, although often solicited to do so by his ambitious father-in-law, Mithridates; but his pride could not endure the demands made on him by the envoy of Lucullus, and he threatened to sweep the Romans before him by the onslaught of his warriors. Lucullus, however, proceeded with the quiet forethought of a prudent general, and the result of the campaign fully justified his calculations. He thought it better not to encumber himself with large numbers in a difficult country, of which he knew little or nothing; and, pushing on with rapidity through a wild and mountainous district, he arrived in time before Tigranocerta. Mithridates, who spoke from a long, varied, and intimate knowledge of the Romans, advised Tigranes not to hazard an action in the open field; but the Armenian rejected this reasonable caution, and, on perceiving how small was the force sent against him, observed, "These men are too few for soldiers, too numerous for ambassadors." He therefore gave the invaders battle beneath the walls of Tigranocerta, and was defeated with terrible loss. It is said that the Romans never before contended against such odds in point of numbers; yet the heavily-mailed

cavalry of Tigranes were cut to pieces, and it was only the arrival of night which stopped the bloodshed. Tigranes tore off the upright tiara which he usually wore, and which has been made familiar to us from medals, and fled towards the east. He did not attempt to re-enter his capital, nor did the city itself offer any defence, though protected by walls fifty cubits in height. It was, in fact, betrayed to the Romans by its Greek inhabitants, who were delighted at the prospect of obtaining a release from their captivity. The Greeks returned to Cappadocia, and Lucullus, crossing the Taurus, pressed forward into the heart of Armenia. Here, in 68 B.C., he gained a victory over the combined forces of Mithridates and Tigranes on the banks of the Arsanias, a tributary of the Euphrates. Lucullus now desired to assail Artaxata, the second capital of Armenia, lying to the north of Mount Ararat; but his soldiers, who for some time past had shown signs of a mutinous spirit, declared that they would advance no farther. The general was obliged to give way, and, turning southward into the country of Mygdonia, lying on the other side of the Taurus range, and therefore enjoying a more genial climate, he besieged the large and wealthy city of Nisibis.

This was the last of Lucullus's exploits in connection with the Pontic and Armenian Wars. The hardships of a siege in the depth of winter increased the insubordination of his men, and the disaffection was fomented by Publius Clodius Pulcher, who, though at that time only twenty-five years of age, was a master in the dishonourable arts by which his after career was distinguished. He found ready to his hand several materials whereon it was not difficult to work. The legions of Fimbria, who formed the largest portion of the army of Lucullus, had by this time been absent from Italy nearly twenty years. They had seen a great deal of very hard service, and had been led into distant and unknown regions, in which, though their triumphs had been brilliant, their sufferings were neither few nor slight. Like many other honourable and benevolent men, Lucullus was somewhat reserved in his manners, and this failing diminished any popularity among the ranks which he may formerly have enjoyed. At Rome itself, a strong feeling against the successful general had grown up among the people. They charged him with protracting the war from sheer avarice and love of dominion, and looked with jealousy on the power he was now exercising over the whole of Western Asia. His own soldiers began to demand that Pompey should be their leader, and, after a time, events occurred in Pontus which showed that, in advancing into Armenia, Lucullus had not taken sufficient pains to guard his rear. While the main body of the Roman forces was detained before Nisibis, Mithridates suddenly re-entered his kingdom, and was received with enthusiasm by the people, who were already beginning to suffer from Roman extortion. Fabius, who had been left in command of some of the Roman forces, was defeated and driven into Cabira, where he was subjected to a siege. Triarius, another lieutenant of Lucullus, marched to the rescue of his colleague, and was so far successful as to compel Mithridates to act on the defensive; but, being eager to distinguish himself, he attacked Mithridates in the early spring of 67 B.C., and was so entirely routed that he lost his camp, together with 7,000 men. The situation was grave, if not alarming. Lucullus at once broke up the siege of Nisibis, and hastened to the assistance of his subordinate in Pontus. On his approach, Mithridates retired into Lesser Armenia, where he expected the arrival of Tigranes; and when Lucullus attempted to follow him, the army broke out into open mutiny, and refused to march any farther. The consequence of this unfortunate spirit was that Mithridates and Tigranes over-ran Pontus and Cappadocia. Lucullus was obliged to confine himself within the limits of the Roman province, and his enemies at Rome lost no opportunity of proclaiming that the Asiatic dominions of the Republic were in danger of complete subjection.

In the course of 67 B.C., the command in Asia was transferred from Lucullus to Acilius Glabrio, one of the Consuls for that year; but this was a temporary measure, for Glabrio was not a man to inspire any general confidence, and public opinion indicated Pompey as the officer best fitted to effect a permanent settlement. Pompey, however, was at that time engaged in the suppression of the Cilician pirates, and it was not until the beginning of 66 B.C. that the Tribune Manilius felt himself at liberty to move that Pompey should be invested with the chief command over all the Roman dominions in the East until he had brought the Mithridatic War to a close. This proposal was supported in an enthusiastic speech by Cicero, who now held the office of Prætor. The leading members of the Senate opposed the law of Manilius; but Pompey was appointed by popular acclamation to the post which his admirers wished to see him occupy. The powers conferred on him amounted virtually to the Dictatorship of the East. Pompey was still in Cilicia when he received the news of his appointment. With consummate hypo-

crisy, he pretended an aversion to the command, which in fact he had for a long time desired. He feared that the triumphs of Lucullus would eclipse the splendour of his own; and when the rivals met, in the centre of Asia Minor, neither made any attempt to conceal his dislike of the other. Lucullus returned to Rome, but was unable to obtain his well-earned triumph till 63 B.C. He was an adherent of the Senatorial party, and was therefore regarded with distrust by many of the citizens. But he was in truth not much inclined to political action of any sort, and the advances of the Senate were persistently repelled.

Now that he had attained the greatest height of glory in the East, and had found himself cast down from his position, partly by the rebelliousness of his own troops, and partly by the distrust of his countrymen, Lucullus seems to have desired nothing more than to pass the remainder of his days in those habits of luxurious but elegant indulgence which were always dear to him, but which he could set aside whenever his duty to the State required their renunciation. He was accused of having shown rapacity in Asia; but the tenderness with which he treated the subject populations makes it improbable that he acted with injustice or cruelty. Still, there were doubtless many opportunities by which a man in his position could acquire wealth, without resorting to actual extortion. Lucullus unquestionably returned to Rome an opulent man, and thenceforward till his death, in the sixty-seventh or sixty-eighth year of his age, a little beyond the middle of the first century B.C., he lived in a style of splendour which in later times has been more frequently associated with his name than the grand achievements by which he saved Roman Asia from the grasp of Mithridates. But Lucullus was no vulgar sensualist. His voluptuousness had the quality of Hellenic grace, and he expended his money on objects that were always beautiful, and sometimes directed towards useful ends. Like other cultivated Romans of that day, he possessed literary tastes and habits, and was a perfect master of the Greek language. He was himself an author, and loved to discuss philosophy with intellectual friends. His villas and gardens were sumptuous beyond all previous example, and his collection of pictures and statues acquired a wide celebrity. He had a large library, which he threw open for general use, and in which the students were more often Greeks than Romans. The halls in his principal residence were distinguished by the names of the gods; and when, on a certain occasion, Cicero and Pompey surprised him at supper, they were astonished at the costliness of the entertainment, which had been thus set out merely because Lucullus had said that he would sup in the Hall of Apollo. But his greatest height of grandeur was when he announced that "Lucullus supped with Lucullus." That his estate in Campania might be surrounded with sea-water, subterranean passages were dug through the hills between his grounds and the sea-shore; and in the artificial ponds thus formed, the retired hero of Asia made various experiments in the breeding of fish. The leisure of Lucullus was certainly far superior to that of Sulla. If it was lavish and ostentatious, it was neither debauched nor frivolous. The man who had ruled distant provinces with justice and moderation was forgiving to his enemies when he had returned to his own city; the successful general abroad was a student and a philosopher at home. Lucullus was a great soldier in an age which produced many such; but he was also a man of honour and benevolence in an age which produced few.

While Glabrio held the command in Asia, nothing was done against the Pontic and Armenian sovereigns, and Mithridates maintained himself on the frontiers of his kingdom. It was very certain, however, that Pompey would not remain inactive, and, on arriving at the seat of his command in 66 B.C., he pushed forward rapidly, that he might soon come in contact with his foe. Mithridates, less eager for an encounter, retired towards the sources of the Halys, after vainly making overtures for peace, which he found could be purchased only by unconditional surrender. The Roman general overtook him on the banks of the Lycus, where his army was encamped upon a hill. Refraining from a direct attack, Pompey enclosed his opponent with lines of circumvallation, and reduced him to great distress. When it was at length apparent that the situation was desperate, Mithridates put his sick and wounded to death, and burst through by night. He gained a narrow valley among the surrounding heights; but Pompey again came up, and took possession of all the defiles. An attack ensued by moonlight, when the Pontic soldiers were bewildered by the full radiance shining in their faces, and by the long shadows of the Romans and their weapons. Mithridates was utterly defeated, and, rushing through the ranks of the enemy at the head of eight hundred horsemen, five hundred of whom were slain in the attempt to follow him, fled once more towards the kingdom of his son-in-law. On his way thither, he endeavoured to raise a fresh army; but the day of his success was over. He was old and nearly worn out; yet the dauntless spirit which forms the

real grandeur of his character still remained in all its fiery and eager strength. Once he had compared himself to Hannibal; but Hannibal was vanquished at last, and even *his* genius could have done nothing against the circumstances by which Mithridates now found himself encompassed as by a ring of iron. The son of Tigranes had lately rebelled against his father, and Tigranes was of opinion that Mithridates had incited him to disobedience. He therefore refused permission to the vanquished hero to pass the frontiers of Armenia. Driven to desperation, Mithridates traversed the wild country south of the Caucasus, and at length reached the town of Dioscurias, on the coast of the Euxine. The ensuing winter was passed in this retreat, where the old king employed his thoughts on a gigantic plan for uniting the Sarmatian tribes north of the great inland sea, and at their head descending like a torrent upon Italy itself. Afterwards fighting his way through the passes of the Caucasus, he reached the shores of the Palus Mæotis, with a view to making his head-quarters in the Chersonesus Taurica (the modern Crimea), of which, as already stated, his son Machares was the regent. But Machares, fearful of being involved in the misfortunes of his father, slew himself, and the Chersonesus passed under the immediate rule of Mithridates in the early part of 65 B.C. The Pontic sovereign felt that in so remote a spot he would be secure from the attacks of his adversary.

For the present, Pompey directed his operations against Armenia. He had previously concluded a treaty with Phraates, King of Parthia, who took to himself the title of "King of Kings" which had formerly been the boast of Tigranes. The latter sovereign was placed in a very alarming position by the existence of this treaty, for he had now an enemy on both flanks. He therefore considered it necessary to make terms with Pompey, who was acting in concert with the rebel son of the Armenian king. The Roman general had no wish to drive Tigranes to extremities, and he admitted him to the alliance of Rome, though on the understanding that he was to surrender all his dominions except Armenia Proper. This agreement was resented by the young prince, who had certainly been used as an instrument for the attainment of ends in which he had no interest. He ventured to give expression to his disappointment in threats, and was immediately put in chains, that he might march, after that humiliating fashion, in the triumph of Pompey. But if the rage and mortification of the son were great, the satisfaction of the father was not less. He was pleased to be delivered from the possible rivalry of Mithridates, and he could now count upon the assistance of Rome in any contest with Parthia, instead of having Parthia and Rome as allies against himself. In the enthusiasm of his satisfaction, he presented a large donation to the Roman troops, in addition to the 6,000 talents which the treaty obliged him to pay. Pompey felt perfectly secure towards the east, and, turning northward in pursuit of Mithridates, he celebrated the Saturnalia on the banks of the Cyrus, where he took up his winter-quarters. The Cyrus formed the northern boundary of Armenia, beyond which lay the barren ranges of the Caucasus. Into this forbidding region, Pompey made his way in the spring of 65 B.C., constantly encountering the stubborn opposition of wild tribes. By the Greeks and Romans, the Caucasus was regarded as the boundary of the known world, which it separated from an inhospitable realm, lashed by savage storms, and peopled by still more savage races. It would have been an achievement of the grandest nature had the soldiers of Pompey passed those frowning ramparts into the mysterious tracts beyond. But their commander stopped short after reaching the banks of the Phasis, on the southern side of the Caucasus, and, having concluded alliances with the neighbouring tribes, retraced his steps towards Pontus, which he organized as a province of the Republic.

While these events were proceeding, Mithridates remained in the Chersonesus Taurica, maturing his plans for the future. First of all, however, he sought to open negotiations with Pompey, but, finding that that general insisted on his making his submission in person, he abandoned all hope of peace, and reverted to his plan of organising a descent on Italy. His idea was, that, having brought together a sufficient number of Sarmatians, Getæ, and other barbarian tribes, he would march round the Euxine, pass up the valley of the Danube, penetrate through Illyria, and, crossing the Alps, enter Italy from the north. The scheme was one of gigantic proportions, the realization of which would hardly have been possible to a Hannibal, and which the inferior genius of Mithridates—especially at his advanced period of life—could never have effected. As events turned out, the plan was not even set in motion. The followers of the old king were weary of the perpetual hostilities in which he had involved them, and which had resulted in nothing but illusory successes and substantial defeats. They dreaded an expedition of such magnitude as that he now proposed, and resolved they would no longer follow an initiative fertile only in misfortune. Their

disaffection took an active form, and the monarch's son, Pharnaces, putting himself at the head of the rebellion, was proclaimed king at Panticapæum. Mithridates, surrounded by his guards, endeavoured to appease the mutiny, but was driven back to the fortress, from the walls of which he addressed his son, appealing to his better nature to abandon the position he had assumed. Pharnaces, however, persisted in his design, and, it is said, even ordered his father to be put to death. Overcome with grief and anger, the old king implored the gods that his son might one day experience in himself the misery of a child's ingratitude. He then withdrew to the female apartments of his palace, and, after drinking poison himself, presented it to his wives and female attendants, and to two of his favourite daughters. The women soon expired; but Mithridates himself, who had inured his constitution to the operation of poisons, continued to live. Baffled in this way, he stabbed himself with a sword, but in so feeble and hesitating a manner that he still breathed when the rebels broke into his stronghold. A Gallic mercenary entered the room where the king lay wounded, and was earnestly desired to give the final stroke. Mithridates died in 63 B.C., in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-seven years. His body was sent to Pontus by his son, and Pompey subsequently ordered it to be carried to Sinope, where, after a royal funeral, it was deposited in the sepulchre of the Pontic kings.

But we must now turn back, and record what Pompey was doing during the time that Mithridates, in the security of his remote peninsula, was revolving his schemes of invasion, and vainly endeavouring to cope with the disaffection of his son and of his troops. It entered into the ambition of the Roman commander to settle the affairs of Syria, as well as those of Pontus and Armenia. As already mentioned, a large part of Syria had been handed over by the people themselves to Tigranes; but after the defeat of that king by Lucullus, in 69 B.C., Antiochus XIII., the last of the Seleucidæ, recovered full possession of his dominions. Thus the realm was freed from the Armenians, but it was soon afterwards wasted by roving Arabs of the desert. It was evident that Antiochus could not maintain the independence which the sword of Lucullus had restored to him; and Pompey, passing through Cappadocia, took Antioch in the summer of 64 B.C., and proclaimed that Syria, together with Phœnicia, was thenceforward to be considered a Roman province. Antiochus was allowed to wield a petty sceptre in the small district of Commagene,

POMPEY IN THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

forming the northern part of Syria, on the declivities of Mounts Taurus and Amanus; and the provinces of Osrhœne and Chalcidice were delivered to dependent princes, whose realms lay on opposite sides of the Euphrates. But the enterprise of Pompey had not yet reached its limits. A new field for his activity was found in Palestine, where two brothers of the house of Maccabæus—Hyrcanus and Aristobulus—were contending for the priesthood, which carried with it the temporal sovereignty as well. Hyrcanus, the elder brother, had been expelled by

CATILINE AT BAY.

Aristobulus, the younger; but the priests and nobles sided with Hyrcanus, while Aristobulus enjoyed the support of the people. Hyrcanus had in 69 B.C. retired into private life, for which his weak and compliant disposition seemed especially to fit him; but after a while an Idumæan noble, named Antipater, who had professedly embraced Judaism, persuaded the deposed monarch and high-priest that his life was in danger from his brother. Thus influenced, Hyrcanus fled to Aretas, King of Arabia Petræa, who invaded Judæa with an army of 50,000 men.

Aristobulus retreated into Jerusalem, which Aretas besieged. While the city was thus invested, the season of the Passover occurred, and the people of Jerusalem bargained with their enemies for a supply of Paschal lambs, for which they undertook to pay at an exorbitant rate. Baskets containing the money were let down over the wall, but, when drawn up again, were found to be empty, or, by way of insult, filled with swine. There were several Jews, however, in the camp of Aretas, and to these men it appeared probable that, if they could obtain on their side the prayers of a certain Onias, who was thought to have procured a downfall of rain during a prolonged drought, they would be enabled to prevail against Aristobulus. The old man, having been captured, was taken to the camp of the besiegers, and required to make imprecations on Aristobulus and all of his faction. He refused, but, being still urged to speak, stood up in the midst of the Jewish soldiers, and exclaimed, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are thy priests, I beseech thee that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray for against those." The partizans of Hyrcanus were so exasperated by the petition that they stoned Onias to death.*

Some time after this event, one of Pompey's

* Josephus: Antiquities of the Jews, Book XIV., chap. 2.

lieutenants, named Scaurus, was sent into Syria, while Pompey himself, in the year 65 B.C., was following on the track of Mithridates. At Damascus, of which he took possession, Scaurus received ambassadors from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Each tendered him a bribe of four hundred talents, and Scaurus received the present of Aristobulus rather than that of Hyrcanus, because the former, having command of Jerusalem, was in a better position to pay what he had offered. Aretas was commanded to break up the siege of Jerusalem, and, while retiring in the course of 64 B.C., was defeated by Aristobulus, who, feeling confidence in the powerful support he had gained, issued forth from his stronghold. In the autumn of the same year Pompey, having reduced the whole of Syria to obedience, held a court at Damascus, that he might receive the homage of the neighbouring kings. To the resistless conqueror of the East Aristobulus sent a golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents, and Strabo relates that he had seen this magnificent gift in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. But Pompey, while treating Aristobulus with great respect, secretly inclined towards the cause of Hyrcanus, as being that of a competitor whom, owing to the weakness of his nature, it would be easier at some future time to subdue. He promised to inquire into the claims of the two disputants, and in the spring of 63 B.C. held a tribunal at Damascus, where the statements of the rivals were heard with a certain pretence of impartiality. Pompey postponed his decision until he had finished an expedition which he now led against Aretas of Arabia Petræa. But, in the meanwhile, Aristobulus, clearly perceiving what was in preparation for him, began to take warlike measures for the retention of his power. The Roman commander immediately summoned him to a conference, at which he was forced to sign an order for the evacuation of his fortresses. But he was still disinclined to absolute submission, and, returning to Jerusalem, prepared to stand a siege. Finding, however, that he had not the entire and hearty support of the people, he went forth to meet Pompey, and to place the city at his disposal. A weak attempt at defence was made by the populace of Jerusalem; but Pompey had little difficulty in obtaining an entrance, which, indeed, was secured to him by the party of Hyrcanus.

The only real contention was for the possession of the Temple, to which the adherents of Aristobulus had retreated, destroying the bridges and causeways by which its site was approached. This edifice was erected on a rocky eminence, precipitous on three sides, but open to attack from the north. The defect in that direction was to some extent supplied by lofty towers and other fortifications; but Pompey was not to be deterred by difficulties of this nature. He sent to Tyre for engines of attack, and employed his utmost efforts to reduce the formidable position in his front. Nevertheless, the citadel (for such it must be called, notwithstanding the religious character of the principal edifice) held out for three months, and was then taken only in consequence of an extreme observance of the Jewish regard for the Sabbath. The Maccabees had relaxed the Mosaic law to the extent of permitting operations for actual self-defence on the consecrated day; but the prosecution of the Roman works was not considered as warranting a resort to this indulgence. The Romans, coming to a knowledge of their adversary's scruples, refrained from any positive attack on the seventh day, but at the same time pushed their engines nearer to the walls, filled up the trenches, and in other ways advanced the siege operations, while their opponents remained perfectly inert. At the end of the three months, the largest of the towers was thrown down by one of the Roman battering-rams, and Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sulla, was the first to enter the breach. It was the hour of the daily sacrifice, and the priests continued their offices during all the horrors of a sanguinary combat, ending in the capture of the Temple and its surroundings. Many of the defenders cast themselves from the rocky precipices; some of the priests were slain at the altar. Pompey was in possession of the sacred edifice of the Jews, and he penetrated into the Holy of Holies, where, it is said, he was astonished to find no statue or other symbol of the Deity. The Ark of the Covenant, which had been preserved in this portion of the first Temple, was absent from the second, and it would appear that Pompey found nothing but a blank space behind the veil. In other parts of the edifice, however, he discovered enormous treasures, including the golden table and candlesticks, immense accumulations of costly frankincense, and two thousand talents of money. He obtained the goodwill of the Jews by refraining from the appropriation of these riches, and by commanding that the Temple should be purified from the carnage incidental to the assault. Indeed, Josephus speaks of him in terms of high admiration, and even acknowledges his regard for religion. Josephus, however, was a somewhat Romanized Jew under the Empire, and the Israelites generally were so shocked by the intrusion of Pompey into the

sanctuary, that they attributed to this circumstance all his subsequent misfortunes, which began soon after. The High Priesthood was now restored to Hyrcanus, though without the addition of the royal title; and Pompey, having fixed the tribute which the country was to pay to Rome, and demolished the walls of the city, departed from Jerusalem, carrying with him Aristobulus, together with his sons and daughters.*

Judæa was now annexed to the province of Syria, though it was placed under a different administration. A certain nominal authority was left to Hyrcanus; but the reality of power, so far as any subordinate was concerned, was enjoyed by Antipater, who acted as the agent of Rome in promoting purely Roman interests. Various other arrangements for the settlement of Western Asia were effected by Pompey before he returned to Italy, and in all such matters he acted solely by his own will, without any reference to the Senate. He had, indeed, received dictatorial powers in Asia, and he was not backward in using them. Pharnaces, the rebel son of Mithridates, was allowed to retain the kingdom of Bosphorus. Deiotarus of Galatia, and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, were confirmed in their sovereignties, and even received an addition to their dominions, as faithful allies of Rome. Paphlagonia was formed into a dependent sovereignty. Seleucia, Antioch, and Phanagoria, were declared free communities under the ægis of the Roman Republic. Thirty-nine cities were founded or re-peopled; while Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia, were constituted into provinces. The freedom of Armenia was not abolished, but the position of that monarchy was reduced to one of precarious dependence on the favour of the Romans or the Parthians. After having effected these astonishing results in less than four years, Pompey quitted Asia early in 62 B.C., and proceeded slowly through Greece to Brundusium, on the eastern coast of Italy. He was apparently in no hurry to return to Rome, for it was not until 61 B.C. that he appeared once more at the capital. Probably the leaders of the Senate were equally well inclined that he should delay his return. He came back as one of the most brilliant conquerors in the whole course of Roman history. He had for some time exercised Imperial power over some of the grandest and most ancient countries in the world. With his soldiers he was popular, almost beyond parallel; and to the politicians of Rome it might well have seemed doubtful whether he would not assert absolute power over the State, and erect a splendid monarchy on the pedestal of his military triumphs. During his absence, events of a very serious nature had occurred at Rome, and the minds of men were agitated, both as to the future and the past.

The old strife of parties had for some time been suspended, but it was not extinct. The adherents of Marius, although kept in subjection ever since the triumph of Sulla, still existed in large numbers, and looked to Julius Cæsar as the champion who should again raise them from obscurity to power. We have seen that this remarkable man, now on the eve of his active career, had the courage to exhibit the bust of Marius at the funeral of his aunt Julia. Emboldened by the response which that act elicited, Cæsar caused the Cimbrian trophies of the old general, which had been thrown down by order of Sulla, to be once more erected on the Capitol. This was done secretly during the night, and was an accomplished fact by daybreak. The Marian party shed tears of joy at the unexpected restoration; but the matter was brought before the Senate, where Catulus accused Cæsar of attacking the constitution. It could not be proved, however, that he had done anything against the law, and the criticisms of Catulus ended in nothing. This naturally strengthened the aspirations of the Marian party, and a state of political excitement resulted, which was favourable to the schemes of any desperate man who reckoned his personal success as of greater value than the well-being of the State. Many of the nobility were damaged in their fortunes, and wholly depraved in their characters. Profligate and bloodthirsty, they were ready to commit any crime which might secure their selfish ends; and to conspire, if they could only find a leader, was with them as natural as to indulge their wantonness or their hate. One of this degenerate order now placed his services at the disposal of men as reprobate as himself. Lucius Sergius Catilina, more frequently called Catiline, belonged to an old Patrician family, but is thought to have been born in poverty—a circumstance which may account for his reckless and adventurous life in later years. Strong both in body and mind, possessed of remarkable abilities, capable, whenever it suited his purpose, of attaching friends to himself by an apparent exhibition of generosity, pleasing and frank in his manners, yet wholly devoid of conscience, this man was singularly fitted to act the part of an evil genius to any community which happened to be afflicted by his presence. During the contest between Marius and Sulla, he adopted the cause of the latter, and we have seen

* Josephus; Milman's History of the Jews.

that he made himself frightfully conspicuous in the proscriptions which marked Sulla's return to Rome. He is also accused of having poisoned his wife, in order that he might marry another woman, and then murdered his son, because the object of his passion refused to be the stepmother of a youth not far removed from manhood. His crimes were flagrant and notorious; yet he was elected Prætor in 68 B.C., and obtained the province of Africa in the following year. In the administration of that dependency, he exhibited all the worst qualities of his nature; but, on returning to Rome in 66 B.C., he had the audacity to make advances for the Consulship, and would perhaps have succeeded, had not an indictment for extortion been brought against him by Publius Clodius Pulcher, a man not much better than himself. The prosecution was abandoned, possibly from corrupt motives; but the fact of its having been commenced disqualified Catiline as a candidate for the high post he sought to fill. The corruption of society at Rome had proceeded so far that accusations of wrong-doing, even when righteously made, were frequently prompted by no other feeling than private animosity, or the hope of being bought off by bribes. Catiline and his accuser were equally men of debased character and cruel disposition. They regarded the immense powers conferred by office simply as a means of personal aggrandizement; and it is impossible to doubt that the indignation of Pulcher against the rapacity and oppression of Catiline was caused by nothing better than a feeling of jealousy that the opportunity had not been his own.

Although rescued from all penal consequences by the withdrawal of the prosecution, Catiline was a disappointed man in not obtaining the Consulship. He began to revolve in his mind schemes for the subversion of the State, and it was not long before he found willing and capable colleagues. The two Consuls-elect for 65 B.C. were Cornelius Sulla and Autronius Pætus. The Senate, however, had recently passed a very severe law for the prevention of bribery, and both the new Consuls were convicted under this law, and set aside. Aurelius Cotta, the author of the last reform of the judicial system, and Manlius Torquatus, were chosen for the vacant places; but neither Autronius nor Catiline was willing to endure their authority. Together with a young nobleman named Cneius Calpurnius Piso, they determined to murder the new Consuls on their first day of office (January 1st, 65 B.C.); but the execution of the scheme was deferred to the 5th of February. Even then it failed, owing to Catiline giving the signal of attack before the armed assassins had assembled in sufficient numbers. Though thus nipped in the bud, the plot was not discovered, and in 64 B.C. Catiline determined to present himself again as a candidate for the Consulship. He encountered greater opposition than he probably anticipated; yet a large body of supporters was found among the profligate and half-ruined nobles, and for a time it appeared likely that he would succeed. His chief opponents were Cicero and Caius Antonius—the latter, uncle of the Marc Antony who was destined ere long to play so prominent a part in Roman affairs. The contest was in some respects a close one; but the result was that Cicero came in at the head of the poll, and that Antonius stood second, though by only a small majority over Catiline. As if to provide against the possibility of defeat, Catiline had renewed his plot even while the election was pending, and had held a meeting of the conspirators at his house. On this occasion he delivered a speech, which, if we may depend upon the report given by Sallust, amounted to a promise of general plunder, combined with the cancelling of debts. Some intimation of what was going on was soon afterwards obtained from a woman of noble birth, named Fulvia, who was the mistress of one of the conspirators. The uneasiness thus created worked favourably for Cicero's candidature, and the great orator, though a man of humble birth, received the support of the Senatorial party, who dreaded to see Catiline in power. Cicero now attached himself to the Senate, to which he had formerly been opposed, and, distrusting his colleague Antonius, who was known to be the friend and ally of Catiline, he secured his friendship by ceding to him the province of Macedon, which it was originally intended that he should himself enjoy after the termination of the Consular year. There was thus one enemy the less to guard against, and, even before his election, Cicero had bribed Fulvia to obtain from her lover, Quintus Curius, secret intelligence of the conspirators and their designs. In this way he learned that his own assassination was intended on the day of the Consular elections, and his timely knowledge of the fact enabled him to thwart the murderous project.

The Consulship of Cicero began with the commencement of 63 B.C. He was now unequivocally on the side of the Sullan party; but his year of office was distinguished by some reforms which tended to the greater purity of political life. At the same time he pursued his work as a lawyer, and added further successes to those of previous years. But he had to encounter the antagonistic

influence of Julius Cæsar, who lost no opportunity of recommending himself to popular favour. Such an opportunity was presented to him—if, indeed, he did not rather create it—in the prosecution of Rabirius, an aged Senator, for having, during the sixth Consulship of Marius, been concerned in the violent death of the Tribune Saturninus, who raised a sedition in the Forum the very year of Cæsar's birth. Although the proceedings against Saturninus were taken by the authority of Marius, of whose memory Cæsar had constituted himself the vindicator, he did not hesitate to support the prosecution of Rabirius, as a means of acquiring popularity with the masses. The old Senator was tried before Julius himself, and his relative, Lucius Cæsar, when the result was a conviction for what the Romans understood as high treason. The case went before the people on appeal, and the accused was defended by Cicero; but Rabirius would in all probability have been condemned a second time (for the democracy were bent on humiliating the Senate, to whose counsels the death of Saturninus was attributed), had not Metellus Celer, one of the Prætors, pulled down the standard which always floated from the Janiculum during the sitting of the Comitia, and the withdrawal of which broke up the proceedings. This was in 63 B.C., the year of Cicero's Consulship; and shortly afterwards Cæsar obtained the office of Pontifex Maximus, the election to which was now restored to the Tribes, from whom it had been taken by Sulla. On the day when the issue was to be determined, Cæsar said to his mother, Aurelia, "I shall return as Pontifex Maximus, or Rome shall see me no more." He knew that the election was not likely to fall on any other candidate.

But these matters were not suffered to divert the mind of Cicero from a careful and sleepless watch over the progress of Catiline's conspiracy. There was, in truth, need for the most vigilant precautions. Exasperated by his continual failures, Catiline plunged more deeply into the abyss of contemplated crime, and determined, on the first opportunity, to murder the First Consul, and set fire to the city. He had formed magazines of arms in various parts of Italy, and had borrowed large sums of money, which he stored up at Fæsulæ. On a stormy night during the year of Cicero's Consulship, he called his fellow-conspirators together, and told them that he was ready to start for the army in Etruria, provided the chief Consul were first deprived of life. Two of his friends undertook to enter the house of Cicero at once, and perform the deed before morning; but Curius sent Fulvia to the threatened Consul, with intelligence of what was contemplated, and Cicero, refusing to see any visitors that night, escaped the danger whose very shadow was upon him. Still, although the meditated crime was baffled, the Catilinarian conspiracy went on with deadly concentration beneath the turbulent surface of the times. To murder and conflagration, Catiline proposed to add the horrors of civil war. His confederate, Mallius, was rapidly collecting an army in Etruria, where a good deal of disaffection existed among those who had been dispossessed of their lands by Sulla's military colonies. Numerous brigands, moreover, were ranging about the country, ready for any mischief, and delighted at an opportunity for acting on a large scale, with the prospect of a booty such as their very dreams had never yet conceived. The nucleus of an army was thus brought together, and on the 27th of October Mallius appeared in arms at Fæsulæ. But, six days earlier, Cicero had laid an account of the conspiracy before the Senate, and had been immediately invested with dictatorial powers. At the same time, the State was threatened with a servile war in Apulia and Campania. Against all these menaced perils, both in the city itself and beyond its walls, effective measures were taken, and Rome presented the appearance of a town besieged. Events began to assume an ominous colour for Catiline, and the arch-conspirator had the audacity to make his appearance in the Senate, when Cicero delivered the first of his four Catilinarian Orations—speeches which are amongst the most celebrated political orations either of ancient or modern times. Catiline endeavoured to defend himself by referring to his high birth and aristocratic sentiments, and by insulting Cicero as a person sprung from the very dregs of the people. A cry of "Enemy!" and "Parricide!" broke from the indignant assembly, and Catiline, in a sudden access of fury, exclaimed, "Since I am thus beset, and driven to destruction by my enemies, I will smother the conflagration of my own house in the ruins of the city." That night he departed for Etruria, leaving behind him instructions which his accomplices were to carry out in the same relentless spirit that animated himself.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RISE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

State of Rome at the Period of the Catilinarian Conspiracy—Development of the Plot—Measures of Cicero—Want of Documentary Evidence against the Conspirators—Treaty with the Allobroges of Gaul—The Compact Revealed to Cicero—Arrest of the Persons Implicated—Position of Julius Cæsar with Reference to the Plot—His Speech in the Senate against Applying the Punishment of Death—Execution of the Criminals—Prosecution of Murena for Bribery—Character of Cato the Younger (Uticensis)—Position of Catiline in Etruria—His Attempt to Escape by Way of the Apennines—Repulse of his Forces by Metellus—Desperate Encounter with Petreius—Defeat and Death of Catiline—Popularity of Cicero, followed by Speedy Distrust—Opposition of Metellus Nepos—Violence of Cato—Senatorial Jealousy of Cæsar—Cicero Compelled to Seek the Alliance of Crassus and Pompey—Publius Clodius Pulcher and the Rites of Bona Dea—Pompey Outside the Walls of Rome—Departure of Cæsar for Spain—The Triumph of Pompey—His Vacillating Policy, and Loss of Influence—Collision with the Senate—Military Services of Cæsar against the Lusitanians—His Return to Rome, and Candidature for the Consulship—Cicero's Characterisation of Cato—Election of Cæsar—The First Consul Supported by Pompey and Crassus—Cæsar's Agrarian Law, and Other Legislation—Condition of Gaul and Helvetia—Election of Clodius to the Tribunate—Doubtful Conduct of Cicero—Persecution of the Orator by Clodius—Cicero's Voluntary Exile—Arbitrary Acts of Clodius—Annexation of Cyprus to the Roman Republic—Cato Sent Out to Effect the Transfer—Socialistic Measures—Enmity of Pompey to Clodius—Election of Consuls Favourable to Cicero—Recall of the Orator to Rome.

THE Catilinarian plot had prematurely exploded; yet the danger was not at an end. It was clear that the unmasked conspirator, driven to bay alike by the vigilance and the taunts of Cicero, would do his utmost to excite a bloody revolution at Rome, and that his power of effecting mischief was considerable, since he enjoyed the confidence of all the desperadoes in the city. Never was there a place more full of inflammable materials. The humble were discontented because of their poverty; the nobly born were exasperated by the accumulation of debts due to their own profligacy and recklessness. But, of these two classes, the latter was by far the more dangerous. The poor will often bear their sufferings with the patience of habit and the virtue of simple ways. The ruined spendthrift broods angrily over the pleasures he can no longer command, and seeks for an opportunity of setting the social structure in flames, that he may win something in the general sack. For several generations, incalculable riches had poured into Rome from her foreign conquests. In this way, a class of wealthy idlers had arisen, and unbounded extravagance led in time to widespread bankruptcy. Seeing no path open to the highest offices of State, the opportunities of which might have restored their fortunes, the ruined nobles who gathered about Catiline looked to massacre, conflagration, and pillage, as the only means of obtaining once more the opulence they had wasted in debauch. The Catilinarian conspiracy was in fact the rebellion of a part of the aristocracy—the part which was overwhelmed with debt and difficulties—against the more fortunate or more respectable remainder. There was a time when such a plan would have found few adherents in Rome; but that time had long past. The old simplicity of Roman life had gone by, and successive generations of luxurious livers had lowered the moral tone of society. Religion had degenerated into a number of superstitious observances, frequently associated with practices of the grossest depravity. The events of the previous quarter of a century had accustomed men's minds to scenes of civil turmoil, and the old respect for the Republic, as the mighty mother of heroic sons, had disappeared in the fury of internal strife.

The chief defence against the perils of the time was the watchful care of Cicero. He was served by an army of spies, who informed him of every act and every intention of the conspirators. In his speech denouncing Catiline, he had shown how completely he was master of the whole situation, and had astonished the traitor by referring to a number of specific facts which he doubtless supposed were known only to himself and his comrades. On the day following that famous oration in the Senate, Cicero delivered another, which he addressed to the people in the Forum, and in which he announced the fact of Catiline's flight, as a consequence of his detected guilt. The two chief offenders were Catiline himself, the head of the conspiracy, and Mallius, the commander of the army that had been raised in Etruria. These men were now declared by the Senate to be public enemies, and Antonius, the second Consul, was ordered to march against them, while Cicero retained his post of observation at Rome. That Antonius should have been sent against the conspirators in arms appears singular, as he had been a friend and partizan of Catiline before his election to office, and had even been suspected as a person

THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRATORS BEFORE THE SENATE.

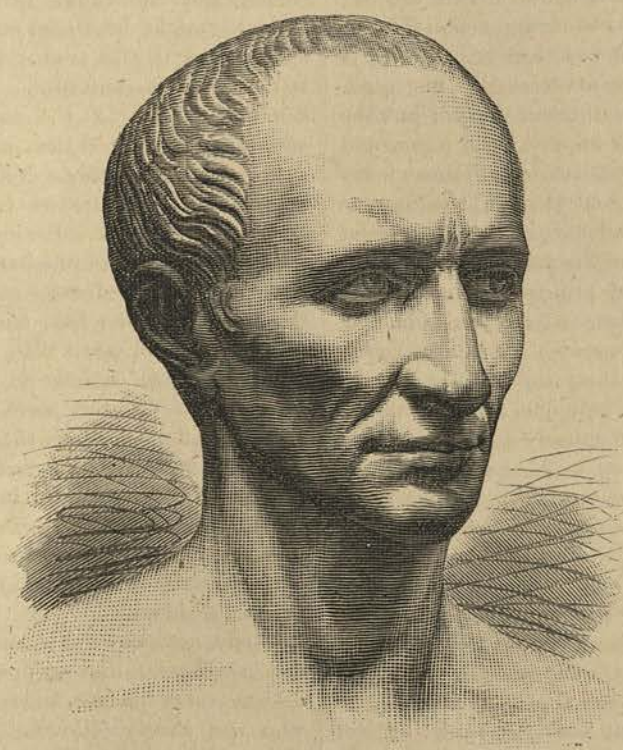
privy to the traitorous design. Yet he did not betray his trust, and it was perhaps wiser to rely on his loyalty to the State, of which he was a principal officer, than to exasperate him by a show of doubt.

The position of Cicero was one of extreme difficulty. He knew beyond all question that certain persons were guilty of plotting treason against the Republic; but he had no direct evidence on which he could take proceedings, save that of Fulvia, and he hesitated to bring forward an abandoned woman. Pursuing the tactics that had already proved so successful, he uttered invectives, similar to those which had stung Catiline into a betrayal of his designs, against other members of the party; but they prudently kept their own counsel, with the exception of a very young man, the son of a Senator. Struck with consternation, this youth left the city to join Catiline, but was pursued by his father, who, on overtaking him, caused his slaves to execute sentence of death at once. Three of the principal conspirators—Lentulus, Cethegus, and Bestia—remained at Rome, threatening to impeach Cicero for arbitrary conduct, and planning a general massacre of the magistrates during the period of the Saturnalia. What Cicero mainly required was documentary evidence of the complicity of those whom his spies had brought under suspicion. With this he was at length supplied by a fortunate accident which occurred after the flight of Catiline. Rome happened to be visited by some envoys of the Allobroges, a people of Gaul, who had divers grievances to allege against the Governor of the province to which they belonged. As they had sought in vain for the removal of these oppressions, the adherents of Catiline considered that, by promising them a sanguinary vengeance against the tyrants, they might obtain their co-operation in the meditated outbreak. Seduced by this prospect, the envoys promised the assistance of their countrymen. Afterwards, however, a more mature consideration of the power of Rome to inflict punishment for such acts, and a more politic regard for their own safety, induced the representatives of the Allobroges to repent of their undertaking, and to lay the full particulars before Cicero. By him they were directed to continue negotiations with the conspirators, and to use their utmost efforts to obtain a written engagement as to the price they were to receive for their alliance.

This was accomplished in the latter part of 63 B.C., and the names and seals of Lentulus and Cethegus, together with those of Statilius, another of the traitors, were affixed to the required document. The envoys then left Rome, accompanied by one of the conspirators, professedly in order that the negotiations might be concluded in their own country. In accordance with a previous arrangement, they were intercepted three miles beyond the gates, and immediately surrendered their despatches. Cicero had previously summoned the conspirators to appear before him, and, on their doing so, he surrounded them with lictors and soldiers, and led them to the Senate, which had been summoned to meet in the Temple of Concord. There they were confronted by the Allobrogian envoys, and by the papers to which they had set their hands. The evidence was so complete that denial or defence was impossible. Lentulus was at once deprived of his Prætorship, and he and the others were placed in the custody of Senators, who were made answerable for their safe detention. Cicero then went into the Forum, and, in the third of his Catilinarian orations, detailed to the assembled people (who had gathered in alarm at the rumour of important arrests) the particulars of the atrocious plot which had now been frustrated. The city, it appeared, was to have been fired in twelve places at once, as soon as news arrived that Catiline and Mallius were ready to advance on Rome; and had this design been carried out, it would not have been the rich alone who would have suffered. The revelation of so terrible a conspiracy, taken in conjunction with the fact that it had been discovered and thwarted by the activity of the authorities, advanced both Cicero and the Senate in the popular esteem. But the aristocratic assembly still feared that much concealed fire was lurking beneath the surface, and, amongst other persons, their suspicions attached to Julius Cæsar, who was Prætor for the year. Catulus urged Cicero to produce testimony against that conspicuous member of the Marian party; but the Consul evidently disbelieved in the complicity of Cæsar, and even committed to his charge the conspirator Statilius. Nevertheless, the feeling against him was strong in the ranks of the opposite party, and on one occasion he was threatened, as he came out of the Senate, by the swords of the Knights who guarded the door. But the people were persuaded of his innocence, and no proof of his guilt, if any such ever existed, has come down to modern times. In itself improbable, the charge is discredited by the character or the bias of those who made it.

Two days after the arrest of the conspirators, the Senate met to deliberate on the punishment which was due to their crimes. Some (including Cicero) were in favour of death; but Cæsar, in a

very effective speech, reminded his fellow-senators that their power to inflict capital punishment was extremely doubtful, and argued that it would be better to condemn the offenders to perpetual chains in various cities of Italy. This suggestion might have prevailed, had it not been opposed by the eloquence of Cicero, and of one who was not long afterwards to become equally famous—the second Cato, then a rising man, and one of the Tribunes. The result was that the punishment of death was voted by a majority, and Cicero, accompanied by a strong guard, at once conducted the prisoners to the dungeons below the Capitol, where they were strangled by the public executioners. On returning to his house through the Forum, the Consul was asked as to the fate of the conspirators, and significantly answered, "They have lived!"—thus evading any direct allusion to their death, which would have been regarded as an evil omen. Whether Cæsar opposed the extreme punishment out of a feeling of humanity, or, as he himself alleged, because the penalty of hopeless servitude was far worse than death (which he described as a release from all sensation and consciousness, either of good or evil), it is certain that his views on the subject advanced his popularity with the mass of the citizens. The commons had always protested against the assumed right of the Senate to authorise the Consuls to carry out sentences of death, and had contended that, by the ancient principles of Roman law, no citizen could be executed save by a vote of the Tribes, nor even then if he chose to evade sentence by voluntary exile. Cæsar was the advocate of popular rights, and the people gave him the confidence due to his broad and liberal nature.



JULIUS CÆSAR.

The Consuls-elect for the ensuing year were Junius Silanus and Licinius Murena, and one of the unsuccessful candidates was the jurist Sulpicius, who prosecuted Murena for bribery. It is not improbable that the arts of corruption had been largely employed; but Cicero was annoyed that, at such a period, with a rebellious army in the field at no great distance from Rome, the public attention should be distracted by personal quarrels, in which, perhaps, neither side was blameless. He therefore defended Murena, while Cato supported the cause of the accuser. The younger Cato, who now begins to appear upon the scene, was the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, and was born in 93 B.C., so that he was thirty years of age at

the date we have reached. As distinguished from his ancestor, he is known as Cato Uticensis, from the place of his death,—Utica, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. When very young, he became a priest of Apollo, while, in respect of morals and philosophy, he adopted the principles of the Stoics. Cicero, ridiculing his ideas in the speech he made when defending Murena, said he taught that compassion was frivolousness and folly; that wisdom was the only wealth and the only beauty; that all faults were equal, and all errors heinous sins; that to wring a fowl's neck without just reason was as bad as to strangle one's father; that the wise man never doubts, never repents, is never deceived, and can never change his mind. In all this there was something of banter; but the second Cato had in truth inherited the rigour and harshness of his great-grandfather. From an early age he had subjected himself to great privations, as a means of physical and mental discipline; and the teaching of Antipater the Stoic, from whom he derived his philosophical principles, was not of a nature to mitigate the original asperity of his disposition. His hatred of personal ascendency in the State was so extreme that, while still a boy, he asked for a sword, that he might stab the tyrant Sulla. Yet he was not entirely devoid of tender feelings, however much he may have endeavoured, in pursuance of a false theory, to trample them under foot. He was seen to weep over the loss of his half-brother Cæpio, who was drowned at sea, and, on the body being cast ashore, Cato buried it with great honours. Nor was he incapable of a good-humoured toleration when made the subject of sarcastic criticism. On the occasion of Cicero's speech in opposition to his attack on Murena, he joined in the laugh that had been raised against himself. "How witty a Consul we possess!" he exclaimed; and the feeling was clearly not assumed, since his regard for Cicero suffered no abatement. The impeachment of Murena failed. It was urged by Cicero that it would be dangerous to leave the State with only one Consul while Catiline was still in arms; and, although the guilt of Murena could hardly be doubted, the argument was allowed to prevail. The conduct of Cicero on this occasion may be susceptible of vindication, considering the circumstances of the time; yet it is not pleasant to find him using his influence on the side of corruption, especially when, only a short time before, he had himself carried a law against bribery.

During the progress of these events at Rome, Catiline was with his army in Etruria. He had under his command two complete legions, consisting chiefly of Sulla's veterans. Only a fourth of his men, however, were regularly equipped; and when the troops heard of the arrests at Rome, and of the failure of the plot in that city, large numbers deserted. The situation of Catiline was now desperate. He had calculated on an explosion at the capital, and this had failed him. He had also looked for supporting movements in Picenum and the north of Italy; but all symptoms of insurrection in those parts were rapidly suppressed by Metellus Celer. In front of Catiline was the army that had been placed under the command of the second Consul, whose lieutenants, Sextius and Petreius, might be relied on for counteracting any sympathy with the traitor which might still lurk in the bosom of Antonius. Thus menaced, both to the north and to the south, by forces larger and better-appointed than his own, Catiline turned first in one direction, and then in the other, like one who knew not what to do in the extremity of his evil fortune. He made attempts to seduce the loyalty of Antonius, but without effect. The failure of his confederates at Rome convinced him that the game was lost, and the desertion of his cohorts made it clear that nothing remained for him but flight, if, indeed, that were any longer possible. With the mere shadow of an army, amounting to not more than 4,000 men, he tried to penetrate the Apennines, that he might gain the Alps, and excite an insurrection among the Gauls. Marching by rugged mountain roads, he and his companions reached the neighbourhood of Pistoria (the modern Pistoia); but Metellus, having gained a knowledge of his movements from deserters, occupied the passes on the Gallic side of the Apennines, and stopped his way. In the desperation of his fate, he turned back on Antonius, who was closely following him. The Proconsul (for his year of office had now run out, and January, 62 B.C., had arrived) feigned sickness, and entrusted his legions to Petreius; not liking, it would seem, to encounter a man with whom he had formerly been on terms of intimacy.

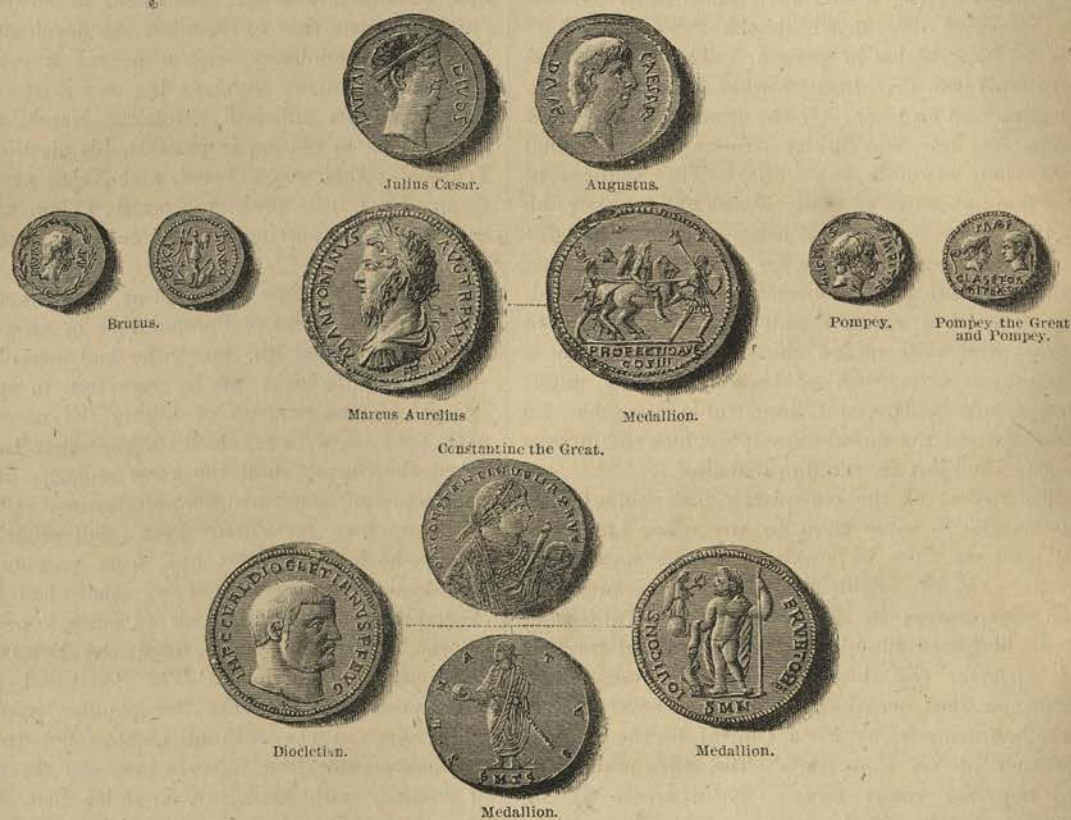
The conflict which ensued was short, but sanguinary. Catiline was resolved that he would not survive the combat. Alighting from his horse, he took his station on foot in the centre of his small array of frenzied men; but, from the very commencement of the action, he had not the slightest chance. Petreius was a general of great ability, thoroughly devoted to the Republic, and determined to do his duty at all hazards. Moreover, his forces were numerically much superior to those of his opponent, besides being animated by the inspiring sense that they struck for law and order, and for the safety of the State. On the other hand, the

rebels fought with the savage resolution which is prompted by a sense of utter hopelessness. They neither asked nor received quarter. Mallius and another lieutenant of Catiline were slain on the two wings, while Catiline himself, rushing into the thick of the enemy's forces, was struck down in advance of his own lines, and afterwards found among a heap of slaughtered adversaries, with an angry frown yet lingering on his brow. His death took place during a charge against the centre of the insurgent line, in which the Prætorian cohort was led by Petreius in person. This decided the fortune of the day, and brought the Catilinarian conspiracy to an end. Of the freemen in the rebel ranks, not one was taken prisoner, and all died with their wounds in front. The soldiers of Petreius also suffered many losses, and scarcely one escaped unwounded. When Catiline was discovered among the slain, he was still breathing, though doubtless all consciousness had departed. His head was cut off, and sent as a trophy to Rome; and thus closed the career of one whose magnificent gifts, both of body and mind, might have secured lasting and honourable fame, had he but possessed the moral principle which to him was merely a subject for scoffing disbelief.

The defeat of the conspiracy was undoubtedly due to Cicero more than to any other man, and for a short time he enjoyed almost unbounded credit. On the night following the execution of the conspirators in the vaults of the Tullianum, Rome had been illuminated by lamps and torches, set up over the doors, and on the roofs; and either on that occasion, or on one shortly after, Cato had saluted the First Consul by the title of "Father of his Country." But this popularity did not last many days. Even when at its greatest height, it had concealed rather than extinguished the disaffection of the adverse party. After a while, some even among the loyal thought that the Consul had acted in a manner too arbitrary when repressing the designs of Catiline. Cæsar had had the boldness to protest beforehand against the execution of the conspirators as an act of doubtful legality, of impolitic vengeance. His words had failed of their effect in that moment of alarm and passion; but men afterwards recollected them, and considered that they expressed a truth which it was needful to bear in mind. It was feared that the strangling of the traitors, without a previous inquiry before the Tribes, might prove the germ of another proscription, like that of Sulla, or of a violent outburst of Senatorial fury, like those which terminated in the deaths of the Gracchi. The existence of these feelings was disclosed in a very unexpected manner on the first day of 62 B.C., when, in accordance with an annual custom, the retiring Consuls came forward to address the people in the Forum, and to make oath that they had done their duty during the period of office. In the unbounded self-satisfaction which was the weak side of his nature, Cicero doubtless expected a triumphant reception; but a startling disappointment awaited him. Pompey, who was now about to return to Italy, had from afar off watched the development of Cicero's popularity, and conceived a jealous fear that it might supplant his own. He had sent home his adherent, Metellus Nepos, with instructions to obtain, if possible, his election as Tribune. This was effected, and Nepos at once assumed a hostile position towards Cicero, whom he accused of putting citizens to death without trial.

On the day when Cicero was to deliver up the fasces, the agent of Pompey rose in his place, and declared that the man who had acted with such illegality should not be permitted to speak, except for the purpose of taking the necessary oath. "I swear," exclaimed Cicero, "that I have saved the State;" and the great majority of the people present confirmed his protestation. Cicero, however, was prevented from delivering the oration he had prepared, and from pronouncing an eloquent panegyric on all that had been accomplished during his year of office, especially on the acts which had stifled the treason of Catiline and his friends. The Senatorial party were pleased by hearing the popular applause which greeted the oath of Cicero; but trouble was in store for them. Nepos proposed the recall of Pompey with his army, in order that, being elected to the Consulship, he might protect the citizens from being put to death at the pleasure of the Senate; but Cato, distrusting the ambition of that commander, vowed that while he lived no such act should be permitted. Cæsar supported the proposition of Nepos; but when the latter began to read his bill, Cato, who was also one of the Tribunes for the year, snatched the paper from his hand, and tore it to pieces. Undeterred by the incident, Nepos began to recite his bill from memory; but his mouth was stopped by another of the Tribunes. A tumult followed, and Nepos, declaring that the sanctity of his office had been violated, fled to the camp of Pompey in the early part of 62 B.C. Hereupon the Senate declared his office vacant, as it was against the law for any Tribune to quit the city; and at the same time Cæsar was suspended from his Prætorship.

Cicero had raised against himself a host of enemies, amongst whom was Metellus Celer, then commanding in the north against the forces of Catiline; for it must be recollected that the events we are now recording took place shortly before the defeat of the arch-traitor in the vicinity of Pistoria. This officer was the brother of Metellus Nepos, the Tribune who had been driven from the city by the violence of Cato and others. Writing from his camp, Celer upbraided Cicero for the



COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE.

course he had recently pursued, and threatened him and the Senate with proceedings. For the present, however, the Senators were in a position of command, and they denounced as public enemies all who should question the justice of the late executions. The suspension of Cæsar from his Prætorship was clearly intended as a punishment for his support of Metellus Nepos. But the popular champion refused to quit his office until compelled by military force; then, dismissing his lictors, and divesting himself of the ensigns of authority, he retired to his own residence. The Senate soon discovered that they had made a grievous mistake. So fierce a riot ensued that the Consuls found it necessary to re-appoint Cæsar to the office from which he had been expelled; and at the expiration of his Prætorship he received the province of Further Spain, but did not immediately set out. At the same time, Cicero's brother, Quintus, obtained the province of Asia as Proprætor; but Cicero himself had fallen immeasurably from the high position he occupied only a brief time before. His enemies were numerous, and Crassus, who, together with Cæsar, had been suspected of complicity with the Catilinarian plot, accused the late Consul of having calumniated him. The haughty spirit of Cicero appears to have suddenly vanished. He did all he could to appease the resentment of Crassus, and was forward in acknowledging the zeal which Cæsar had exhibited in aiding him to suppress the late conspiracy. He flattered Pompey, whom he declared to be greater than Scipio Africanus, while he referred to himself in terms of exaggerated humbleness. To obtain supporters wherever he could, he even defended one of the conspirators, a relative of Sulla, and proclaimed himself the servant of the aristocracy, who, though glad to have the assistance of his splendid powers, despised him for the meanness of his birth. But by these acts of

vacillation and weakness he disgusted all parties, while obtaining the hearty co-operation of none.

In the midst of petty contentions, the year 62 B.C. wore on towards its close. At the latter end, an incident occurred which, although apparently trifling at the time, led afterwards to some important consequences. On a certain occasion, the Roman matrons had met in the house of Cæsar, as Pontifex Maximus, to celebrate, according to annual custom, the mysteries of Bona Dea (the Good Goddess), a name given by the Greeks to

TUSCULUM.

Ops, Vesta, Cybele, and Rhea, and by the Romans to Fauna, or Fatua. The purity of this goddess was such that no male was suffered to be present during her rites, and even the statues of men were covered with a veil. On the night to which we are referring, Publius Clodius Pulcher, the accuser of Catiline—a man whose life had been disgraced by extravagant debaucheries—obtruded himself into the house of Cæsar under a female disguise. It was said that his real design was to carry on an intrigue with Cæsar's wife—the second wife, Pompeia, a relative of Sulla. A servant-maid discovered the fact, and raised a cry of alarm. The mysteries were hastily broken off, and Clodius made his escape. So extreme an outrage necessarily created great scandal. The Pontiffs were summoned to deliberate on what had happened, and Cæsar, as Chief of the Sacred College, divorced his wife—not, as he said, because she was guilty, but because the wife of Cæsar should be above suspicion. At the same time, he refused to countenance the measures which the Consuls, by direction of the Senate, took for the conviction of the culprit, whom he appears to have regarded as a person likely to be useful to him in the future.

Such was the state of affairs at Rome when, at the commencement of 61 B.C., it was announced that Pompey was not far from the walls. By the Roman constitution, he was prohibited from entering the city while waiting for his triumph. A meeting of the Senate was accordingly held outside the fortifications, and Pompey made a speech which is described by Cicero as having fallen dead in every respect. He delivered other addresses, both to the Senate and the people, in the Campus Martius, but failed to produce any more favourable impression. It was impossible to tell what were his views on the great questions of the day. Either he had been so long abroad as to have lost all precise knowledge of current affairs, or he was waiting for the turn of events, to see what would be the safest course to pursue. While thus hesitating, the trial of Clodius came on,

when Cicero was the only public man who took a decided part against the offender. Clodius had called the former Consul to prove an *alibi* on his behalf; but not only did he decline to do this—he gave positive testimony against him. With the issue of the trial, however, he had every reason to be content. On the urns being opened, the votes were found to be thirty-one for an acquittal, and twenty-five for a conviction. Bribery had undoubtedly been at work, and the result is attributed to the gold of Crassus. From that time forth, Clodius was the enemy of Cicero.

The Proconsuls were forbidden to depart for their provinces until the decision with respect to Clodius had been announced. Cæsar, therefore, was detained at Rome, instead of leaving for Further Spain; and even when at liberty to set forth, so far as any public edict was concerned, another obstacle interposed. He was so deeply in debt, owing to his enormous expenditure on shows, canvassing, and bribes, that his creditors threatened to arrest him. On his own admission, he was involved to the extent of 250,000,000 sesterces (more than £2,000,000 sterling); but the sum required to pay off the most pressing of his debts, and to defray the preliminary expenses of office, was 830 talents (£200,000). This was supplied by Crassus, and Cæsar started for his province a little after Pompey returned to Rome. It was on the 29th of September, 61 B.C.—a day on which he reached the age of forty-five—that the conqueror of the East entered the capital in triumph. Never before had so magnificent a pageant been witnessed; but never before had any Roman general returned from such a brilliant campaign. The procession lasted two days. Three hundred and twenty-four princes walked before the triumphal car of the victor; spoils of unexampled richness shone and flaunted before the eyes of the citizens; while here and there banners were displayed, announcing that Pompey had taken 1,000 fortresses, 900 towns, and 800 ships,—that he had founded or restored 39 cities, and had added 26,000,000 sesterces to the revenue of the State. Pompey boasted that he had conquered twenty-one kings, and that the province of Asia, which he had found the farthest portion of the Empire towards the east, he had left its centre. Plutarch says that he especially prided himself on having celebrated his third triumph over a third continent; for that, although others before him had triumphed three times, he alone, by having gained his first great success over Libya, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia, seemed to have brought the whole world within the sphere of his conquests. Yet, although exhibiting no inconsiderable share of vanity, he did not abuse his military power to the detriment of the State, nor extravagantly obtrude himself upon the public gaze. During the Circensian games he appeared only once in his triumphal robe, and sought but little for the acclamations on which he must have known that he could reckon.

Great as a general, Pompey now discovered that his genius did not extend to the domain of politics; nor could he clearly discern what line he should pursue. He had been a vacillating man at all times; perhaps a man not strictly honest; but at any rate one on whose support no interest could long depend. He began life as the humble advocate of Sulla; afterwards he opposed all the measures of that Dictator; since then he had inclined towards the aristocratic party; and he now once more looked to the populace for his most efficient allies. The Consuls elected in 61 B.C. for the following year were Afranius (an officer of Pompey) and Metellus Celer. The first of these received the support of his commander, whose great object at the present time was to obtain a ratification of all that he had done in Asia. This, however, was refused by the Senate, which was jealous of the power and popularity of the successful general. During his absence, Pompey had acted like an independent sovereign, and from the Ægean to the Red Sea had arranged everything according to his pleasure. It was necessary to his self-love, and to his position in the eyes of the world, that his edicts should receive the stamp of Senatorial authority. But he demanded this sanction in a manner too confident and peremptory, and it was required by Cato and others that every individual act of the commander should be separately discussed. Rather than submit to such a tedious proceeding—which might, indeed, have resulted in some inconvenient disclosures—Pompey determined to forego the formal ratification altogether, but at the same time prepared a bill for granting lands to his veteran soldiers. Again he encountered the opposition of Cato, together with that of Metellus Celer, the second Consul. A great disturbance ensued, and the Tribune Flavius, who had brought forward the bill on behalf of Pompey, complained that the sanctity of his office had been violated, and caused the Consul to be imprisoned. The Senate strongly resented this insult, and Pompey withdrew his demands for the present. He had fallen all at once from the intoxicating glory of his triumph into the depressing consciousness of repeated failure in connection with affairs of State.

While Pompey was thus wrangling with the Senate, in the first half of 60 B.C., Cæsar was pursuing his career in Spain. The military life of this wonderful commander really began with his Spanish Quæstorship, for his previous experiences were all in a subordinate capacity, and indeed were not numerous. It is a remarkable fact that one of the greatest soldiers of either ancient or modern times should never have had an army, or even a division, under his directions until his fortieth year. In the affair of the pirates, he had indeed exhibited great promptitude, valour, and capacity; but that was a piece of irregular warfare, and furnished but slight preparation for those immense transactions in which Cæsar was afterwards engaged. He himself was painfully conscious of his late beginning, and, when at Gades, shed tears before a statue of Alexander the Great, on reflecting that he had as yet done nothing, at an age when the Macedonian had conquered the world. On arriving in his province, Cæsar found matters in a very unsettled state, owing to the frequent incursions of Lusitanian tribes. Warlike operations were necessary, and he carried them out with remarkable vigour and skill. Penetrating more deeply into the interior of the western peninsula than any of his predecessors, he drove the Lusitanians through the defiles of the Herminian Mountains into the lands beyond. Then placing himself in command of a flotilla, he attacked the rocky strongholds of the enemy on the coast of Gallæcia, and reduced the people to a state of complete subjection. In this way he obtained spoils sufficient to pay off a large part of his debts, and to leave considerable sums for the soldiery. It is to be feared that the unfortunate natives were treated with great severity; but in the Spanish province itself the rule of Cæsar was at once just and firm. He placed the finances on an equitable footing, and relieved the provincials from the burden of obligations they were unable to meet, while at the same time giving satisfaction to their Roman creditors. By his troops, Cæsar was saluted as Imperator, and the Senate voted a thanksgiving in his honour. He had left Rome in the autumn of 61 B.C.; he returned about the middle of 60; and during that brief period of three-quarters of a year he had laid the foundations of his future greatness. His object in returning was that he might put himself forward as a candidate for the Consulship; and so fearful was he that his movements might be delayed by the intentional non-appointment of a successor, that he left his province before any one else had been designated to fill the post he was quitting. He also desired the honour of a triumph, but found himself confronted by a difficulty which he could neither surmount nor evade. Any general to whom a triumph had been conceded was compelled, as we have seen in the case of Pompey, to remain outside the walls of Rome until the day appointed for the ceremony. On the other hand, a candidate for the Consulship was under an obligation to present himself to the people three times in the Forum. These rules had on previous occasions been violated; but in respect of Cæsar the Senate chose to insist upon them. The conqueror of the Lusitanians had therefore to consider which he would abandon—his candidature or his triumph. The aristocratic party, who knew what an enemy they possessed in Cæsar, and would feign have excluded him from the chief executive office, hoped, and perhaps believed, that he would prefer the empty splendour of a procession to the Capitol. But they had not correctly estimated the mind of their antagonist. Cæsar rejected the triumph, disbanded his legions, and, entering the city as a private individual, solicited the votes of the people.

He had long been a favourite with the citizens, and every one knew that his election was certain. The nobles, seeing that they could not prevent what they nevertheless desired to limit, managed that the colleague of Cæsar should be an adherent of their own views. Such a person they found in Calpurnius Bibulus, a son-in-law of Cato; and the latter, in his dislike of Cæsar and his principles, did not scruple to sanction the corrupt practices by which the return of Bibulus was secured. Not without reason did Cicero remark that, although no man meant better than Cato, he ruined the affairs of the commonwealth, since he always spoke as a citizen of Plato's ideal Republic, not as one "dwelling amidst the dregs of Romulus." It was a curious circumstance in the existing condition of parties that Pompey, although so recently discredited by the Senate, formed a sort of pivot on which contending interests turned. Cæsar, who arrived in Rome shortly after the failure of Pompey's attempt to impose his will upon the Senate, entered into negotiations with the proud conqueror of Asia, whose alliance was at the same time craved by Cicero, now fully committed to the oligarchical party, though no one saw more clearly their folly and vainglorious self-reliance. But, in this contest for the possession of Pompey's influence, Cæsar was triumphant over his rival. He proposed to the great general, destined to be his antagonist, that a political union should be formed by themselves and Crassus; and Pompey accepted

the proposal, though he had long regarded Crassus with feelings of enmity. The result was that Cæsar was elected to the Consulship with acclamation. Bibulus occupied the second place, but soon discovered that his authority was simply nominal. The reality of power was in the hands of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, who formed a cabal which has sometimes been called the First Triumvirate. The title, however, is not strictly correct. The union was devoid of any official or recognised character, and was therefore distinct from the real Triumvirate, consisting of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, which was appointed some years later. Neither Pompey nor Crassus held any office at this time; but their influence among the people was great, and it was given to the support of Cæsar's policy.

The first act of Julius Cæsar, on attaining the Consulship in 59 B.C., was an Agrarian Law similar to that which had been proposed the year before by Pompey's agent, Flavius, and which had encountered such violent opposition that it was withdrawn. Before proposing this measure in the popular Assemby, Cæsar read it over in the Senate, where it met with a good reception. Cato, however, endeavoured to frustrate the bill by speaking against time; upon which Cæsar ordered the lictors to arrest him. The Consul immediately afterwards released his opponent, but haughtily told the Senate that he would trouble them no more in the matter. He then enlarged the scope of his bill, and brought it at once before the people. Bibulus, acting in the interests of his clients, the nobles, declared that the measure should not become law while he was Consul; but Pompey and Crassus spoke warmly in its favour, and the former declared that, if swords were drawn to oppose such a law, he would cover it with his shield. On a subsequent day, when the bill was to be further considered, the nobles, after meeting at the house of Bibulus, rushed into the Forum, and endeavoured to dissolve the Assembly by force. An angry conflict followed, in which the assailants were worsted, and Bibulus was driven out of the Forum. The second Consul then brought the matter before the Senate, and, finding that body disinclined to interfere, retired to his house for the remainder of his year of office, from time to time uttering protests against the acts of his colleague, but otherwise resigning his functions to superior ability and predominant force. There was now, in effect, only one Consul at Rome, though the wits said there were still two—Julius and Cæsar. A special clause was introduced into the law, by which every Senator was obliged to bind himself by an oath to observe its provisions; and with this requirement Cato himself complied, though we may well believe with extreme unwillingness.

One of the objects of Cæsar's measure was to assign lands to the veterans of Pompey's army; but its general scope went much farther. The State lands in Campania were to be divided among the poorer citizens, especially among those who had as many as three children. Agriculture had declined for several generations, and much of the Italian soil had passed into a desert state. It was the noble ambition of Cæsar to remedy these crying evils, and the measure which he carried against the wishes of his colleague contained several provisions by which such a result might be effected. Recent conquests in the East had put the State in possession of large sums, by which land might be purchased from private owners. Such was the wish of Cæsar; but in all the plenitude of his power he proceeded with a moderation, and in a spirit of equity, not always observed by later politicians. He declared that the cessions should be voluntary, and that compensation should be given in accordance with the estimated value of the last census. He went farther, and announced that he would not press his scheme against the wishes of the nobles. The aristocracy, however, were not conciliated by these advances; and it was not until the Senate had exhibited a spirit of violent opposition to the measure that Cæsar removed it from their cognisance, and threw himself wholly upon the popular Assembly. Thenceforward he seldom convened the Senate at all, being of opinion that the Tribes, in their Comitia, were competent to make laws by their own single authority. The Agrarian Law was carried under the circumstances already related, and the Senate perceived that they had found their master in one who, until but recently, had occupied no very conspicuous position. All this while, Cicero had been living in retirement at his country villa. He seems to have been perplexed at the course affairs had taken, and to have hesitated as to the side which he should adopt as his own.

Encouraged by his success, Cæsar now brought forward a measure for relieving the Equites from one-third of the sum which they had offered to the State for farming the taxes of Asia, but which they had since discovered was more than they could conveniently pay. An act to the same purpose had been introduced by Crassus the year before; but Cicero denounced it as the recognition of a shameless demand, and it fell through. The bill was now carried by the influence of Cæsar; and the triumphant Consul then obtained from the

people a full ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia. Thus the Senate was worsted at all turns, and it simply remained for Cæsar to make some provision for himself after the period of his Consular office should have expired. One of his agents, the Tribune Vatinius, proposed a law by which he was invested, as Proconsul, with the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria—a position which he was to enjoy for the unusual period of five years. Cæsar hoped to find in these regions an opportunity for the display of that military genius which he now knew to be within him; and, as the provinces in question were not very far from Rome, he felt that he would still be in a position to exercise an influence at the capital, should he obtain the successes to which he confidently looked forward. In Transalpine Gaul there had recently been trouble. The Allobrogians had taken arms against their oppressors on being disappointed of those concessions which they conceived they had a right to expect after the service which their envoys at Rome had performed in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy. They had, indeed, been subdued by Pomptinus; yet it was known that their disaffection remained. The German tribes upon the frontier were making frequent inroads into Gaul, and the people of Helvetia (the modern Switzerland) were endeavouring to assert their independence of the Imperial city. Cæsar accordingly obtained the government, not merely of Illyria and Cisalpine Gaul, but of Transalpine Gaul as well. Four legions were placed under his command, and the members of the Senate doubtless thought that, in sending their adversary beyond the Italian frontiers, they had relieved themselves of a dangerous rival, and had perhaps put matters in training for the disappearance of Cæsar altogether. The popular leader, however, was in fact taking a most important step in his onward career; and in quitting Rome he left behind him, for the present, a devoted friend in Pompey. That general had recently divorced his wife Mucia, and Cæsar had conferred on him the hand of his daughter Julia, a young and beautiful woman, who thus formed a link between these two extraordinary men.

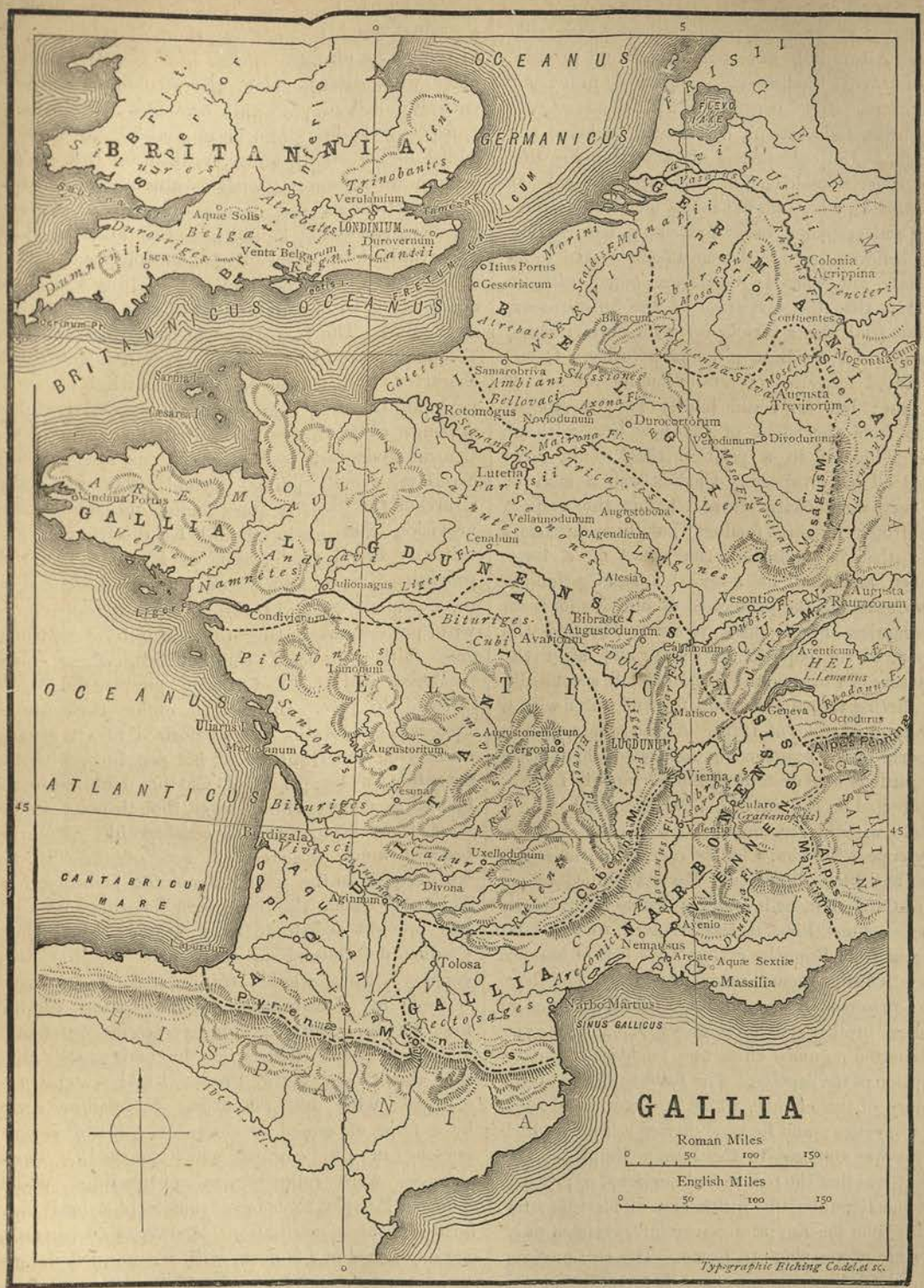
The position of Cicero at this time was one of painful obscurity, when we consider the brilliant heights of power which he had at one time reached. A complete and very curious picture of his feelings is contained in the well-known letters to his friend Pomponius Atticus—a man of liberal nature and amiable disposition, who had obtained his second name from a long residence at Athens, where he endeared himself to the people, and became a perfect master of their language. Cicero was disheartened by his loss of popularity, and disappointed that he had not obtained the confidence and support of Pompey. He still believed in the personal friendship of that general, and relied on his protection in case of any serious danger. Yet he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, as a politician, Pompey had ranged himself with Cæsar, and therefore in opposition to all those views which had now been adopted by Cicero. Affairs were indeed assuming an evil aspect for that versatile genius. Clodius, whom his evidence on the trial for sacrilege had converted into one of his greatest enemies, was elected to the Tribunate in 59 B.C. for the following year; and so gravely was this fact regarded by Pompey that he obliged Clodius to swear he would do Cicero no harm. Cæsar apparently doubted whether an oath taken by such a man would have the slightest effect, and, in the generous spirit which was seldom absent from his nature, he invited Cicero to accompany him to Gaul as Legate, at the same time offering him, as an alternative, one of the Commissionerships for carrying out the Agrarian Law. Cicero declined both, and the military post was given to his brother Quintus, who subsequently distinguished himself in the Gallic campaigns.

Notwithstanding the kindness of Cæsar's offer to Cicero, the election of Clodius to the Tribunate had been attended by a circumstance which marked the political antagonism of the First Consul to the once popular orator. Clodius, as member of an aristocratic family, could not be chosen to the essentially democratic office of Tribune without being first legally declared a plebeian. He sought the aid of such a law, but would perhaps have failed, had it not been for an act of imprudence on the part of Cicero. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, had just returned from Macedon, where his rule had been characterised by extortionate practices of the worst nature. Being impeached for these crimes, his cause was defended by Cicero, who made some severe reflections on the existing posture of affairs. An account of this speech was conveyed to Cæsar, who, in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, immediately concurred in the law for making Clodius a plebeian. His election at once followed, and Cicero, though standing his ground, saw that his position was one of no inconsiderable peril. Matters were rendered worse by the result of the Consular elections, when the popular vote was given in favour of Calpurnius Piso (whose daughter had recently been married by Cæsar),

and Aulus Gabinius, an intimate friend of Pompey. The policy of the Triumviral Cabal was therefore certain to be pursued in the following year, and the reaction for which Cicero had hoped was as far off as ever. He was unfortunate, moreover, in his defence of Antonius, who was condemned for his wrongful acts. Cicero had evidently declined very much from the lofty principles of his earlier years. The case of Antonius is particularly bad; for when Cicero transferred to him the government of Macedon, in order that he might the more completely devote himself to the extirpation of the Catilinarian conspiracy, he exacted from his colleague a promise that he would make him some pecuniary indemnity for the relinquishment of his province; and the extortion of the Proconsul was partly owing to this obligation. The circumstance may perhaps have bound Cicero in honour to do the best he could for his friend when brought to trial; but it shows the discreditable nature of the whole proceeding, and lowers Cicero in the eyes of posterity.

ROMAN STUDY.

The bitter enmity of Clodius was not long in showing itself after his election to the Tribunate. Early in 58 B.C. he proposed a bill to interdict from fire and water any man who had put Roman citizens to death without trial. This measure, which had the support of the two Consuls, was obviously directed against Cicero. Cæsar, from whom more liberal views might have been expected, had just left the city for his province, though he remained for some time outside the gates, ready to support the authority of Clodius, should the necessity arise. Dismayed at the prospect before him, Cicero appeared in the Forum with the gestures of a suppliant, pleaded his cause from house to house, and endeavoured to excite compassion by the assumption of mourning garments. Many of the Senators, Knights, and poorer citizens, followed his example, and went about in black, with their hair unshorn. A great deal of sympathy was exhibited for the fallen orator, and friendly deputations from the Italian cities made their way to Rome. The Senate even went so far as to propose a decree that the people generally should change their dress, as for a public calamity. The Consuls, however, ordered those who had already so acted to assume their ordinary attire; but when Clodius appeared in arms among the Senators, to enforce this edict, many of them ran out, tearing their clothes, and calling on the people to rescue the Father of his country from the persecution of his enemies. The contrary feeling was strong also. Cicero and his adherents were pelted in the streets, and blood might have been shed, had not the orator wisely resolved to



GALLIA

Roman Miles

0 50 100 150

English Miles

0 50 100 150

MAP OF GAUL AND PART OF BRITAIN.

adopt a pacific course. He sought the good offices of Pompey, who had purposely retired to his villa on the Alban hill, but could obtain no promise of assistance. Clodius still continued inflexible, and Cicero, after consulting his friends Cato, Hortensius, and Atticus, determined to leave the country, as the only means of protecting his life. After some wanderings, he took up his abode at Thessalonica, where he fell into a mood of despondency and suspicion, of so extreme a nature that some believed his mind was affected. He must now have felt, what to Cæsar was apparent from the first, that the execution of the conspirators, without trial, was a serious error for his own sake, as well as a needless piece of severity. Cæsar deprecated measures of retaliation for an act of the past; but he could hardly have protected Cicero from the effect of the new law, without placing himself in a position that would have ruined all his prospects. Clodius was a man of the very worst character, and had in this respect acted from revengeful feelings; but there can be no doubt that he embodied the views of a large number, and that he asserted a legal principle indispensable to the protection of individuals from the caprices of despotic power. He had the support of the popular Assembly, and, after the departure of Cicero, carried another bill, specifically interdicting the offender from fire and water within four hundred miles of Italy. At the same time, the property of the fugitive was confiscated, his houses and gardens were destroyed, and a temple to Liberty was erected on the site of his Palatine villa.

Left without any opponent who could successfully cope with him, Clodius carried his measures with but little difficulty. He determined to get rid of Cato; but, as it was impossible to bring any charge against him, it was resolved to effect his removal from Rome by giving him a post of honour. When Clodius, some years previously, had been taken prisoner by the pirates, Ptolemy, Prince of Cyprus, brother of the reigning King of Egypt, contributed no more than two talents for the redemption of the captive. The Tribune stored up the memory of this offence, which he determined some day to avenge; and he now carried a law by which Cyprus was annexed to the Roman Empire. The pretext was that the prince had neglected to procure from the Republic the ratification of his title; for by this time the Egyptian sovereignty existed only in a state of vassalage to Rome. The real motive, so far as Clodius was concerned, is to be discovered in his feeling of personal rancour, and also in the hope that Cyprus, as an ancient seat of commerce, would be found stored with wealth. Cato was invested with Prætorian rank for the execution of a scheme which was nothing short of robbery. So virtuous a philosopher should have rejected such an office with disdain; but the principles of Cato entirely failed him on this occasion. He said he must obey the law; and he obeyed it. It must be added to his credit, however, that he carried out an iniquitous sentence with as much consideration and kindness as the nature of such a business permitted, and that he did not avail himself of his opportunities to acquire dishonourable wealth.

Rome was truly unfortunate in falling under the dominion of so violent and profligate a demagogue as Clodius. The measures which distinguished his Tribunate were for the most part of an objectionable character, and conceived rather with a view to flattering the mob than advancing popular rights. Amongst other things, he limited the power of the Censors to degrade unworthy citizens, and passed a corn-law which, going beyond that of Caius Gracchus (in itself a questionable measure), made provision that grain should be distributed gratuitously to all the citizens of Rome. The rich provinces of Syria and Macedonia were bestowed on the Consuls Piso and Gabinius, who were invested with powers amounting to a breach of national good faith. Several communities, whose independence had been formally guaranteed, were directed to place themselves under the rule of Piso, while Gabinius was authorised to attack any country on the frontiers of his province, with the exception of Egypt. But Clodius had made for himself an enemy whose power, though not equal to what it had been, was still considerable. Pompey brooded much over certain acts of the Tribune with respect to the young Armenian prince, son of Tigranes, whom the conqueror of that monarch had brought to Rome as a hostage, and whom Clodius determined to send back to his own country. The whole transaction was characterised by deceit and violence; for Clodius first got the youth into his possession by fraud, and, some time after, when he had again fallen into the hands of the Prætor Flavius, who was charged with his detention, took him away by a force of armed retainers, who killed several persons in the combat which ensued. These outrages were followed by proceedings which induced Pompey to believe that a plot had been formed for his assassination. A slave of Clodius was one day seized at his door, with a concealed dagger on his person; and he confessed that he had been instructed by his master to murder the hero of Asia.

Thus threatened, Pompey shut himself up in close retirement, but at the same time employed all

his energies against the Tribune. He roused the Senate to resistance, and obtained the election of Consuls favourable to his own views. These were Lentulus Spinther and Metellus Nepos; and their first act, when entering into power on the 1st of January, 57 B.C., was to demand the recall of Cicero. Clodius, though now devoid of office, excited the rabble to tumultuous action against the new authorities. The Senate, on their side, employed the services of a man named Milo—who had been elected to the Tribunate, and who was as fiery and unscrupulous as Clodius himself—to oppose the operations of that demagogue with violence equal to his own; and Rome became the scene of sanguinary combats between armed bands of ruffians and gladiators. These terrible conflicts continued for seven months; but at the end of that time the Tribes voted with acclamations the recall of Cicero, who had recently taken up his abode at Dyrrachium, in Illyria. His return has been compared to a triumphal procession, extending from the port of Brundusium to the heart of Rome. Whatever his faults, he had undoubtedly been treated with no slight ingratitude; and the experiences of the last few years made a marked change in the direction of his mind and the habits of his life. From that time forward, he thought less of politics, and more of philosophy; and, in his beautiful retreat at Tusculum, from the woody heights of which he could behold the mighty city at his feet, he employed the larger part of his time in speculations which have an abiding interest for the whole human race.

CHAPTER XXV.

CÆSAR IN GAUL AND BRITAIN.

State of Gaul at the time of Cæsar's Proconsulship—Internal Dissensions among the Gallic Tribes—Alliance of the Ædui with the Romans—Interposition of the Suevi in Gallic Affairs—Irruption of the Helvetii into Gaul—Pursuit of the Invaders by Cæsar, and Crushing Defeat—Connection of the Helvetians with the People of Rhætia—The Invaders Retire to their Own Valleys—Interview of Cæsar with Ariovistus, the Chief of the Suevi—Cæsar in Vesontio—Cowardly Apprehensions of Some of his Troops—A Mutiny Suppressed—Renewed Negotiations with Ariovistus—Final Rupture, and Battle with the Suevi—Conduct of Cæsar towards the Gauls—Threatening Movements of the Belgic Tribes—Their Defeat by Cæsar—Desperate Action with the Nervii—Alleged Treachery of the Aduatici—Honours Paid to Cæsar at Rome—Revolt of the Veneti and other Tribes of Western Gaul—Hostile Movements in Various Directions—Complete Subjugation of Gaul—Cæsar at Lucca, in Cisalpine Gaul—Meeting with Pompey and Crassus—State of Affairs at Rome—Decline in the Influence of Pompey—Cato and Clodius—Election of Pompey and Crassus to the Consulship—Renewed Violence at Rome—Invasion of Gaul by Germans—Expedition of Cæsar into Germany—Britain and its Early History—Origin of the British People—Legendary Chronicles of the Island—Etymology of the Names Albion and Britain—Character of the People, as Described by Cæsar—The Religious Practices and Tenets of Druidism—Expedition of Cæsar to Britain—His Landing on the Coast of Kent, and Subsequent Retreat—Second Expedition in the Following Year—Advance of Cæsar to the Thames, and Second Retirement from the Island.

WHEN Cæsar left for the North in 58 B.C., the Gallic provinces subject to Rome were Gallia Citerior, or Cisalpine Gaul (constituting what we now call Northern Italy), and Gallia Ulterior, or the southern part of Transalpine Gaul, sometimes called Provincia, a name which survives to the present day in Provence, though the old territory included not merely the modern country so termed, but East Languedoc and Dauphiné as well. Thus Provincia extended from the Mediterranean on the south, to the Cebenna mountains on the north. The territory of the Allobroges, who had only recently been overcome, lay beyond; but by far the greater part of Gaul was still independent. By Cæsar, Further Gaul was divided into Aquitania, Celtica, and Belgica; and this was the region which he subdued. The people of the Province were now Romanised. Under the supervision of Roman governors and Roman garrisons, they had learned the arts of civilisation, and were wholly distinct from the savage barbarians who, nearly three centuries and a half before, devastated Italy, and sacked Rome itself. Cultivated lands spread round cities of some importance, and the speech of Rome made progress among the children of a different race. But in other localities the untamed populations remained in their original state, and the military genius of Cæsar marked them out for conquest. In very early times, the Gauls had been a purely Celtic stock, and they were still principally so; but more recently there had been some admixture. To the south-west, the Iberians

of Spain had settled between the Pyrenees and the Garonne. Eastward, the Germans had crossed the Rhine in large numbers and on frequent occasions; in other directions, the Belgæ, the Cimbri, the Suevi, and the Helvetians, had established themselves in some of the best parts of that fertile land. The Gauls of Cæsar's day were therefore by no means homogeneous; yet they still belonged in the main to the great Celtic family, and indeed the Belgæ and Helvetians were descended partly from the same stock.

The central regions of Gaul were occupied by the Galli, or Gaels—a nation divided into several tribes, and belonging (as some suppose) to the same family as the Highlanders of Scotland, and the Celtic population of Ireland. By the middle of the last century before the Christian era, these Galli had acquired a slight degree of civilisation, though not of a high order. Commerce was practised by their tribes, and the priests of the national faith had some rudimentary skill in literature. Their religion was a species of high Nature-worship, taking a Polytheistic form, as Nature-worship often does, and having some resemblance to the Brahminical system of the Hindoos. But the general character of the race was sensual and frivolous, and for some time past they had lost the martial qualities which had once distinguished them. The principal of the Gallic tribes were the Arverni, the Ædui, and the Sequani. These three were united in a Confederation, the affairs of which were managed by a general convention of deputies, to which the smaller divisions were expected to submit. But the leading tribes were far from agreeing among themselves, and frequent struggles for the headship weakened the strength of the whole body. The Ædui, seeking to obtain supremacy by foreign aid, had allied themselves with the Romans, and, on the strength of this association, had acted in a domineering spirit towards their neighbours. To resist this tyranny, the Arverni and Sequani formed a league for mutual protection, and solicited the aid of the Suevi, under their chief, Ariovistus. The Suevi were a people of Germany, whose country lay between the Elbe and the Vistula, on the northern side of the Hercynian Forest; and, as their habits were warlike and predatory, they gladly listened to the request of the Arverni and Sequani. The Ædui were unable to withstand so powerful a combination, and, being defeated, were compelled to deliver hostages. But the usual result of calling in foreign aid was soon apparent. Having obtained a footing in Central Gaul, the Suevi were unwilling to depart. They demanded of the Sequani a third part of their territory, but found themselves opposed by a combination of Gauls, who forgot their dissensions in the presence of a common danger. Ariovistus, however, had gradually concentrated under his banner more than a hundred thousand fighting men—warriors of proved capacity in the field; and the Gauls were beaten in a disastrous engagement, which was followed by still more extreme demands on the part of the German intruders.

Before the departure of Cæsar for his province, the chief of the Ædui went to Rome to crave succour for his unfortunate people. He there became acquainted with Cæsar, Cicero, and other eminent men, and doubtless conceived great hopes of what would ensue when the new Proconsul arrived at his seat of government. The departure of Cæsar was at length hastened by a movement of the Helvetii, who, threatened possibly by a Teutonic invasion from the east, broke out of their narrow valleys, and poured into the adjacent parts of Gaul. These people had been preparing for their expedition for two years. At the end of that time, they assembled at the outlet of Lake Lemanus to the number of 368,000, including women and children, and, having set fire to four hundred of their villages, started on their westward march. The leader was a chieftain named Orgetorix, who entered into relations with the Ædui and Sequani, and concerted arrangements by which the three nations were to acquire a sort of federal sovereignty. To the Helvetii, however, this seemed to be a plot against their personal liberties, and Orgetorix, being required to defend himself against the charge, put an end to his life. The Gauls now refused to admit the emigrants into their country, and the attention of the latter was therefore directed towards the Roman province, which they desired to traverse, in order that they might thus obtain a secure passage into independent Gaul. The Romans looked with great dislike on the intrusion of these barbarians, and Cæsar hurriedly left Rome in 58 B.C., that he might repel anything in the nature of an invasion. Fearful of offending so great a power, the Helvetians asked permission to cross the bridge at Geneva, at the same time promising to pass through Roman Gaul without doing any injury to the people. This requirement was peremptorily refused by Cæsar, who, travelling with the utmost rapidity, had reached the threatened point in eight days. The state of affairs was not a little formidable. On the other side of the Rhone, a large body of Helvetians was collected in something like battle-array. Denied what they had asked, it was not im-

probable they would take the matter into their own hands, and the whole Roman province could not furnish more than a single legion to defend the passage of the river. Cæsar therefore immediately broke down the bridge at Geneva, and, in the brief space of a week, during which he persuaded the barbarians to suspend all action, threw up a line of mounds and trenches, extending ten miles from the lake to the defile by which the Helvetians hoped to make their way into the country of the Santones. By this time, also, additional forces had been brought up, and the Helvetians, after an ineffectual attempt to cross the river and surmount the Roman fortifications, turned towards the mountains on the western bank of the stream, which, after some negotiation with the Æduans and Sequanians, they were permitted to pass.

Relieved from all immediate danger, Cæsar hastened back to Rome, that he might hurry forward the preparation of those forces which it was intended he should have at his disposal. Again making his way northward with fiery expedition, he once more found himself on the banks of the Rhone, but this time with five legions instead of only one. The addition to his force inspired him with the resolution of pursuing the Helvetians into the inner parts of Gaul. In the meanwhile, the invaders had been slowly crossing the Arar, or Saône, and the last of their divisions were still on the hithermost side of the stream when the Romans came up. The detachment was almost annihilated, and Cæsar, throwing a bridge across the river, hurried on after the main body. The Helvetians, who were advancing in a northerly direction through the country of the Æduí, appear to have considered themselves perfectly safe from pursuit. By the Romans, the country was found denuded of all supplies, and the conduct of the inhabitants was anything but friendly. Cæsar was at length obliged to turn aside in the direction of Bibracte (Autun), the capital of the Æduí, where he was presently attacked by the Helvetians, who considered that he was flying before them. Disposing his legions on the slopes of a hill, the summit of which he entrenched for the protection of his baggage, Cæsar sent away all the horses (including his own), to prevent the possibility of flight, and prepared for a stern encounter. The barbarians fought with great spirit, but their utmost valour was unavailing against the solid masses and steady discipline of the Romans. Large numbers were slain; the remainder retreated towards a neighbouring mountain, followed by their antagonists, who had themselves suffered severely in the engagement. During the pursuit, the conquerors were suddenly attacked in flank by the Helvetian rear-guard, numbering 15,000, and the battle was resumed. Cæsar ordered his third line to face round, and drive back these unexpected assailants, while the other lines were engaged with the Helvetian main body. Thus, two distinct battles were proceeding at the same time, and from noon to sunset the desperate struggle continued. As night approached, one part of the Helvetian army withdrew to the mountain, while the rest sought refuge among their baggage. Here they maintained a furious resistance far into the night, and were nearly all killed by the next morning. Those who finally escaped, and who amounted to 130,000, pursued a northerly course towards the country of the Lingones, and the Romans were so much exhausted that they were unable to pursue for the next three days, during which time they were sufficiently occupied in attending to their wounded, and burying their dead.

In his account of the Gallic War, Cæsar records that various written tablets were discovered in the Helvetian camp, containing the muster of the different tribes, and he says that these tablets were written in Greek characters. The fact seems very improbable, and the most likely explanation is that the letters were of the old Etruscan form, which somewhat resembled the archaic Greek. These letters may have been introduced into Helvetia by the Rhætians, or Rasenna, who, as we have shown in the first Chapter of this volume, are supposed to have been the progenitors of the ruling class in Etruria. At the expiration of the three days, Cæsar marched in pursuit of the Helvetians, whom he speedily overtook. Taught by their late experience, they made no further attempt at resistance, but placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the conqueror. The greater number were allowed, or rather ordered, to return to their homes among the mountains of Helvetia, where it was hoped that they would form a barrier against the Germans, and so prevent a Teutonic invasion of the Roman province. One of the Helvetian tribes was permitted to remain among the Æduí, who were willing to receive them, while another, which was thought to have acted ill, was treated with much severity. Those who returned to their native valleys numbered 110,000 individuals, including men, women, and children; so that 258,000 must have died, been sold into slavery, or settled upon Gallic lands, since the expedition set out.

This great success advanced the reputation of Cæsar among the Gauls to an immeasurable degree. He was looked upon as the one man who could save them from the dictation of Ariovistus and his

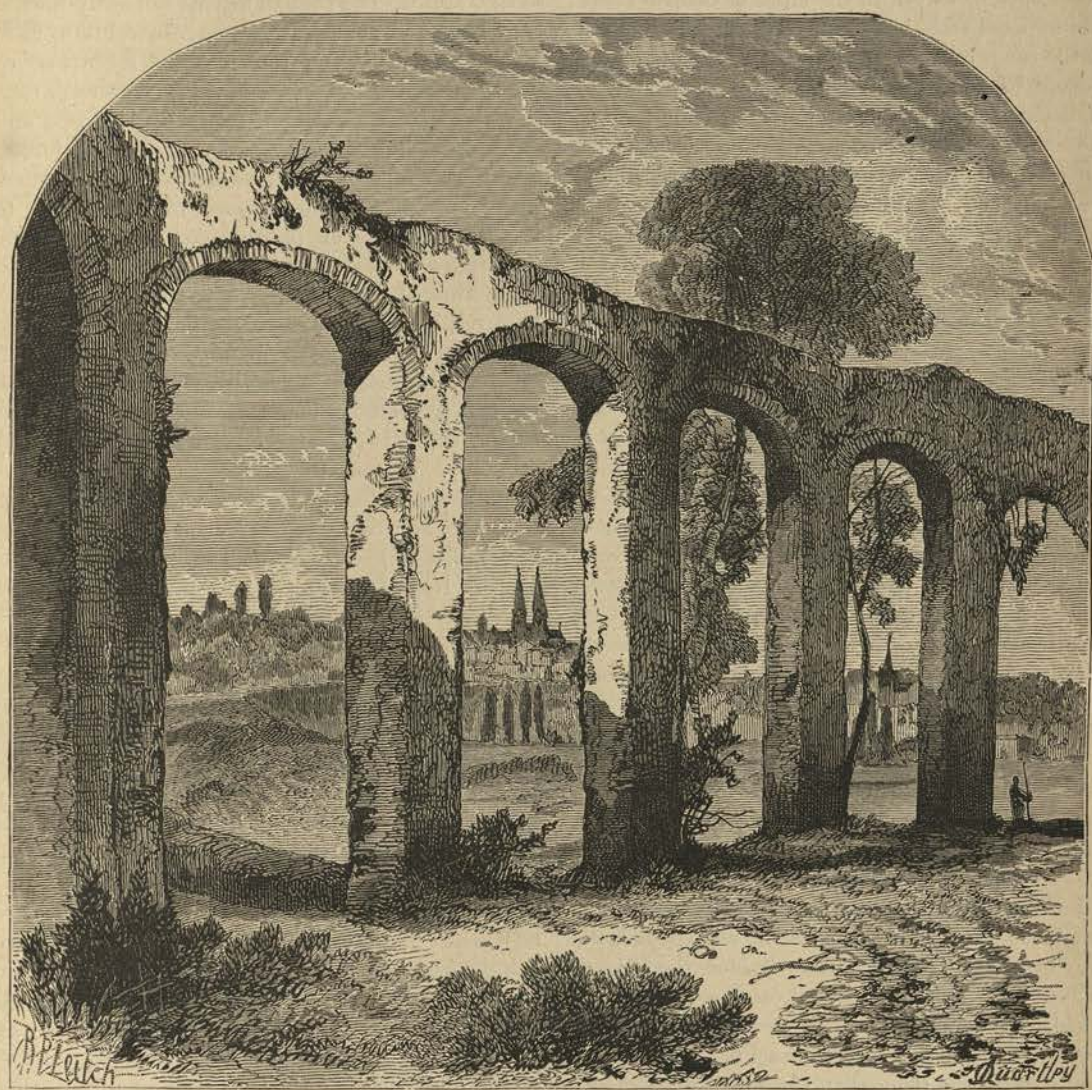
Suevi, and the aspiring Roman was not unwilling to act such a part. In his Consulship of the previous year, he had induced the Senate to acknowledge Ariovistus as a friend of Rome; but this did not now prevent his assuming a position of hostility, though it compelled him to act with caution. In the first instance, he proposed an interview with Ariovistus; but the German chieftain haughtily replied, "If I wanted anything of Cæsar, I should go to seek him; if Cæsar wants anything of me, let him come hither." The Proconsul then addressed him in the language of command and menace; to which Ariovistus replied that no man had ever attacked him without finding cause to repent it, that Cæsar might engage when he pleased, and that he would soon learn he had to deal with warriors who for fourteen years had never sought the shelter of a roof. His previous triumphs justified the German leader in the adoption of this tone, and his confidence was all the greater in consequence of the fact that many more of his countrymen were about to cross the Rhine, so as to overwhelm the whole of Gaul with a vast martial immigration. The city of Vesontio (Besançon) was threatened with immediate capture by the Suevi, and the Sequani admitted the Roman commander within its walls, that he might take measures for the defence. Cæsar was in truth glad of an opportunity to recruit his forces, and to restore their discipline, which was in some degree impaired by the fatigues they had undergone, by the dangers of an unknown country, and by the exaggerated accounts they had received touching the enormous size and strength, and the invincible bravery, of the Germans. These cowardly apprehensions were due to the young Patrician officers in Cæsar's army, and to others who, although they had followed their general out of personal friendship, were enervated by the luxuries of Rome. Matters had indeed come to a grave pass when these degenerate children of the Imperial city could do nothing better than withdraw into their tents, and arrange their wills. The panic spread even among some of the veterans, and attempts were made to dissuade Cæsar from any further advance. He was told that the roads were impracticable, that no provisions could be found, and that the soldiers would refuse to march when ordered to do so. Confronted by this menacing spirit, which had proceeded to a point not far short of mutiny, Cæsar assembled his officers, and plainly told them that they were not entitled to discuss the measures of their chief. He reminded them that, so far from the Germans being invincible, they had been vanquished by Marius, and finally intimated that he would raise the camp next morning, but that all might depart who preferred to quit the service. For himself, he would march forth with the tenth legion alone, on the devotion of which he knew he could rely.

This bold appeal had the effect which Cæsar probably anticipated. The malcontents, struck with shame, implored that they might be led against the enemy together with their comrades, and Cæsar, quitting Vesontio, set out in search of Ariovistus. It was not until after a march of seven days in a northerly direction that the Romans came in sight of the German cantonments. Ariovistus had doubted whether he should be pursued so far, and on the appearance of the legions was so astonished that this time he himself desired a conference. At the meeting which followed, he adopted a very bold and confident tone. The Romans, he said, had their own province, but that region was his. He could see, he added, through the mask of alliance with which the Romans attempted to conceal their true designs, and was not ignorant of the fact that their real intention was to subjugate the whole of Gaul. Not content with these arguments, he proceeded to a revelation which must have been somewhat startling to his adversary. He alleged that many emissaries had reached him from the great men at Rome, with offers of good will and service if he only rid them of Cæsar. But, he continued, if he were left in free possession of Gaul, he would charge himself with the conduct of all the wars in that country which the policy of his opponent might demand. Cæsar knew well the bitterness of faction at Rome, and was not unaware that the leaders of the Patrician party desired nothing better than his removal. But he was probably unprepared to find that his personal enemies at the capital had actually entered into negotiations with a foreigner—and one who might possibly be an enemy to the Roman dominion beyond the Alps—with a view to his discomfiture, and possibly his death. We must of course recollect that this statement rests solely on the authority of Cæsar himself;* but the history of the Patrician party at Rome is such as to render the charge but too probable.

A warlike collision was inevitable. Ariovistus had said that, if Cæsar did not at once depart with his army, he would treat him as a foe; and Cæsar was the last man to recoil before such a threat. Immediately after the interview, the German chieftain arrested Valerius Procillus, Cæsar's friend and confidential interpreter, and threw him into chains.

* Commentaries on the Gallic War, Book I., chap. 44.

Mettius, who had gone to the German camp to renew the negotiations, was similarly treated, and Cæsar prepared for battle. For the present, however, Ariovistus was not well inclined to the combat, as the German matrons had declared that had not young Crassus, son of the celebrated general of that name, moved up the rear line obliquely to the support of the threatened legions, when, after an obstinate contest, the Germans fled precipitately towards the Rhine. The river was



AQUEDUCT AT POITIERS, OF OLD THE CAPITAL OF THE PICTONES.

a defeat would certainly ensue if the action were fought before the new moon. This was all the more reason why Cæsar should force on the attack, and he therefore assumed a position which compelled the Germans to come out. The armies approached one another at a rapid pace, when Cæsar concentrated his attack on the left of the enemy's line, which was evidently the weakest point. His own left, however, was also wanting in strength, and might have been broken by the German right, several miles off, and many of the barbarians were slain by Cæsar's cavalry before they could reach its banks. Ariovistus and others succeeded in getting across; but the chieftain's two wives, together with one of his daughters, were killed in the frantic rush. Valerius Procillus and Mettius were rescued, and the campaign came to an end under circumstances of promise for the future of Roman power in that portion of Europe.

Cæsar wintered in the country which he had

relieved from its Teutonic invaders, and, confident in the power of his armies, acted more like a sovereign than an ally. Magistrates were appointed and deposed at his sole pleasure, and some of his own officers were invested with authority, either open or covert, in the cities of Central Gaul. The national assemblies were convened by the will of the conqueror, and the military outposts of the Roman Republic were advanced into the valley of the Saône. Of course these acts took the form of protection against the menaces of German invaders; but the Gauls had to pay for their safety by liberal contributions. There were some, indeed, to whom this interference was not welcome, and they found support among the Belgic tribes north-east of the Sequana, or Seine. The Belgæ are described by Cæsar as Germans; but they were in all probability a mixed race, partly Teutonic, partly Celtic. They were at all events a superior people to the purer Gauls of the south-west. Their martial virtues were considerable, and they possessed an energy of character very different from the fickle levity of the other tribes. But amongst the Belgæ there was one community which thought it advisable to side with the Romans. The Remi sent envoys to Cæsar, informing him of what was contemplated by the other Belgians, and offering him supplies, together with a passage through their territory. The Proconsul accordingly raised two new legions, without asking the authority of the Senate, and early in 57 B.C. entered the Belgic territory at the head of eight legions. Passing through the country of the Remi, he crossed the river Axona (Aisne), and fortified his camp with a rampart twelve feet high, and a ditch eighteen feet deep. The position was so strong that the Belgians did not venture to attack it, and, after a severe defeat, considered it prudent to break up their league, and conduct the war in separate bodies. Thus divided, the Belgian tribes were beaten in detail, and several towns yielded to Cæsar. Disheartened by the turn of events, the chiefs of the Bellovaci fled into Britain, and it was from them that the inhabitants of our island first became acquainted with the name of Rome, and with the prowess of her people. The Belgic tribes thus subdued were for the most part of Celtic blood; but Cæsar now advanced against others which were mainly Germanic, and which had their seats in the district between the rivers now called the Sambre and the Scheldt. Here, surrounded by forests and morasses, they maintained a haughty independence, and nurtured in their frigid climate the masculine virtues which others had forgotten. Amongst these tribes, the Nervii had earned the highest reputation for valour and fortitude; and the Romans soon discovered that their fame was very far from undeserved.

The march of the invaders was through thick woods, which added immensely to the peril of a sudden attack. The Roman legions generally moved in a long and comparatively narrow column, each body separated from the rest by its array of baggage-waggons. It was obvious, therefore, that the head of such a column might be surprised and crushed, in the devious paths of a deep forest, before the others could come to its assistance. The Nervii had obtained some intelligence as to the Roman mode of progression, and, concealing themselves behind rising ground thickly set with trees, awaited the arrival of the vanguard. Cæsar, however, suspecting some such design, had altered his dispositions, and so arranged his force that six out of the eight legions marched together, and the baggage of the whole followed under the escort of the other two. The Nervii were accordingly astounded to find themselves in presence of the main body, instead of a weak detachment; but, with the intrepidity of their race, they at once attacked, and that at a moment very inopportune for the Romans. The legionaries, being unaware that their enemy was so close at hand, had piled their arms, and were preparing to intrench their camp, when the Nervii burst upon them. They had no time to form, or even to put on their helmets, before the barbarians were in their midst; and their perplexities were greatly increased by the nature of the country, which was so cut up by lines of hedges that the various divisions of the Roman force had the utmost difficulty in communicating with one another. Discipline, however, speedily asserted itself on the left and centre of Cæsar's line; on the right, the Romans were driven back with immense slaughter, and two legions were for a time so completely disorganised that they were unable to use their weapons in the narrow space into which they had been penned.

The crisis was desperate. Cæsar perceived that nothing but personal heroism could redeem the fortunes of the day, and, seizing the buckler of a legionary, he dashed into the tumultuous ranks. The assailants were driven back; the Romans gained additional ground, and the cohesion of the line was once more established. The reserve now came up from the rear, and the tenth legion—the favourite legion of Cæsar—returned from the pursuit of those whom they had previously worsted. This was the turning-point of the battle. The valorous barbarians at length gave way, and it is said that nearly the whole of their army

perished on the spot. Cæsar asserts that the Nervii were nearly exterminated; but at any rate the women and children remained, and, when these sued for mercy, the victor restored to them their territory and towns. Most of the tribes submitted; but the Aduatici, who are described as the descendants of a mixed body of Cimbri and Teutones, retired to their stronghold, and prepared to withstand a siege. They were struck with dismay, however, by the sight of the movable towers and battering-rams which the Romans, in common with other nations of antiquity, employed in the operations of war, but of which these savages had had no previous experience. They accordingly begged for peace, and Cæsar required of them to throw their arms outside the ramparts. In obedience to this order, several weapons were flung down, but others were treacherously retained, and in the evening Cæsar was attacked in his entrenchments. The Aduatici were repulsed with heavy loss; on the following day, their stronghold was entered by the Romans, and the people were sold into slavery, to the number of 53,000. Such, at least, is Cæsar's own account of the matter, and it is very possible that there was bad faith on the part of these unhappy barbarians, driven to bay by an enemy whom they were not strong enough to repel. All the Gallic tribes now submitted, and even some of the nations beyond the Rhine sent humble embassies to the conqueror. Repairing shortly afterwards to Cisalpine Gaul, he demanded supplies of men and money, and his position was one of such unquestioned predominance that even his personal enemies at Rome refrained from opposition. On the motion of Cicero, the Senate, in recognition of his exploits, voted a thanksgiving to the gods for the unprecedented number of fifteen days—five days beyond what had been considered sufficient for the glory of Pompey, on the conclusion of the last war with Mithridates.

The third Gallic campaign of Cæsar was in 56 B.C., and arose out of a formidable movement among the western Gauls. The younger Crassus, while wintering with one legion among the Andecavi, despatched officers to the tribes dwelling on the Atlantic coast, in the part afterwards called Armorica, and now Bretagne, to ask for provisions. The chief of these people were the Veneti, a seafaring race, possessed of numerous ships, in which they traded with Britain and other countries. Such a community might naturally be expected to exhibit a high spirit when required by a foreigner to furnish supplies for purposes in which they were not interested. They accordingly arrested the Roman agents, and refused to relinquish them until certain hostages of their own were restored. The neighbouring tribes along the coast gave their adhesion to the Veneti, and warlike preparations were commenced. Cæsar, who had by this time returned to Central Gaul, took immediate measures for guarding against the danger. He ordered galleys to be constructed on the Ligeris (Loire), and required a contribution of ships from the friendly tribes of the Pictones and Santones. Having thus furnished himself with a fleet of sufficient size and importance, he placed it under the command of Decimus Brutus, whom he despatched to the coast of the Veneti. It was not long before the enemy was encountered near the Gulf of Morbihan, and complete success attended the operations of the Roman marine. The unhappy Veneti were severely treated by the victor, the members of the senate being put to death, while the rest of the tribe were sold into slavery. Cæsar justified these acts by saying that the Veneti had broken faith, and were therefore not entitled to better treatment; but there can be no doubt that he was afraid of their example spreading. The action of the fleet was accompanied by the operations of Cæsar himself upon the shore, and all danger was speedily at an end in that part of Gaul. In several other directions, however, the spirit of rebellion was rife, and the best of Cæsar's lieutenants were charged with the restoration of tranquillity. In the south, the barbarians had the great advantage of being commanded by officers from Spain who had been educated in the school of Sertorius; yet they were defeated by Publius Crassus in a sanguinary battle near the Garonne. In the north, Sabinus dispersed the forces of several tribes, while, in the north-east, Cæsar himself chastised the Morini and the Menapii, who, retreating into the woods and marshes of that remote territory, saved themselves from subjection by taking refuge in a dismal and perplexing land, where the Romans did not care to pursue them. Again turning towards the south, Cæsar attempted to occupy a post at Martigny, in the Vallée, that he might command the pass of the Pennine Alps; but the enterprise failed. Nevertheless, he had effected the complete subjugation of Gaul, and in the course of three campaigns had added an immense region to the domain of the Republic.

The winter of 56 B.C. was spent by Cæsar in travelling through Cisalpine Gaul, where he recruited his troops, raised money for future wars, and at the same time gave attention to the civil government of the province. Towards the end of that year, he fixed his head-quarters at Lucca, the situation of which, at a distance of not more

than two hundred miles from Rome, enabled him to hold communication with his friends, and to watch the progress of affairs at the capital. Here he maintained the state of an independent sovereign, surrounded by lictors, visited by senators, and treated by all men as the supreme arbiter of the time. Pompey and Crassus went there to hold conference with the hero of the Gallic Wars; and there can be little doubt that Cæsar now formed those grand ideas of Imperial dominion which he afterwards more openly developed. The Triumvirs (if such they may be called) took earnest counsel on the state of parties at Rome, where the adherents of the Senate were once more at the head of affairs. One of the candidates for the Consulship of the ensuing year was Domitius Ahenobarbus, brother-in-law of Cato, and a vehement antagonist of the three generals now assembled at Lucca; and it was considered a matter of the first importance to prevent the election of this person. The main course of affairs since the absence of Cæsar had not been favourable to the aspirations of Pompey. Cicero, immediately after his recall to Rome in 57 B.C., proposed that an extraordinary commission should be issued, investing Pompey with absolute control over the corn-markets of the Empire, and it was decided by the Consuls that the commission should last for five years, and should carry with it the command of money, troops, fleets, and all things necessary for supreme authority. The Senate interposed, to the extent of refusing Pompey dictatorial powers; and the result was that the conqueror of Mithridates and of Western Asia had very little success in his new office, and failed to obtain any popularity by its exercise. Another disappointment occurred shortly after. Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt, was now in Rome, endeavouring to induce the Senate to restore him by force of arms to the throne from which he had been recently expelled. The Senate was willing to undertake the task, as this species of interposition, under the guise of friendship, afforded opportunities for enlarging the possessions of the Republic, and for enriching proconsuls, generals, and others. Pompey was anxious to obtain the appointment; but it was given to the consul Lentulus Spinther. The post, however, proved but a barren honour, for an oracle was discovered in the Sibylline Books, which forbade the use of an army in connection with this enterprise.

The popularity of Cicero was completely restored after his return from exile, and a sum of money was voted to compensate him for the destruction of his property. He assumed a position of violent antagonism to the Tribune Clodius, and even went so far as to pull down the slabs on which were recorded the acts of that demagogue. Clodius was no longer in the powerful position he had occupied a year before, and might have found himself threatened by serious consequences had it not been for the unexpected support of Cato, who, in 56 B.C., came back from Cyprus, whither he had been sent to effect the annexation of that famous island. The unfortunate prince, whose realm was so dishonestly taken from him, put an end to his life when it became apparent that his case was beyond remedy; and Cato then proceeded to sell the royal property, and to organise the land as a Roman province. This enabled him to pay large sums into the Treasury, and of course increased his reputation at Rome. But, had the Tribunate of Clodius been declared illegal, as at one time seemed not unlikely, the Commission of Cato would have been illegal too, since it was from Clodius that it proceeded. Cato therefore defended the authority of the Tribune, though his own political views were entirely distinct from those of the aristocratic demagogue.

Such was the state of affairs at Rome while Cæsar was subduing Gaul. On the whole, the situation was little favourable to his designs, and the candidature of Ahenobarbus for the next year's Consulship was a fact of evil import, as the aspirant made no concealment of his determination to recall Cæsar from his province directly he should have the power to do so. We may be certain that the Triumvirate determined upon leaving no means untried for the defeat of Cato's brother-in-law, and, as the most likely method of securing that result, Pompey and Crassus came forward as joint candidates for a second Consulship. This was sedulously opposed by the Senate, and with so much effect that when the new year arrived no Consuls had been elected. Early in 55 B.C., however, the younger Crassus reached the vicinity of Rome with a portion of Cæsar's victorious army, and an election was held under some degree of military pressure, which resulted in the choice of Pompey and Crassus. The Tribune Trebonius then moved that the new Consuls should, at the end of their official term, receive provinces for the space of five years, and it was determined that Crassus should have the government of Syria, and Pompey that of Spain. Pompey added a clause by which Cæsar's government of the Gauls was extended for an additional five years, making ten years in all. When Cato endeavoured to defeat this law, Trebonius ordered him to be committed to prison, and two Tribunes who desired to take his part were restrained by sheer force from attending the

popular Assembly. There was in fact no government in Rome but that of spasmodic violence—sometimes the violence of the Senate, at others the coarser ferocity of the Tribunes and mob-leaders. Cicero began to repent of his conversion to the Senatorial cause, and was apparently disposed to believe that a settled government under three such men as Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, would be better than the alternations of aristocratic fury and popular retaliation by which the Imperial city had so long been convulsed. He opposed the recall of Cæsar from Gaul, and once more evinced his admiration of Pompey, which was doubtless a sincere feeling, though exaggerated at one moment, and to some extent renounced at another.

The comparative repose of Cæsar in Cisalpine Gaul was not of long duration. At the commencement of 55 B.C., he was recalled to the north by an irruption of Germans from beyond the Rhine. The Usipetes and Tenchteri, being dispossessed of their own territory by the martial Suevians, burst into the country of the Menapii, where they formed a league with that people, who were not unwilling to receive help in re-establishing their own independence. On reaching the seat of disturbance, Cæsar commanded the Germans to retire, and the latter, after boasting of their prowess, and finding that these vaunts had no effect, requested a truce, which was broken almost as soon as granted. They were then attacked with the impetuosity of their terrible antagonist, and, being utterly defeated, were glad to recross the Rhine, and obtain shelter among the forests on the opposite shore. It is a matter of some doubt whether the infraction of the truce was committed by Cæsar or his opponents. The conqueror himself charged the guilt upon his barbarian adversaries; but there were those at Rome who believed the contrary, and Cato demanded that Cæsar should be delivered to the enemy in expiation of his sin. The Senate, however, decided in his favour, and even voted him a thanksgiving; but the motion of Cato, and the fact that it had its supporters, proved how strong was the feeling in opposition to Cæsar in particular quarters. All such manifestations of hostile opinion were matters of indifference to the great soldier, who, in the security of his distant province, acted like an independent sovereign. He now determined to invade Germany itself, and, to facilitate his operations, threw a bridge over the Rhine at a spot which is believed to have been somewhere between Coblentz and Andernach. The river is very broad at that part; yet it is said that the bridge was completed in ten days. It was based on piles driven into the bed of the river, and Cæsar has left a minute description of the method by which it was erected. He then crossed into Germany, and ravaged the country of the Sicambri, but, hearing that the Suevi had assembled all their forces in the interior, thought it safer to retire into Gaul.

Altogether, Cæsar spent eighteen days on German soil, and on his return he broke or cut down the bridge which he had taken so much pains to construct, but which might have offered an easy passage to the Germans into their neighbours' lands. His retirement from the country of the Teutons may appear somewhat precipitate; but he had in truth nothing to gain by a longer stay, and in so wild and unknown a land might have endangered his reputation by a serious defeat. He himself states in his "Commentaries" that he considered he had done all that the honour and interests of Rome required. At any rate, he had won the renown of being the first Roman who had crossed the great river dividing the Teutons from the Celts. The expedition had also inured his soldiers to fresh fatigues, and had accustomed them to the vague perils of a region which had always been regarded as mysterious and appalling. The Gauls, who dreaded their neighbours, and not without reason, were greatly reassured on finding that the general who had subdued their own land was also capable of bearding the Germans in their stronghold. Cæsar had clearly done enough in this direction, and his ambition now glanced across the channel which separated Gaul from Britain, and lured him on to a fresh enterprise, in one respect more perilous than any he had yet undertaken, since his base of operations would be cut off by the sea.

Up to the time of Julius Cæsar, Britain was very little known to the civilised world. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians had traded with the south-western parts, and with the outlying Scilly Isles, for tin, and the Greek colonists of Massalia and Narbo, in the south of Gaul, had also carried on some little commercial intercourse with the remote insular territory of the north-west. Through these Gallic Greeks, the Romans had probably heard something of Britannia, as they called our island; but they do not appear to have considered it at all worthy of their attention. It was to them a sort of world by itself, disjoined from the rest of the earth, and placed in the midst of cold and misty seas, where danger lurked in every tempest, and beyond which was nothing but a land of shades, and possibly of supernatural influences. Yet there can be no question that the island had been peopled for many centuries, and

some species of political, social, and religious life had existed there as long as Italians had existed in Italy, or Greeks in Hellas. The population in very remote ages belonged, probably, to that Turanian stock which seems to have spread all over Europe, as well as over a large part of Asia; but the earliest population with which authentic records are concerned was mainly, if not entirely, Celtic, and therefore Aryan. Tradition said that Britain was at one time joined to the Continent, and that it was peopled from Gaul before the natural convulsion which changed it to an island. But, if any such convulsion ever took place, it must have been in ages anterior even to the legends of history, and perhaps to the creation of man.

STONEHENGE FROM THE NORTH.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the Britons were closely related to the Gauls, and, as the intervening channel is narrow, it is quite conceivable that they may have crossed in the small boats which were the only vessels they are likely to have possessed. Still more remotely, these Celts may have come from Jutland; for the Britons belonged to that branch of the Celtic stock which went by the name of Cymri, and the Cimbri of the Roman historians, who are commonly supposed to have proceeded from the same region (the Chersonesus Cimbrica of the ancients), may possibly have been identical with the progenitors of the Britons. There was apparently a distinction between the Britons and the Gauls, though both belonged to the great Celtic family. The majority of the Gauls seem to have belonged to the Gaelic branch, though the point is one on which differences of opinion prevail; the Britons, as we have said, were certainly Cymri; but, supposing the latter to have started from Jutland or its vicinity, they may, in the course of their migrations, have settled for a time in northern Gaul, whence their descendants could have crossed to Britain. At a later period, the Belgæ, who were partly Celtic, partly Teutonic, settled on the south and east coasts of the island, and introduced a qualifying element into the population. Still, at the time of Cæsar the British people were mainly Celtic, and their affinity with the Gauls did not escape the notice of that acute observer.

Like other ancient countries, Britain had its mythical or fabulous history, which, baseless as it may be, at one time exercised considerable influence over the minds of men. A Welsh tradition, arising in comparatively modern times, yet at a date which cannot be exactly fixed, ascribed the peopling of our island to Brutus the Trojan, a descendant of Æneas, who, having fled from Greece, in consequence of an accident which resulted in the death of his father, passed from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and at length came to a large island beyond Gaul, where, in fulfilment of an oracle, he landed, and established an independent kingdom. The island, which, in connection with this legend, is called, not Britannia, but Albion, was at that time inhabited by giants of the race of Cham, whose chief, or king, was Gog-Magog. Brutus and his companions completely extirpated these giants, and the country was afterwards called Britain from the name of the Trojan leader. On the death of Brutus, the island was divided amongst his three sons, and the several portions were called, after their names, Loegria, Cambri, and Albania, or Albany. The first of these realms corresponded with England, the second with Wales, and the third with Scotland. Such is the story related in the Latin Chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

Benedictine monk of the twelfth Christian century. The legend probably existed before his time, though it is now impossible to ascertain its origin. It is clearly fabulous; but Geoffrey of Monmouth regarded it with perfect faith, and even carried on his history through a long succession of kings, warriors, and statesmen. According to the belief generally entertained in the middle ages, Brutus arrived from Albion twelve hundred years after the Deluge, and sixty-six after the destruction of Troy. The story was long credited by the Welsh, whose ancestors it glorified; and it has obtained so conspicuous a place in the early poetry of France and England that it would not be justifiable to omit it, even from a work of history.

The only element of truth in the legend of Brutus the Trojan is the fact of our island having at one time been called Albion. Such, indeed, is the oldest name by which the country was known to the Greeks and Romans. Britain and Ireland together were distinguished by the appellation of the Britannic Islands. The Scillys, and perhaps Cornwall, were called the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands; but the distinctive name of Britain was Albion. The name is probably of Gaelic origin, and signifies "white" or "fair island," though it has by some been traced to the Celtic word *Alb* or *Alp*, indicative of height, and doubtless the same appellation as that of the great chain of mountains on the northern frontier of Italy. All such etymologies are extremely doubtful, and that of Britannia is as much so as the others. By some it is said to be Phœnician; but the opinion most generally entertained, though perhaps on insufficient grounds, is that it comes from a Celtic word signifying "painted," it being the custom of the Britons to stain their bodies with a blue dye extracted from woad. Of the primitive history of the island we know as little as we know about the origin of its names. Cæsar is the first writer who gives anything like a description of the country or the people, and even he had not the opportunity of discovering much. Still, it is remarkable that he should have noted so many facts during the brief visits which he paid our shores. He knew, either from his own observation, or from what he had been told by others, that the island was of a triangular form, and he records that the climate was more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold in particular being less intense. The country he found to be inhabited by a very primitive race, for the most part clothed in the skins of wild beasts. The inland people did not sow corn, but lived on milk and flesh, to the exclusion of domestic fowls and fish. A large part of the land was shadowed with dense woods, and the towns, which were little better than villages, consisted of rude huts, covered with skins, boughs, or turf. The avenues by which these towns were approached were generally defended by slight ramparts of earth, or with felled trees. The courage of the Britons on the field of battle is highly commended by Cæsar. He says they fought for the most part in chariots, from which, while furiously driving among their enemies, they flung their darts; and he adds that when they had to encounter cavalry they quitted their chariots, and fought on foot—a circumstance not very easy to understand.

The religion of the Britons was identical with that of the Gauls; but it was supposed to exist with greater purity in this island than on the Continent. The Gauls themselves believed Druidism to have originated in Britain, and in the time of Cæsar any Gaul who wished to be especially versed in its mysteries crossed the channel into the obscure and awful island which lay beyond. What we know of this religion is chiefly derived from the "Commentaries" of Cæsar, who, however, speaks from the observations he made in Gaul, rather than in Britain. The Druids had charge, not merely of the public and private sacrifices, and of the ordinances of religious worship, but of education, and, to a considerable extent, of state affairs, so far as such can be said to have had any existence among this simple race. They judged offenders, fixed rewards and punishments, and had the right of excommunicating any one who refused to abide by their sentences. The general body of Druids was presided over by a High Priest, and, upon the death of this exalted minister, his successor was appointed from among the most virtuous of the order. Where there were several who appeared to have an equal claim, the new chief was selected by the votes of the others, and Cæsar adds that the contest was sometimes decided by force of arms. Though it would thus appear that they were not incapable of resorting to physical violence where the interests of their class were concerned, the Druids did not, as a rule, engage in war. They enjoyed an exemption from military service, and freedom from all public burdens. The tenets of their faith were contained in a number of verses, which the initiated were compelled to learn by heart, for it was unlawful to set them down in writing. They asserted the immortality of the soul, but believed that after death it passed into different bodies. Their chief deity, according to Cæsar, was Mercury, and, if we are to believe his account, they worshipped other gods and goddesses analogous to those of the Romans.

How far this was the fact may be doubtful, since the Romans had a tendency to see everything through their own media. In one respect, however, they differed from the ordinary practice both of Romans and Greeks, and differed very much for the worse. They not unfrequently offered human sacrifices, and Cæsar relates that they had images of enormous size, the limbs of which were made of wicker-work, and filled with living men, who were in this way burned to death. The love of cruelty was indeed innate in their dispositions, or in their religious system; for they considered that the torture of those who had been taken in the commission of any crime was particularly agreeable to the gods, and when there was not a sufficient number of criminals, they scrupled not, says Cæsar, to inflict torture on the innocent. The Bards, both among the Britons and the Gauls, were priests of an inferior order, but persons of considerable influence, owing to the exciting effect of their martial and heroic songs. There were also certain priests who paid great attention to the heavenly bodies, and to the nature of the physical universe. The Druidical worship was conducted in the midst of sacred groves, and especially under the shadow of ancient oaks; and the sacrifices were offered on cromlechs, or rude altars of stone. The reverence paid to the mistletoe is one of the occult peculiarities of their religion. The plant was always cut with a golden bill or sickle, with ceremonies of great reverence and solemnity, and, if possible, it was to be gathered in the sixth moon. The mistletoe, as growing out of the oak, is thought by some writers to have typified the dependency of man on his Creator; but this cannot be affirmed with certainty.*

The determination of Cæsar to invade Britain seems to have proceeded from a desire to punish the inhabitants for the aid they furnished to his enemies in Gaul, especially to the Veneti. The Britons of the south-eastern coast were at that time subject to a continental chief named Divitiacus, who reigned over the Belgic tribes of the Suessones, and they were probably obliged to render assistance to their congeners on the western coast of Gaul. Love of glory, however, was doubtless as strong a motive with Cæsar as the policy of vengeance, and the young Patricians in his army were tempted by the pearls which were known to exist at the mouth of the Thames. Before starting, Cæsar summoned to his camp a number of Gallic merchants who traded with the island, and made inquiries as to the nature of the country and the people. He could gather very little from what they said, and accordingly sent one of his officers, named Volusenus, to reconnoitre the shores. Volusenus did not care to trust himself among the natives, and therefore remained on board his ship. But Cæsar, none the less determined to carry out his enterprise, collected a fleet, and, accompanied by two legions, started in the late summer of 55 B.C. to explore the island for himself.

The expedition sailed from Portus Itius, which is believed to have been between Boulogne and Calais. After a passage of about ten hours, Cæsar arrived on the coast of Britain, and beheld the cliffs of Kent covered with armed natives, who were evidently prepared to dispute his landing. For some time he hovered about the South Foreland, and then, favoured by wind and tide, sailed northwards to the flat beach which extends from Walmer Castle to Sandwich. Here also the Britons were drawn up in battle-array, and greeted the new-comers with cries and menaces. They did not confine themselves, however, to idle demonstrations, for, on the Romans attempting to land, they resisted their advance with much spirit. The contest was severe, but of course terminated in favour of the legions. Thus, on the 26th of August, 55 B.C., the Romans for the first time effected a landing in Britain. On the evening of the same day, their tents were planted on the shore, and the natives considered that it would be wiser to temporise with a foe whom they were not strong enough to expel. The chieftains began to treat with their formidable antagonists, yet none the less awaited an opportunity for attacking them at a disadvantage. On the fourth night after the arrival of the strangers, an unusually high tide, coincident with the full moon, and possibly augmented by a gale from the north-east, swept over the beach on which the Roman vessels were drawn up, and committed great havoc by driving them against one another. Accustomed to the almost tideless waters of the Mediterranean, the Romans had little knowledge of these violent perturbations of the waves, and appear to have been completely taken by surprise. At the same time, the flotilla which had brought the cavalry was dispersed by the violence of the wind, so that Cæsar was for the moment deprived of all means of retreat. One of the legions, which had gone out in search of supplies, was attacked by the natives, and the camp itself was soon afterwards assailed. To repulse these half-naked and badly-armed bar-

* Cæsar's account of the Britons and their country is contained in the Fourth and Fifth Books of the Gallic War, forming a portion of the celebrated "Commentaries." In the text, a few particulars have been derived from other authors.

barians was no very difficult task; but it was evident to Cæsar that he had ventured into a country where he could not easily maintain himself, and where his ability to retire might at any moment be cut off. He therefore refitted his vessels, and recrossed the channel within three weeks from the period of his landing.

His second expedition was undertaken in the spring of 54 B.C., when the pretext alleged was that the Britons had not fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty Cæsar had made with them before leaving in the autumn, nor paid the tribute which he had required as a testimony of their submission. On the later occasion, the Proconsul took with him five legions and six hundred vessels, for experience had shown him that the enterprise was not so easy as he had at one time supposed. He landed at the same point as before, repaired the camp which he had formed in the previous year, and then marched into the country. At the passage of the Stour he was opposed by the Britons; but he reached the opposite bank after a sharp engagement, and would have proceeded farther had he not been recalled by another disaster to his fleet, which was again shattered by a tempest. The mischief having been repaired—partly by the building of new ships, partly by bringing others from Gaul—the invader once more penetrated inland, but, dreading a surprise in his rear, left more than half his army at the camp.

He had now to encounter the resolute and courageous resistance of Cassivelaunus, chief of the Trinobantes, whose scythed cars, driven at the rushing pace which the Britons affected, did considerable execution in the ranks of the enemy. A battle of some importance was fought on the border of the Thames at a point which has not been determined with certainty; but the Romans crossed the river by swimming and wading, while their engines, planted on the southern shore, covered the movement with a shower of missiles. It is said that they had an elephant with them, and that the appearance of this strange and monstrous beast struck great consternation into the Britons. Cæsar had now made an alliance with some native chiefs, and, having burnt the fastness of Cassivelaunus (which is supposed to have been at Verulamium, the modern St. Albans), again entered into terms of peace, which were ratified by the delivery of hostages. The country before him was little better than a wild forest, in the recesses of which were many fortified positions, rude enough in their construction, yet not incapable of checking the advance of an army little accustomed to such irregular forms of warfare. Prudence was as much an element in the genius of Cæsar as the power of rapid and brilliant movements when the time was proper for such operations; and he now again retreated from the shores of Britain, content with having twice invaded a country which none of the great military Powers had ever before entered with a hostile force.

GALLIC BAS-RELIEFS FOUND AT ENTREMONT, NEAR AIX.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PARTHIAN AND GALLIC WARS.

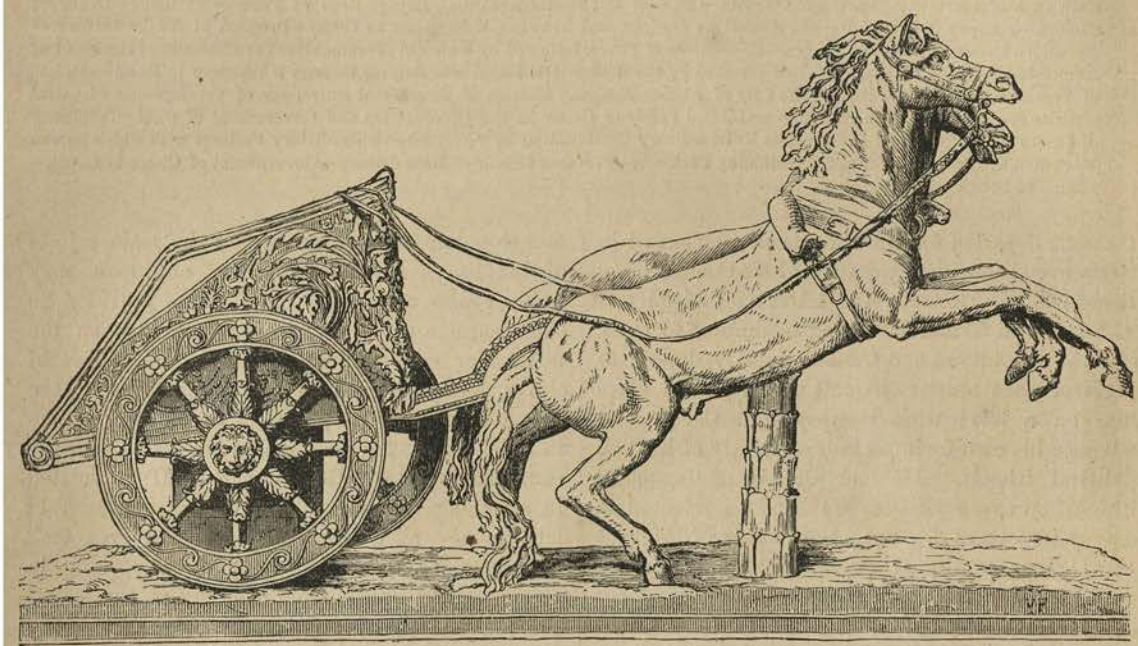
Departure of Crassus for Syria—His Objects and Character—Career of Gabinius in the East—Opposition to the Designs of Crassus—Malediction Pronounced on him as he was Leaving Rome—Infatuation of the Proconsul—His Rapacity in Asia—The Kingdom of Parthia—State of the Country on the Arrival of Crassus in Syria—Negotiations with Parthian Envoys—Starting of the Expedition—Difficulties of the Great Mesopotamian Desert—Crassus Betrayed to the Enemy—Disastrous Defeat of the Romans—Flight towards the Euphrates—Close Pursuit by the Parthians, and Proposals for Surrender—Crassus slain in a Tumult with Parthian Officials—Orgie at the Parthian Court—Expectations of Pompey at Rome—Death of Clodius—Pompey Sole Consul—His Ambitious Designs, and Growing Antagonism to Cæsar—Progress of Affairs in Gaul—Extensive Insurrection of the People—Restoration of Peace, followed by Renewed Movements—Vercingetorix at the Head of Associated Tribes—Advance of Cæsar Checked by the Allies—His Dangerous Retreat through a Territory in Revolt—Defeat of Vercingetorix—Battle Before the City of Alesia—Brilliant Success of Cæsar, and Surrender of Vercingetorix—General Results of the Eight Gallic Campaigns—Liberal Policy of Cæsar in the Organisation and Government of Gaul—Testimony of Cicero to the Merits of Cæsar—His Extraordinary Combination of Faculties—Contradictory Feelings with which he was Regarded at Rome—Measures for Obtaining Partisans—Previous Career of Marc Antony—Government of Cicero in Cilicia—Illness of Pompey.

CRASSUS departed for his Proconsular command in Syria even before the expiration of his Consulship—that is to say, towards the latter end of 55 B.C. The so-called Triumvirate was beginning to show signs of dissolution, and Crassus eagerly desired to perform some military exploit which should place him on a level with Pompey and Cæsar, and advance his own fortunes independently of his two political friends. He had already distinguished himself on two occasions. He had contributed in a very important degree to the victory of Sulla at the Colline Gate of Rome, and by his energy and skill he had crushed the insurrection of Spartacus and his gladiators. But he must have been well aware that his feats bore no comparison with those of the two great generals with whom he had for some time past been associated. He was the least important member of the triple league which exercised so powerful an influence over Roman affairs, and he seems to have cherished the wild ambition of becoming the chief. The province of Syria offered him opportunities of which he longed to take advantage. He openly declared that he would reach the farthest limits of the East: the Indus and the Persian Gulf appeared before his eyes as waters which were destined to reflect the eagles of his victorious soldiery. In this way he hoped to outshine the grandest achievements of Pompey and Cæsar; and he found another inducement in the prospect of boundless wealth which the ancient realms of Asia opened to his view.

The great vice of Crassus was inordinate avarice. He came of noble family; but the riches accumulated by one of his ancestors, which had given to the Crassi the appellation of Dives (Opulent), had been confiscated by the adherents of Marius, and to repair this loss was one of the main objects of his life. He succeeded, as any man may succeed who cares not what he does provided he can secure a profit. Crassus was always on the watch for opportunities of gain. He educated slaves, and sold them at exorbitant prices to the rich nobility. At the period of the Sullan persecution, he bought for very small sums, or begged, the confiscated estates of the proscribed. He speculated in anything that was likely to prove successful; lent money at usurious interest, and even took advantage of the fires frequently happening in Rome to buy up valuable property at the lowest rates. His ideas of wealth transcended all ordinary standards. It was a saying of his that no man should be esteemed rich who could not maintain an army from his own resources. That he fulfilled this ideal in himself, seems probable from all that is recorded of him. He became the richest man of the time, and was a power in the State simply in virtue of his wealth. By conferring pecuniary favours on persons of political standing and influence, such as Julius Cæsar, Crassus made a large number of friends among the leaders of the Republic; and the moneyed classes generally regarded him with respect and confidence. Even with the poor he was not unpopular, for his habits were generous, or at least profuse. Insatiable in the acquisition of money, he was often lordly in his manner of spending it. Once, during his Consulship, he gave a banquet to the Roman citizens on so extensive a scale that it covered ten thousand tables, laid in the public streets; and at the same time he distributed corn enough to keep the families of the revellers for three months. But devotion to lucre was ever the strongest passion

in the nature of Crassus, and it is said that he exhibited a perfectly childish joy at the golden promise of his Eastern command.

The province of Syria included Judæa, as the reader is aware; and some events of importance had occurred in that country between the departure of Pompey and the arrival of Crassus. Gabinius, the patron of Clodius, was Proconsul of Syria in 57 B.C., when he was called upon to suppress a Jewish revolt raised by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who, at the head of a large army, consisting of old soldiers, suddenly appeared in the land of his fathers, after having escaped on his way to Rome, whither he was being conveyed by Pompey. Against this insurgent, who at first made considerable progress, Gabinius sent a strong force under Marc Antony, who shut him up in the fortress of Alexandrion, and reduced him to such extremities that his mother interceded on his behalf, and obtained his pardon. Having re-established the authority of Rome, Gabinius deprived the High Priest Hyrcanus of all but his sacerdotal functions, and committed the administration of justice to five local Sanhedrims, or Councils of Seventy Elders, the organisation of which was similar to that of the Great Sanhedrim. It was not long, however, before another revolt broke out, under the leadership of Aristobulus himself, who managed to get away from Rome; and the latter movement was no sooner suppressed than Alexander was again in arms against the supremacy of the Republic. This was during the absence of Gabinius in Egypt, where, in defiance of the Senate, but in consideration of a bribe of ten thousand talents, he had restored Ptolemy Auletes to the throne; but, on the approach of that commander in 56 B.C., Alexander was defeated in a great action near Mount Tabor, and driven into exile. Returning to Rome in 55 B.C., Gabinius was accused of extorting money from the Egyptian sovereign, and, being condemned, in spite of a previous acquittal which he had purchased by bribes, was banished from Italy.



ROMAN RACING CHARIOT.

The schemes of conquest which Crassus frankly announced before leaving Rome were not received with universal commendation. The countries he proposed to attack were at peace with the Republic, and to many, even in that age of military violence, it appeared perfidious and shameful to send an army across their frontiers. The nobles, though devoid of any real sympathy with this honourable feeling, were glad to take advantage of it as a means of discrediting Crassus, whose power they disliked and feared. They accordingly bribed the Tribune Ateius to oppose the designs of the Proconsul. In the first place, Ateius endeavoured to persuade Crassus to abandon his expedition; but his arguments were unavailing. He then met him at the gates of Rome as his legions were passing out, and, throw-

ROMAN AUGURS.

ing incense into the flames of a burning brazier, devoted the general to the infernal gods. According to the Roman belief, a person subjected to this terrible malediction could not possibly escape the direst consequences; but the curse was not often pronounced, as it was also believed that the utterer of the words would himself be unlucky for the rest of his days. The soldiers of Crassus were of course depressed and discouraged by this incident, which is said to have been followed by a series of dismal omens. But Crassus himself was not to be turned back by threats or auguries. During the five years that he was to hold his province, he might make war or peace according to his own pleasure. The opening to fame and affluence was therefore great and irresistible, and the fortunate commander (as he considered himself) dared the worst in quest of his ambition. It would appear as if all the caution and practical sense of his earlier years abandoned him from that time. He became arrogant and self-opinionated, and disregarded the prudent counsels of his chief officers. The first year of his active command (54 B.C.) was spent in Mesopotamia and Syria, where little of importance occurred. For the present, Crassus thought mainly of augmenting his riches, and with this view marched to Jerusalem, and seized the treasures of the Temple which Pompey had spared. The fane dedicated to Derceto, at Hierapolis in Syria, was similarly plundered; a good deal of territory was devastated, and some towns were awed into submission. So intent was the Proconsul on adding to his treasure-chests that he even took money instead of the levies which he had demanded of neighbouring States. But, while these ignoble aims occupied the mind of Crassus, his army was rapidly losing its discipline. Everything was neglected for idleness and dissipation; yet the commander still cherished his great design of subduing Parthia, which he ought to have known was a power not to be lightly overcome. Sulla, and more recently Pompey, had made a treaty with that kingdom, and the Senate, honourably respecting those engagements, refused to declare war. But Crassus had his reputation to consider, and the Parthians were therefore to be attacked at all hazards.

Parthia Proper, as distinguished from the Parthian Empire, which in course of time acquired vast dimensions, was a small and mountainous country of Asia, lying between Media on the west and Asia on the east. Its chief city was Hecatompylos — the city of a hundred gates—a title given by the Greeks to Egyptian Thebes as well. But not much is known, either of the metropolis, or of the country to which it belonged. The people apparently were members of that great division of the Turanian race which had its home in Scythia, and, according to Justin, their name signified in the Scythian tongue "banished," or "exiles." The same author observes that this nation, in the time both of the Assyrians and of the Medes, was the most obscure in the East, and that it afterwards fell an easy prey to the Persians.* Alexander the Great, in his wonderful career of Asiatic conquest, subjugated the whole of Parthia, near the capital of which he came upon the dead body of Darius; and for a time the country formed part of the Syrian kingdom of the Seleucidæ. The vigorous character of the population, however, ensured to it a future of predominance, and about 256 B.C. it was formed into an independent kingdom under the rule of Arsaces I., after whom the dynasty was called that of the Arsacidæ. The kingdom gradually increased into an empire rivalling that of Rome itself in extent and military power. At the time of Crassus, it reached from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, and from the Euphrates to the Indus. Were it not for those vast regions in the remoter East of which the Western nations knew so little, and from whose boundaries even Alexander was obliged to recoil, one might almost say, with Justin, that the Parthians divided the world with the Romans. The realm of the Arsacidæ was the only one, towards the latter end of the pre-Christian era, capable of meeting the legions of the great Italian Republic on equal terms; and we shall see that it was more than a match for Crassus. The Parthian army was composed chiefly of slaves. It consisted of cavalry, and the fury of its onset was often sufficient to sweep away all resistance as by the rush of a whirlwind. If, however, the charge were steadily repelled, it was found that the Parthians had little capacity of endurance or recovery. The art of besieging towns was unknown to them, and they were disinclined to engaging at close quarters. Careering down upon their enemies at full speed, they used the bow with deadly effect; then, swiftly retreating, yet still discharging arrows with that retrogressive action which has become proverbial, they not seldom lured a foe to his destruction. "For the most part," says Justin, "they quit the battle in the very heat of an engagement, and on the sudden renew it with great vehemence; so that an adversary is in the greatest danger from them when he thinks he has conquered." In battle, they wore a

* History of the World, Book XLI., chap. 1.

kind of scale armour, which with the officers was resplendent with gold and silver. Boisterous, rough, and aggressive in their character, they loved war for its own sake, and by incessant activity and martial enterprise attained a position in Western and Central Asia similar to that of the great Persian Monarchy in whose armies they had once been a subordinate but valuable element. They had now, however, lost something of the ruggedness which their Scythian ancestors had brought with them from the desert, and in luxurious cities of Hellenic origin had learned much of the ornate voluptuousness common to most Oriental races.

A little before the arrival of Crassus in the East, a revolution in the affairs of Parthia had furnished the pretext for Roman intervention. The Parthian king, Phraates III., had been assassinated by his sons Mithridates and Orodes, who shortly afterwards quarrelled with each other for the possession of the throne. The former was worsted in the contest which ensued, and requested assistance of the Roman forces in Syria. Gabinius, well inclined to such an enterprise, crossed the Euphrates, but almost immediately retired, in order that he might settle the affairs of Egypt. The Parthian expedition would doubtless have been resumed by this general on his return to Asia, had he not been superseded by Crassus. To the latter, the conquest of Parthia appeared so easy a task that he forbore from securing the alliance of Armenia, which might easily have been obtained, as that country was then at war with Parthia. Nor did he take advantage of the internal broils of the people, but marched on to his destruction as if in the fulfilment of an adverse fate. The Parthian king, Orodes, who now called himself Arsaces XIV., was in Armenia when Crassus put his forces in motion for the approaching campaign. Desirous, perhaps, of gaining time, Arsaces sent an embassy to Crassus, asking whether he made war on his own account, or by the authority of the Roman Senate. If by the latter, one of the two nations must perish; but if Crassus were simply carrying out his own designs, the king promised that he would allow him to retreat, in compassion for his old age. Crassus haughtily replied that he would deliver his answer at Seleucia, which had now become the capital of the Parthian Empire. The envoy smiled scornfully, and, holding out his hand, exclaimed, "Sooner shall hair grow on this palm than thine eyes behold Seleucia." The embassy then returned to Arsaces, and bade him prepare for an invasion. But preparation was much more needed by the Romans, and their spirits were now damped by exaggerated reports touching the extraordinary prowess of the Parthians, and their ability to transfix their enemies by flights of arrows, discharged before the archers themselves had come in sight. The soothsayers, moreover, continued to report unfavourable omens; and the insufficient resources of the army, the depressed feeling of the men, and the ignorance of the commanders as to the country they were about to enter, gave to these auguries a degree of probability which even the least superstitious could not fail to acknowledge.

The expedition set out in the early spring of 53 B.C. Artavasdes, the reigning king of Armenia, who offered his alliance to Crassus, suggested to the Proconsul that he would do well to proceed by way of the Armenian mountains, where he would be in a good position for resisting the Parthian cavalry. He might then descend the valley of the Tigris, and avoid the open plains which otherwise he would be compelled to cross. This advice, however, was rejected by the Roman commander, who showed equal infatuation in declining the counsels of his principal officer, Caius Cassius Longinus—a man destined to obtain an unenviable distinction in Roman history, as one of the assassins of Julius Cæsar. The plan recommended by Cassius was that the army should keep along the eastern bank of the Euphrates, following the route which had formerly been taken by the younger Cyrus, and that a flotilla should accompany the troops with stores and provisions. In the extravagant confidence that had now taken possession of his mind, Crassus determined to strike across the Great Desert of Mesopotamia—undoubtedly the most direct route to the point he desired to attain, but also the one most beset with perils. The command of the Parthian forces in that region had been given to a young and active general named Surenas, who employed an Arab chieftain, formerly in league with Pompey, to feign an alliance with the invader, that he might lead him onward to his ruin. This person entertained the Proconsul with baseless fabrications as to the despair which had seized on the Parthians and their monarch. He assured him that Arsaces was flying from his capital with all the treasures he could collect, and had simply placed a small body of men under Surenas to cover his own retreat. Fully believing these statements, Crassus left the Euphrates behind him, and struck into the barren plains east of Edessa. The way soon became toilsome, owing to the deep sand with which the ground was covered, the entire absence of shade, and the impossibility of obtaining water. The farther they advanced into the desert, the

more terrible did this sultry region appear to the toiling ranks of the Roman soldiery. Devoid of vegetation and of moisture, the land presented one wild and depressing aspect of undulating dust, unbroken by any line of hills beyond which a fairer prospect might be expected to arise. The sufferings of the men were great, and the Roman officers, beginning to suspect treachery, addressed themselves to their guide in words which revealed their doubts. Ariamnes, the Arab chieftain, asked them in reply whether they had expected to be led through a country like their own Campania; and, having by this time sufficiently executed his commission, alleged some excuse for riding off in advance, that he might inform Surenas of the exposed situation of the Romans on the open plain. Soon afterwards, columns of sand were seen advancing from the horizon, and the Parthian horsemen slowly emerged from the dense obscurity which their steeds had raised. At their head was Surenas himself—a man whose effeminate appearance, clad in a long Median robe, with painted face and flowing locks, was little in accordance with the martial qualities which he nevertheless possessed.

The Romans were staggered by this sudden apparition of an enemy whom they had believed to be in panic-stricken retreat. It was necessary to form their order of battle with the utmost despatch, and Cassius advised that the line should be extended, so as to guard against the danger of being outflanked. But Crassus, as usual, preferred to follow his own method, and therefore formed his troops in a massive square, on the flanks of which he placed his squadrons of horse, which were few in number compared with the multitudinous forces of the Parthians. Amongst these horsemen were a thousand Gauls led by Publius Crassus, the son of the Proconsul, who had recently been fighting under the command of Cæsar in the Gallic campaigns. The Romans had now reached the banks of a small stream, on crossing which they found themselves face to face with the Parthian army. The squadrons of the enemy came sweeping down upon the Roman square with a deafening noise of kettledrums, and reiterated shouts. At the same moment, a terrific storm of arrows burst upon the ranks of the invaders, piercing their coats of mail, and throwing them into confusion and dismay. Crassus, who had taken his position in the centre of the square, while the two wings were commanded by Publius and Cassius, sent his light troops forward to repel the advance of the enemy; but they were repeatedly driven back, and the Roman officers, finding that their men could not face the devastating volleys, suspended operations for a while, in the hope that the stock of arrows would ultimately be exhausted. But at the rear of the Parthian horsemen were large numbers of camels, which carried an inexhaustible supply. The solid square into which Crassus had imprudently formed his legions afforded a tangible mark for the Parthian archers, and every discharge of arrows told with deadly effect upon the compact and concentrated mass. Whatever advantages the formation may have possessed were entirely lost when the men, stung by the incessant flights of penetrating missiles, broke up into small bodies, incapable of any mutual support. The only hope was in bringing the Parthians to close quarters; but this was an ordeal which the adversary was skilled to avoid.

Seeing that the position was growing desperate, Crassus ordered his son to engage at all hazards, and the young man, pushing forward with the ardour of his disposition, suddenly found the Parthians in full retreat. This induced him to follow with more valour than discretion, and it was not long before a considerable space of desert ground divided him from the support of the main body. Seeing their pursuer at a disadvantage, the Parthians wheeled round in overwhelming numbers, and completely overpowered the Gauls, who were now blinded by the sand, and exhausted with thirst and fatigue. They fell back to a slight eminence, and endeavoured to defend themselves against the furious attacks of their antagonists; but the conflict was hopeless, and the devoted soldiers begged their gallant young commander to consult his own safety by flight. His right hand had been pierced by an arrow; but he refused to desert his men, and ordered his sword-bearer to despatch him. The victors, having obtained possession of the body, cut off the head, and, fixing it on the top of a pike, waved it in sight of the Roman legions. Up to this moment, the elder Crassus had believed that he was gaining the day. The sight of his son's mangled head brought the dreadful truth of defeat home to his mind; but his courage sustained him, even under these tragical circumstances. In the heroic spirit of the earlier Romans, he told his soldiers not to be disheartened by a loss which concerned the father only. But the spirit of his men was broken, and, although they maintained their ground till sunset, nothing could be done against the countless hosts of the Parthian cavalry. The javelins, directed with unerring aim against their ranks, often transfixed two men together, and it was not until evening had deepened into night that the Parthians, satisfied with their work, retired from the blood-drenched field.

The Romans, left to themselves, sank upon the ground in utter prostration both of body and mind; but the officers were compelled to take counsel among themselves as to what had best be done in so fearful an emergency. Crassus himself appeared incapable of any further efforts. Wrapping himself in his cloak, he tried to escape the observation of his men, and Cassius tried in vain to rouse him from his stupor. The signal was given for departure, and the Roman legions, though scarcely able to stand with fatigue, struggled back to a point where some of their outposts had been stationed. So urgent was the necessity of an immediate withdrawal that the camp was left behind, together with four thousand sick and wounded, whose cries of agony and despair suggested to the Parthians that the main body of the army was in full retreat. They accordingly followed in pursuit, and succeeded in cutting to pieces four cohorts which had lost their way, besides deliberately slaying the disabled soldiers who had been abandoned to their fate.

The place which the discomfited Romans were labouring to attain was the small town of Carrhæ, lying to the south-east of Edessa, and supposed to be the city of Charran, or Haran, whence Abraham departed for the Land of Canaan. It was here that the farthest outposts of the invading force had been stationed, and the garrison was summoned to the rescue by a small squadron of Roman horse, which pushed forward in advance of the rest. Thus aided, Crassus and his battalions were enabled to get within the walls of Carrhæ without further molestation; but the city was not in a position to stand a siege, and it was determined that each of the Roman officers should make his way home with his own division, apart from any scheme of concerted action. The troops under the immediate command of Crassus were, however, so closely pursued that one of his officers, named Octavius, who had already reached the foot of the Armenian hills, and was therefore in a position of comparative safety, turned back, that he might help his unfortunate commander in the peril with which he was threatened. Although not so well circumstanced as Octavius, Crassus was sufficiently near the line of mountains, where cavalry would be inoperative, to excite a fear in the mind of Surenas that he might escape him altogether. The latter, therefore, sent messengers to the Roman general, with proposals that he should capitulate. Crassus suspected that some treachery was in contemplation, and refused to depart, until the mutinous clamours of his own men compelled him to alter his plans. Protesting that he acted under coercion, he then set out for the enemy's quarters, attended by a number of his officers, who, it would seem, were unarmed and on foot. Even Crassus himself was unprovided with a horse, and Surenas, as he approached, ordered a steed with golden trappings to be placed at his disposal. The Parthian grooms hastily lifted him into the saddle, and began to urge the animal towards their own cantonments. Octavius, convinced that treachery was intended, seized the reins, and endeavoured to hold back the horse. A tumultuous fray ensued, and several persons received mortal wounds, including Octavius and Crassus. Whether the latter was cut down by the enemy, or by one of his own countrymen to save him from the disgrace of capture, is not known; but it is certain that he lost his life in a paltry and undignified collision, after having sustained one of the severest defeats ever endured by a Roman army. His head and right hand were cut off and sent to Arsaces, and the remnant of the invading force was permitted to escape across the Armenian hills. This lamentable expedition had cost the lives of 20,000 Romans; 10,000 more were taken prisoners. The latter, who appear to have been well treated, married into Parthian families, assumed the habits of their conquerors, and spent the remainder of their days in the country of their adoption.

Surenas gave vent to his feelings of delight by a sort of burlesque imitation of a Roman triumph. The Parthian king himself celebrated the great achievement of his general in a more serious, and perhaps a more ferocious, spirit. Arsaces had just made peace with the Armenian monarch, who gave his daughter in marriage to the young Parthian prince. When the severed head and hand were brought before Arsaces, he was celebrating the nuptial banquet of his son, and the "Bacchanals" of Euripides was being recited before the assembled company, who, in the prevalent Hellenism of that part of Asia, were quite capable of understanding the original tongue. Several of the passages bore a singular application to the recent defeat of Crassus, and the Greek actor who was declaiming the play seized the ghastly head of the Roman, and brandished it before the eyes of the assembled guests, while he repeated certain lines which seemed specially to illustrate the Roman tragedy and the Parthian triumph. Dion Cassius relates that Arsaces ordered melted gold to be poured into the gaping mouth of the head, exclaiming at the same time, "Sate thyself now with the metal of which in life thou wert so greedy!" But a similar story is related of Mithridates and Aquillius, and the later anecdote is discredited by

the fact that Plutarch makes no mention of the circumstance in his life of Crassus. While the Parthians were rejoicing in their success, Cassius was leading a small remnant of the Roman forces back to Syria, where, having collected some of the other fugitives, he remained two years, defending the province against numerous assaults of the Parthians. A decisive victory, obtained by this commander in 51 B.C., re-established peace and security for a time; but the Euphrates continued, through a large part of its course, to be the eastern boundary of the Roman Empire as long as that dominion lasted. Wars with Parthia occurred at later periods; but the Roman standards were never permanently established in that distant land.

VIEW IN ARMENIA.

The death of Crassus, in 53 B.C., removed one of the members of that triple alliance which is loosely called the First Triumvirate. The two most important members, however, still remained; but Pompey was beginning to feel jealous of Cæsar, and to distrust his co-operation. A year before the great reverse in Parthia, Pompey's beautiful and affectionate wife, Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, had died in childbed, and the removal of this link between the two great commanders weakened an association which had always been founded more on policy than on mutual esteem. By the Trebonian law of 55 B.C., Pompey had received the Proconsulship of Spain for five years, while Gaul was allotted to Cæsar, and Syria to Crassus, for the same period. But Pompey was allowed to administer his command by the hands of lieutenants, and this enabled him to remain in Italy, and keep a close watch upon events at Rome. He appears to have thought he would be proclaimed Dictator; indeed, the political disorganisation of the State had proceeded to such extremities that the expectation was not unreasonable. Owing to a series of disturbances in 53 B.C., the city was left for several months without magistrates, since the necessary elections could not be

held; at the beginning of 52, the Republic was again without Consuls, as it had been at the beginning of 55. Clodius was still the leader of the popular party; his adversary, Milo, was one of the candidates for the Consulship. In January, 52 B.C., Milo, accompanied by his wife and family, was encountered by Clodius on the Appian Way, and a riot took place, in which Clodius was wounded, and forced to seek refuge in a tavern. Milo thereupon surrounded the house, dragged forth his enemy, and slew him on the road. When the dead body was exposed in the Forum, the people rose in fury, and attacked the dwellings of Milo and other Senatorial chiefs. The furniture of the Senate-house was seized to make a funeral pile, and the Curia was burnt to the ground. When the commotion had continued several days, the Senate commissioned Pompey to restore order; and, that he might do this with the greater freedom, he was appointed sole Consul. Milo was then brought to trial for the death of Clodius, and, being condemned, fled to Marseilles. Pompey was now virtually Dictator, without being discredited by that invidious title. Having no longer any obvious motive for remaining on close terms with Cæsar, he married Cornelia, the widow of Crassus, and thus connected himself with the aristocracy which he had sometimes supported, and sometimes opposed. On the 1st of August, his new father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, was associated with himself in the Consulship, and he now revealed a decidedly unfriendly spirit towards the democracy and their faithful

DEATH OF CRASSUS.

champion, Cæsar. With a view to keeping his own army on foot after the conqueror of Gaul had been compelled to disband his, Pompey procured a vote, whereby his government of Spain was prolonged for five years, while that of Cæsar in Gaul would terminate in little more than three from the existing date. Cæsar had become too successful to be any longer serviceable to the designs of Pompey. He had in truth never cared to advance those designs, excepting so far as they were favourable to his own; and his continued triumphs in Gaul made him all the less inclined to be the instrument of any man, even of the brilliant and gifted Pompey.

After his return from Britain, in the latter part of 54 B.C., Cæsar divided his forces in Gaul among various towns of the north, hoping to pass the winter in peace; but the anticipation proved illusory. A good deal of disaffection had existed for some time past, and during the absence of Cæsar plans of independence had been debated. After the departure of the conqueror for northern Italy, a premature rising of the Carnutes revealed the conspiracy which had long been ripening. The chieftain, Ambiorix, belonging to the tribe of the Eburones, invested the camp of Sabinus and Cotta, in the neighbourhood of the Meuse. These commanders were unfortunately induced to leave their quarters, and, in endeavouring to make their way to another Roman camp in the country of the Nervii, lost the whole of their forces in the midst of a dense forest, where they were surrounded by the enemy. This success caused a widely-spread outbreak among the northern and western tribes. Fortunately for Cæsar, he had not yet quitted Gaul, though he had already commenced his journey to Italy. With two incomplete legions, he was halting for a while at Samarobriva, the modern Amiens, where he learned from a Gaulish slave that the forces under Sabinus and Cotta had been cut to pieces, and that the camp of Quintus Cicero, a brother of the orator, was beleaguered by the insurgents. The gravity of the situation admitted of no delay, and Cæsar at once started to the rescue. In the meanwhile, Quintus Cicero gallantly defended his camp against vast hordes of the Nervii, and at length had the satisfaction of learning that his commander-in-chief was close at hand. A letter attached to an arrow, and written in Greek characters, that it might not be read by the Gauls, was shot into his entrenchments; and shortly afterwards Cæsar inflicted a severe defeat on the insurgents. By adroit management, he compelled his adversaries to offer him battle on ground of his own choosing; and, having succeeded in breaking through their lines, though their strength was immensely greater than his own, he threw himself into Cicero's camp, the defenders of which had suffered heavily from the prolonged investment. The Gauls now dispersed in every direction, and the whole confederacy was broken up. But the danger had been so grave while it lasted, and there was so much probability of its renewal, that Cæsar gave up his contemplated journey to Italy, and remained in Gaul during the whole of the winter. Painfully impressed with the insufficiency of his forces, the Proconsul obtained from Pompey one of the legions forming the army of that general. Thus strengthened, he attacked several of the Gallic tribes in the early part of 53 B.C. In particular, he directed his efforts against the tribe which owned the sway of Ambiorix. The Eburones were of Cimbric descent, and were regarded with dislike by the more genuine Gauls, who gladly executed the commands of the Roman general, and slaughtered the unhappy people in the vast forests of Arduenna. Other tribes were handled with almost equal severity, and Cæsar, again crossing the Rhine, struck terror into the neighbouring Germans. The danger being over for the present, the Proconsul passed the winter of 53–2 B.C. in the north of Italy, whither he found it advisable to repair every now and then, that he might watch the strife of parties at Rome, and be ready to interpose whenever circumstances should seem to require his personal and immediate influence.

The spirit of the Gauls, however, was not broken, and the absence of Cæsar encouraged them to fresh exertions. The hostility of the Carnutes, who dwelt in the centre of Gaul, was excited by the religious exhortations of the Druids, and at Genabus, on the Loire, a large number of Roman traders were surprised and massacred. In one day, the news was carried by a succession of mounted couriers to the frontiers of the Arverni, a hundred and sixty miles off; and this tribe at once entered into the patriotic combination. The Arverni were led by a young chieftain called by the Romans Vercingetorix, though it is probable that this was rather the title of his office. A rising took place throughout the greater part of the country, and Vercingetorix was appointed to the command of the whole confederate forces. Though it was still the depth of winter, Cæsar immediately returned to Gaul, surmounting the snow-clad Alps, and descending the northern slopes, with the rapidity of movement and concentration of force which made his power irresistible. Vercingetorix was not personally beloved, for his rule was enforced by a degree of military strictness which

often amounted to positive cruelty; yet his talents, resolution, and courage, assured him the obedience of the confederated tribes. Finding that Cæsar was advancing from point to point with uniform success, he advised the Gauls to abandon their fortresses, which he knew were incapable of defence, destroy the cities in which the enemy might find shelter and supplies, and, by a succession of raids and petty actions, at once exhaust his forces, and cut off his means of subsistence. The war continued through the greater part of 52 B.C., and was attended by many exciting incidents. Cæsar himself was nearly overcome during an expedition which he led in person against the Arverni. He had crossed the Allier, and driven Vercingetorix behind the defences of a large city named Gergovia, situated on a lofty hill, and difficult of access on all sides. Here the Roman commander found himself in a very serious dilemma; for the Ædui had risen in his rear, while the position in front was too extensive to be blockaded by the six legions he had with him. An attempt to surprise Gergovia resulted in failure, and, after a combat in which the Romans lost heavily, and were compelled to withdraw, Cæsar retreated from the country he had somewhat rashly entered. He had previously despatched Labienus to the north with four legions, and he now determined upon joining that commander, although it was necessary to penetrate through a country swarming with confident and eager enemies. Labienus was for some time held in check by the revolted tribes of the north; but a rash attempt to overwhelm him led to a reverse, and the two Roman armies effected their junction, and presented a powerful array to their innumerable but ill-disciplined enemies.

Vercingetorix was now at the head of an immense force, and the spirits of his countrymen were raised to the highest pitch by the success which had already attended their efforts. The aspect of affairs was so alarming that Cæsar determined to abandon the whole of Gaul, with the exception of the Roman province, and in his place of refuge to concert measures for renewed operations. The Arvernian chief, anticipating the probability of such a movement, persuaded the Allobroges to guard the points at which the invader might attempt to cross the Upper Rhone, and at the head of his own forces marched against his adversary, so as to overwhelm him by superior numbers. The greatest hope of Cæsar was in his ability to bring the Gauls to an engagement in the field, where their defeat was open to no reasonable doubt. Vercingetorix, whose military genius might have conferred on him conspicuous fame had his armies been composed of better material, knew well that the safest plan was to hover upon the skirts of Cæsar's retreating legions, and to wear them out by repeated forays. But his troops insisted that they should be led against the enemy in force, and the result was a crushing defeat. Unable to rally his broken ranks, even behind the entrenchments which he had prepared for them, Vercingetorix and his followers found refuge in the city of Alesia—a place of great strength, occupying the summit of a lofty hill. Here they were at once blockaded by Cæsar, and Vercingetorix, after a vain attempt to break through, found his soldiers threatened with famine in the place which he trusted would prove for them an inviolable refuge. One hope remained, and that was in the approach of a vast army of relief, which presently arrived outside the Roman lines. Simultaneously with the attack of these new-comers, the soldiers of Vercingetorix burst out from the city, and the beleaguering force was assailed on two sides. Both assaults, however, were repelled, and the Gaulish chieftain now saw that nothing remained for him but submission. Nevertheless, he hoped to avert the wrath of the conqueror from his countrymen by offering himself as a sacrifice. The gates were accordingly thrown open, and the hero, arrayed in brilliant armour, and mounted on his war-horse, rode towards the invincible general whom at one time he seemed almost on the point of vanquishing. His submission secured the lives of his followers; but Vercingetorix himself was kept a prisoner, that he might march one day in the procession of his conqueror's triumph. It is a disgrace to the fame of Cæsar, who often acted with generosity, that he allowed this valiant and magnanimous chieftain to perish in the gloomy prison beneath the Capitol. To the inferior rebels he behaved with remarkable leniency, and a large part of Gaul once more accepted the yoke which it had nearly shaken off. Yet some of the tribes were still disaffected, and the struggle was renewed towards the latter end of 52 B.C., and in the early months of 51. At every point, however, the insurgents were worsted, and the eighth Gallic campaign of Julius Cæsar terminated in the entire subjection of Gaul to the Roman eagles. It is said that during these eight campaigns the victor captured more than eight hundred cities, defeated three hundred nations, encountered three millions of men in arms, slew a million of them, and made prisoners of an equal number. No dependence can be placed on the exactness of these figures, and they are probably exaggerated; but the

magnitude and importance of Cæsar's conquests are unquestionable, and there are not many achievements in history which can be placed in comparison with these multitudinous and overwhelming triumphs.

The genius of Cæsar had bestowed upon the Roman Republic a new domain of vast dimensions and brilliant capabilities; but the conquest of this enormous province was a task not more difficult than its organisation when obtained. A man of smaller powers than Cæsar might have started back from his own success, appalled at the responsibilities which it involved; but the conqueror of Gaul was gifted with an intellectual capacity equal to every demand, whether of action or of counsel, that might be made on it. Whatever his faults, moreover, he was a man of large and liberal ideas, and he perceived that Gaul should not be ruled after the peremptory and unjust fashion which had prevailed in previous acquisitions of the Roman arms. While often treating rebels with a severity which the modern conscience justly characterises as cruel, Cæsar had an instinct of nobleness in his heart, which shaped his general policy. He governed the Gallic tribes by interfering as little as possible with their laws, their institutions, their habits, and their religion. The natives were left in possession of their lands, and the several tribes were allowed, under a few restrictions, to conduct their internal affairs through the agency of their own magistrates and senates. The annual tribute demanded of the Gauls was fixed at a very moderate sum, and special privileges were conferred upon particular chiefs and cities. The graceful and attractive manners of the conqueror did as much even as these solid concessions to propitiate a people very sensitive to anything which flattered their vanity, or touched their affections. In a battle with the Arvernians, the sword of Cæsar had been wrested from him, and he afterwards beheld it suspended in the temple of one of the national gods. When the people would have restored this trophy, of which they were not unreasonably proud, Cæsar refused to accept it, and, with a friendly smile, said that the offering was sacred. In many respects, indeed, the Gauls had abundant reason to be pleased with the attitude which Cæsar adopted towards them. He believed in their military virtues when subjected to the restraints of Roman discipline; and it is a remarkable fact that a large proportion of the troops with which he effected the conquest of Gaul were themselves men of Gaulish race and language; some of them raised in the Roman province, others in those parts of the country which from year to year submitted to the invaders. Yet these native soldiers never once mutinied against their commander, nor, when they were captured, could they be induced to turn their arms against him who had used them as his instruments. The men were invincible, because their chief possessed a genius such as had scarcely ever before been equalled in the history of the world; and the transcendent powers of their leader were indefinitely multiplied by the heroic self-reliance and self-abnegation which he was capable of inspiring in his humblest followers.

Cicero, who had on many occasions distrusted the objects of Cæsar and opposed his methods, could not forbear from recognising his extraordinary services in Gaul. "Marius," he said, in a burst of generous eloquence, "arrested the deluge of the Gauls in Italy; but he never penetrated into their abodes, he never subdued their cities. Cæsar has not only repulsed the Gauls—he has conquered them. The Alps were once the barrier between Italy and the barbarians: the gods had placed them there for that very purpose, for by them Rome was protected through the perils of her infancy. Now let them sink, and welcome: from the Alps to the Ocean she has henceforth no enemy to fear." What made the unparalleled triumphs of Cæsar even more remarkable was the fact that, not many years before, he had seemed, to all but a few observant eyes, incapable of any kind of greatness, whether of war or peace. He was a spendthrift and an idler; a man of profligate habits and desultory life. When at length he began to mingle in political affairs, his abilities soon made themselves apparent; yet the feebleness of his person, and his tendency to epileptic seizures, appeared to exclude him from all probability of greatness in the field of arms. "But," writes a modern historian, "as one campaign followed another, his countrymen heard with amazement that this tender nursling was climbing mountains on foot, swimming rivers on skins, riding his charger without a bridle, and making his bed among the rains and snows of the inhospitable North, in the depth of forests and morasses. If ever he allowed himself to be carried in a litter, he spared his limbs only to exercise his mind. He read and wrote on various and abstruse subjects; he maintained an immense correspondence, both private and official, and dictated to four, and sometimes even to seven, amanuenses at the same time."* Cæsar, indeed, was great not only as a general and an administrator, but in

* Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic, chap 11.

many other departments of intellectual activity. He was a literary man, writing not merely the history of his own exploits, but on other subjects both serious and trifling. As a jurist, his name stands among the most illustrious in history, while his oratory is held to have been surpassed only by that of Cicero. The whole circle of humanity seems to have been traversed by the vast beam of his intellect and his personal qualifications. The genius which could conceive enormous projects in the abstract was equally at home in their details; the commander who could organise campaigns that were uniformly successful could fight in the ranks like a common soldier, if the need arose.

With the Roman citizens generally, Cæsar was all the more popular on account of his Gallic campaigns. The northern barbarians were still feared on the banks of the Tiber, for the memory of the great inroad under Brennus was not yet outworn. It was therefore a matter for the utmost rejoicing that the military genius of Cæsar had subdued these formidable warriors, and added their country to the numerous provinces of the Roman Republic. The Senate, however, regarded his repeated victories with a not unnatural jealousy, fearing that they might result in the establishment of a Dictatorship, or even of a Monarchy. Pompey was sullen and apprehensive, because his own triumphs had been outshone, and the star of Cæsar was evidently rising, while his was setting. The aristocratic party had always disliked Cæsar, as his views were entirely opposed to their own; and they now foresaw the triumph of the Democracy in the successes of its chief. Cæsar knew very well that he would be made the subject of a prosecution on his return to Rome, unless he could manage to evade all responsibility for his acts. He therefore intimated his intention of offering himself again for the Consulship, and a law was passed, giving him permission to pursue his candidature without leaving Gaul. But the Consul Marcellus urged Cæsar's recall during the current year (51 B.C.), though his command had still two years to run; and another Marcellus—also an enemy of Cæsar—was himself elected to the Consulship for 50 B.C. The riches which Cæsar had acquired in his Gallic campaigns enabled him, however, to obtain numerous partisans, even among those who might otherwise have been indifferent to his fortunes. At his own expense, he began to raise splendid buildings in the Forum; he also lent or gave large sums of money to some of the needy and profligate young nobles, whose natural inclinations were opposed to his own, but who were not above becoming his partisans in consideration of his bribes.

In this way the conqueror of Gaul won over to his side some influential supporters whose friendship it was important to obtain; and, besides these, there were others who acted from more disinterested motives. Among the latter was Marcus Antonius, familiarly known to English readers as Marc Antony. This celebrated leader, now in the prime of manhood, was the son of Marcus Antonius Creticus, and of Julia, a member of the Cæsarian house. He was therefore a grandson of Antonius the Orator, and consequently a man illustrious by the reflected light of his relations. His paternal uncle had been Consul with Cicero, and all his surroundings were such as to lead him into public life, though it might be doubtful which side he would espouse. He had served with Gabinius in Syria, Judæa, and Egypt, and for two years previous to 51 B.C. had been one of Cæsar's officers in Gaul. His ability as a commander was signally manifested on several occasions; and having, in his early years, studied oratory in Greece, he became a very striking and effective speaker. His political inclinations were for a time somewhat wavering; but on the whole they leant towards the democratic party, and he gave an independent support to the Tribune Clodius, while disapproving of the violence to which that leader frequently resorted. In his moral character he was as dissipated and licentious as most other Romans of that period; but his attachment to Cæsar appears to have been cordial and genuine. In 50 B.C. he was elected to the Augurate, vacated by the death of the orator Hortensius; and his succession to that post was to a considerable extent effected by the influence of Cæsar. By such measures the latter secured his interests at Rome, or, at any rate, provided himself with zealous partisans, who would act as his champions when he himself was still beyond the Alps.

While matters were rapidly progressing towards renewed civil war, Cicero was absent in Asia. He had been persuaded, though much against his will, to accept the government of Cilicia, and was thus removed from the capital at a period when his splendid abilities, long experience, and unquestionable devotion to the interests of the State—whatever his mistakes, his vacillations, or his weakness—might have proved serviceable to the Republic in the crisis of its danger. The province of Cilicia included a large portion of the south of Asia Minor, and required a capable Governor on account of its proximity to Armenia and Parthia. Cicero arrived there in the spring of 51 B.C., and found the population in great disquietude from the attacks of the Parthians.

He brought with him considerable reinforcements, and was thus enabled to overawe the military performances, which were in truth but slight, but in the justice and liberality of his civil

VERCINGETORIX BEFORE CÆSAR.

invaders, who gladly retired within their own bounds. Some chastisement was inflicted on the neighbouring mountaineers; but the glory of Cicero's administration consisted not in his rule. By this conduct the hearts of the provincials were won; but his own subordinates were equally disgusted by the sternness with which he restrained their exactions. For a portion of the time that

Cicero was removed from the metropolis, Pompey was incapacitated by illness from taking any active part in public affairs. In the course of 51 B.C., that great commander was prostrated by fever at Neapolis (Naples), and for some months appeared almost beyond the hope of recovery. He departed, and the sufferer was carried in his litter by slow degrees to Rome, multitudes of people crowded round the enfeebled hero, to give expression to their heart-felt congratulations. Pompey considered that his former position had been fully restored; and so, indeed, it might fairly have

PUBLIC REJOICINGS ON THE RECOVERY OF POMPEY.

had for several years lost much of the popularity which he had once enjoyed in ample measure; but the report of his alarming illness re-awakened throughout Italy the old feelings of affection and respect. In all the cities of the peninsula, the temples were crowded by those who desired to offer their sacrifices to the gods, and to send up their prayers for his recovery. The feeling appears to have been universal; and when the fever had appeared to that superficial judgment which is frequently all that we can form. Yet he was now on the eve of his downfall; and in subsequent times the later events of his life were coupled with the moral, that men in their blindness had snatched him back to life and to an ignominious fate, whereas the gods, in their stern but wiser prescience, would rather have suffered him to die in the full radiance of his fame.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CIVIL WAR OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

Decay of the Roman Republic—Rise of the Military Power—The Approaching Struggle between Cæsar and Pompey—Curio's Support of Cæsar in the Senate—Attempt of Pompey to Engross Military Power to himself—Honours paid to Cæsar in Cisalpine Gaul—Debates in the Senate on the Military Situation—Action of the Consul Marcellus—Views of the Opposing Parties—Cæsar's Proposals to the Senate—Resolution of the Senate for Depriving Cæsar of his Command—Flight of the Tribunes, Marc Antony and Quintus Cassius—Position of Cæsar in the Popular Estimation—His Crossing of the Rubicon—Incidents attending the Passage of the Stream—Legend Preserved by Suetonius—Triumphant Progress of Cæsar through the Italian Peninsula—Flight of Pompey from Rome—The Pompeians Quit Italy for Epirus—Brundusium Taken by Cæsar—Rallying of some of the Aristocracy to his Cause—Designs of Pompey—Cæsar at Rome—Seizure of Treasure in the Temple of Saturn—Campaign in Spain, and Defeat of the Pompeian Generals—Cæsar Dictator at Rome, and afterwards Consul—His Popular and Liberal Policy—Acquisition of Sardinia and Sicily—Curio, Cæsar's Lieutenant, Defeated and Slain in Africa—Legal Authority of Cæsar after his Reception at Rome—Pompey's Vast Preparations for War—Division of the Republic between the East and West—Landing of Cæsar in Epirus—The Opposing Armies drawn up on Different Sides of the Apsus—Ineffectual Proposals for a Compromise—Arrival of Reinforcements for Cæsar under Antony—Cicero in the Camp of Pompey—His Despondent View of the Aristocratic Cause.

FROM the time of Tiberius Gracchus to the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar—a period of more than eighty years—Rome had been in a state of frequent revolution, and of political disorganisation so inveterate as to have become a chronic disease of the commonwealth. In the lapse of ages, the Roman people had outgrown their constitution, and a form of government which answered fairly well in the early days of a small aristocratical Republic, when the national territory extended over but few miles, developed countless evils when applied to the management of a vast Empire, comprising possessions in Europe, Asia, and Africa. At a very early date, the people, as distinguished from the patricians, obtained some voice in the conduct of their own affairs; but their privileges were constantly attacked by the higher orders, and not unfrequently gave way before the open violence or the insidious corruption of the nobility. Even when the populace prevailed, it was generally at the cost of turbulence and bloodshed, and the State became the prey of contending soldiers, who used the political factions of the hour as the instruments of their personal advancement. Marius and Sulla desolated the capital with their rivalries, while, in the provinces, the struggles of Italians, slaves, and gladiators threatened to bring the immense fabric of dominion to a bloody close. The political machine was in truth outworn. It was too complicated for every-day use, too feeble for the exceptional strains to which it was often subjected. Consuls and Tribunes, the Senate and the popular Assembly, thwarted each other with pertinacious ingenuity, instead of combining for the general good. The consequence was that the military element predominated, and the contentions of Pompey and Cæsar succeeded to those of Marius and Sulla. One of the vices of the Persian Empire in its least vigorous days had recently infected the Roman State. Several of the provinces had become military satrapies, in which a successful general was permitted to enjoy sovereign power for a term of years, in almost complete independence of the Republic which appointed him. Sertorius in Spain, Pompey in Syria, Cæsar in Gaul, Crassus again in the East, had acted as kings, rather than as subjects; and the two middle ones, being brilliantly triumphant, had learned to regard their individual claims as of greater consequence than the constitution of which they were nominally the servants. The approaches to a monarchy were already laid.

That the struggle would be between Pompey and Cæsar, all men clearly perceived. Each had his partisans; but the Senate, in the main, loved neither. Cæsar, however, was disliked and distrusted even more than Pompey, because his power was manifestly greater, his influence more widely diffused, his strength of character more marked and uniform. It was against him that the decree of 51 B.C., ordering the Consuls of the following year to bring before the Senate the question of redistributing the Provincial Governments, was principally directed. The intention, of course, was to deprive the conqueror of Gaul of the extensive domain which he had won by his sword; and it was also determined that the Senate would take care of Cæsar's veterans—in other words, that the soldiers should be detached from their commander by a grant of lands in Italy. In the following year (50 B.C.), the interests of Cæsar were watched by the Tribune Scribonius Curio, son of one of Sulla's partisans, and himself a man of ability, but of no great honour. It was proposed by this

person that both Pompey and Cæsar should disband their forces; but the suggestion met with a good deal of resistance. The Consul Caius Claudius Marcellus (cousin of the Marcus Claudius Marcellus who had been Consul in the previous year) denounced Cæsar as a robber, and urged the Senate to vote him an enemy if he would not disarm. On a division, however, the proposal of Curio was carried by an immense majority, and the friend of Cæsar, on issuing forth, was received with acclamations from the people, who strewed flowers on his path. It was indeed high time that the military jealousies of the two commanders should be subjected to some restriction, and Pompey, in particular, needed the curb. He had seven legions in Spain, from which country they could easily be transported into Italy; yet he did his utmost to diminish the forces of Cæsar. A little before the debate on Curio's proposal, he had required of his rival to return the legion which he had lent him after the destruction of a Roman force by Ambiorix. Cæsar complied, and also sent one of his own legions which he had been told was required for a war with Parthia. No such war was really apprehended, and the troops, when they arrived, were sent into quarters in Campania, where they would always be in readiness for an emergency.

Notwithstanding these precautions, Cæsar was still the cause of considerable alarm to the aristocratic party at Rome. He was now making a progress through Cisalpine Gaul, and in every direction he was received like a monarch. Festivals and sacrifices marked his arrival at each city, and the people flocked about him with expressions of gratitude. Satisfied at length with these demonstrations, the conqueror returned to Transalpine Gaul, and in the country of the Treviri held a review of his army, at which he appears to have talked to his officers on what he regarded as the deliberate antagonism of the Roman patricians. "They cabal," he said, "to wrest from me my rights. But," he added, touching his sword, "this shall maintain them." On the other hand, Pompey was equally confident of success. He compared Cæsar to a disobedient son who raised his stick against his own father, meaning, apparently, himself; and boasted that he had only to stamp with his foot, and legions would start from the soil in every part of Italy. The Senators, relying on their famous champion, listened to a second proposal of Caius Claudius Marcellus, that Cæsar should be recalled, while Pompey should retain his full powers. This was affirmed by a large majority; but Curio protested with so much vehemence against the contemplated injustice that it was determined to require the resignation of both Proconsuls. Marcellus well understood the meaning of that resolution. "You have carried the day," he said to the adherents of Curio; "but you will have Cæsar for your master." The votes were taken near the end of November in the year 50 B.C.; and at the beginning of December it was reported that Cæsar's legions were crossing the Alps. Marcellus submitted to the Senate that the troops stationed in Campania should be summoned to the defence of Rome, but, not meeting with the support he expected, declared that he would provide for the safety of the State on his own responsibility. He then went to Pompey at his Alban villa, and requested him to take command of all the troops in Italy. The duty was hesitatingly accepted; but at present there was nothing to be done. Cæsar had, indeed, again quitted Transalpine Gaul, and was now at Ravenna; but he was accompanied by only a single legion, and showed no sign of a further advance to the south.

It would be easy to pronounce a sweeping condemnation of either side in this great quarrel; but the fairness of such a judgment might be open to question. That the disorganisation of the Republic needed the interposition of a strong hand, that the aims of the oligarchy were selfish and corrupt, and that Cæsar represented the broader and nobler views of the people, are facts which come out very plainly, the more we consider the whole circumstances of the political situation. Yet it is impossible to deny that Cæsar was assuming a position which threatened the supremacy of the State over its officers, and placed the civil power at the mercy of an armed soldier. Recollecting what had happened when first Marius, and then Sulla, had obtained the mastery of Rome, the Senate may well have dreaded the arrival of Cæsar from the north. The aristocracy had no certain knowledge of the man's magnanimous disposition, and not unnaturally feared that his appearance at Rome would be the signal for massacre or proscription. To Curio, however, the illegality seemed to be on the side of his opponents. He protested that the call to arms by Marcellus was the suspension of all law, and, leaving the capital early in December, he joined Cæsar at Ravenna. The latter, still preserving his attitude of an independent power, not indisposed to treat with the adversary, but asserting his right to treat on equal terms, assumed a tone of moderation in the conditions he was prepared to grant or accept. He would surrender the province of Transalpine Gaul, and the troops belonging to it, and would thenceforward content himself with Gallia Cisalpina and Illyria, if concessions were

made to him. He would even lay down his command altogether, if Pompey would at the same time relinquish his. If that were not agreed to, he would take measures to protect himself, and to avenge his country's injuries.

These proposals were embodied in a letter which Curio was to present to the Senate on the 1st of January, 49 B.C., when the new Consuls would assume office. The persons appointed to that post were Caius Claudius Marcellus (cousin of the Consul with the same names of the previous year, and brother of the Marcellus of 51 B.C.), and Cornelius Lentulus Crus. Both were adherents of Pompey; from neither, therefore, was Cæsar likely to obtain any favour. The latter, however, had his supporters in two of the Tribunes, Marc Antony, and Quintus Cassius Longinus, a kinsman of the more celebrated Caius Cassius. The written communication of Cæsar was denied a hearing when submitted to the Senate; but Antony and Cassius made the terms known to the people, and a confused debate ensued, during which the Consuls declared that the State was in danger, and that no concessions should be made to a rebel with arms in his hands. At length it was proposed by Metellus Scipio, a great-grandson of Scipio Nasica, and the father-in-law of Pompey, that, unless Cæsar abandoned his army and his province before a fixed day, he should be treated as a public enemy. This was voted by a large majority, in spite of the vetoes of the Tribunes, Marc Antony and Quintus Cassius. It was again affirmed that the State was in danger; but the conduct of its defenders was in itself illegal, as the Senate had no right to act upon a vote which the popular Tribunes had forbidden. The latter protested against the course that was being adopted, and declared, not without truth, that they were over-ridden in the exercise of their functions. But on the 6th of January it was determined to proceed to even more outrageous extremities, and the Tribunes were informed by the Senate that they would be expelled from that assembly. They accordingly fled in disguise, together with Curio, but before doing so resigned their office, which, indeed, they forfeited by the mere fact of quitting the city. It is not improbable that their lives would have been in peril had they stayed; for, immediately before their departure, the Consuls had been invested with dictatorial powers.

Cæsar was still at Ravenna when he received letters informing him of what had been done at Rome on the 6th of the month. It was now evident that the crisis had arrived, and that action of some sort could no longer be delayed. From a legal and constitutional point of view, the position of Cæsar was equivocal; but that of his antagonists was little better. In justification of his subsequent measures, the Proconsul could urge that the Senate had twice resolved that Pompey, as well as himself, should be disarmed, but that, nevertheless, Pompey was allowed to retain his legions, while he was degraded and thrown from power; also, that the Tribunes had been treated with gross and manifest illegality. The Republic, in short, had ceased to exist in anything but the name, and Cæsar correctly described it as devoid of substance and reality. Many persons of intelligence and political knowledge saw that the only hope of Rome lay in the establishment of personal rule; and this was likewise the opinion of the populace themselves, who dreaded a fresh outbreak of oligarchical fury and selfishness. In many directions, Cæsar was not only respected, but beloved. The Roman democracy regarded him as their champion, and to the people of the provinces he appeared as the generous assertor of their claims to the rights of citizenship. When occupying the position of Consul, he had carried a law for conferring the privileges of the capital on the Gauls occupying the country on the nearer side of the Padus; and it was pretty certain that he would extend those privileges to remoter regions, as the opportunity arose. In Further Gaul, and in Spain, he had earned popularity of a more factitious, but scarcely less operative character, by improving and adorning cities; and Greece was indebted to him for certain legislative enactments which granted local independence to some of her communities. The name of Cæsar was known, and favourably known, wherever the Roman eagles flew, and wherever their fame extended. He was widely recognised as the man fated to effect an important revolution in the Empire of which he was the foremost soldier; and by many it was hoped, by others feared, that he would establish a powerful Monarchy on the ruins of a tottering Republic.

On a hasty view of the military situation, however, it might have seemed that the authorities at Rome were in a much better position than their antagonist at Ravenna. They had the forces of the Republic at their command, and in Pompey they possessed a general of great ability and brilliant reputation. Cæsar had with him only one legion, nor could he obtain any others without a delay that might be fatal. He therefore assembled his troops, harangued them on the injustice of which it was sought to make him the victim, and threw himself on the protection of their valour and discipline. On the morning of the 15th of January, he sent forward a few cohorts to the Rubicon—a

small river, flowing along the southern limits of Gallia Cisalpina (which it separated from Umbria), and falling into the Adriatic. As the territory of Cisalpine Gaul was not at that time included in Italy, the Rubicon was regarded as marking the division between a mere province and the immediate dominion of the Republic; and any Roman general commanding in Gaul was consequently forbidden, under dreadful imprecations, to pass the boundary with an armed force, as that was equivalent to making war upon the State. Unimportant in itself, the Rubicon has become one of the most famous rivers in history, on account of the great event which happened on its banks; yet modern geographers are undecided as to what known river answers to this stream. "To cross the Rubicon" has become a phrase expressive of any irrevocable step taken after some hesitation, and involving momentous consequences; but the precise course of the true Rubicon cannot now be fixed.

While his detachment was making its way to the dividing stream, Cæsar himself attended a public spectacle at Ravenna, that he might more completely mask his designs. In the evening, he entertained a large number of friends at a banquet; then, suddenly feigning an excuse for a brief absence, he mounted a car drawn by mules, and, accompanied by a few attendants, hurried after his advanced guard. For greater secrecy, he left the high road, and entered on a number of tortuous paths, where he soon lost himself. To add to his perplexity, the torches of the attendants went out, and the party wandered in darkness all night. At length, about break of day, the assistance of a guide was procured, and Cæsar, alighting from his chariot, traversed a number of by-ways on foot, until he overtook his troops on the northern bank of the Rubicon. The historians and biographers of a later age have recorded that he now appeared to be dismayed at the magnitude and danger of the enterprise he had begun; that some hours were spent in silent and anxious deliberation; and that he at length rose up, exclaiming, "Jacta est alea!" ("The die is cast!")—immediately after which, he gave the order to cross the river. Suetonius relates that, just before setting foot upon the little bridge which spanned the stream, he said to his officers, "Even now we may return; but, if we once cross that bridge, all must be decided by the sword." At that moment, according to a tradition which the biographer of the Cæsars has preserved, a youth of singular beauty and extraordinary stature was seen sitting close by, playing on a flute. The neighbouring shepherds drew near to hear him, and several of the troops, including some trumpeters, left their ranks, and flocked about the visionary figure; whereupon, with a sudden and violent movement, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, sprang to the water side, blowing a martial charge, leaped into the river, and disappeared on the opposite bank. Astounded by the incident, Cæsar exclaimed, "Let us advance where the gods direct, and our enemies invite us. The die is cast!"* The soldiers at once crossed the Rubicon, partly by the bridge, partly by the ford, and before long entered Arminum (Rimini) through its unclosed gates.

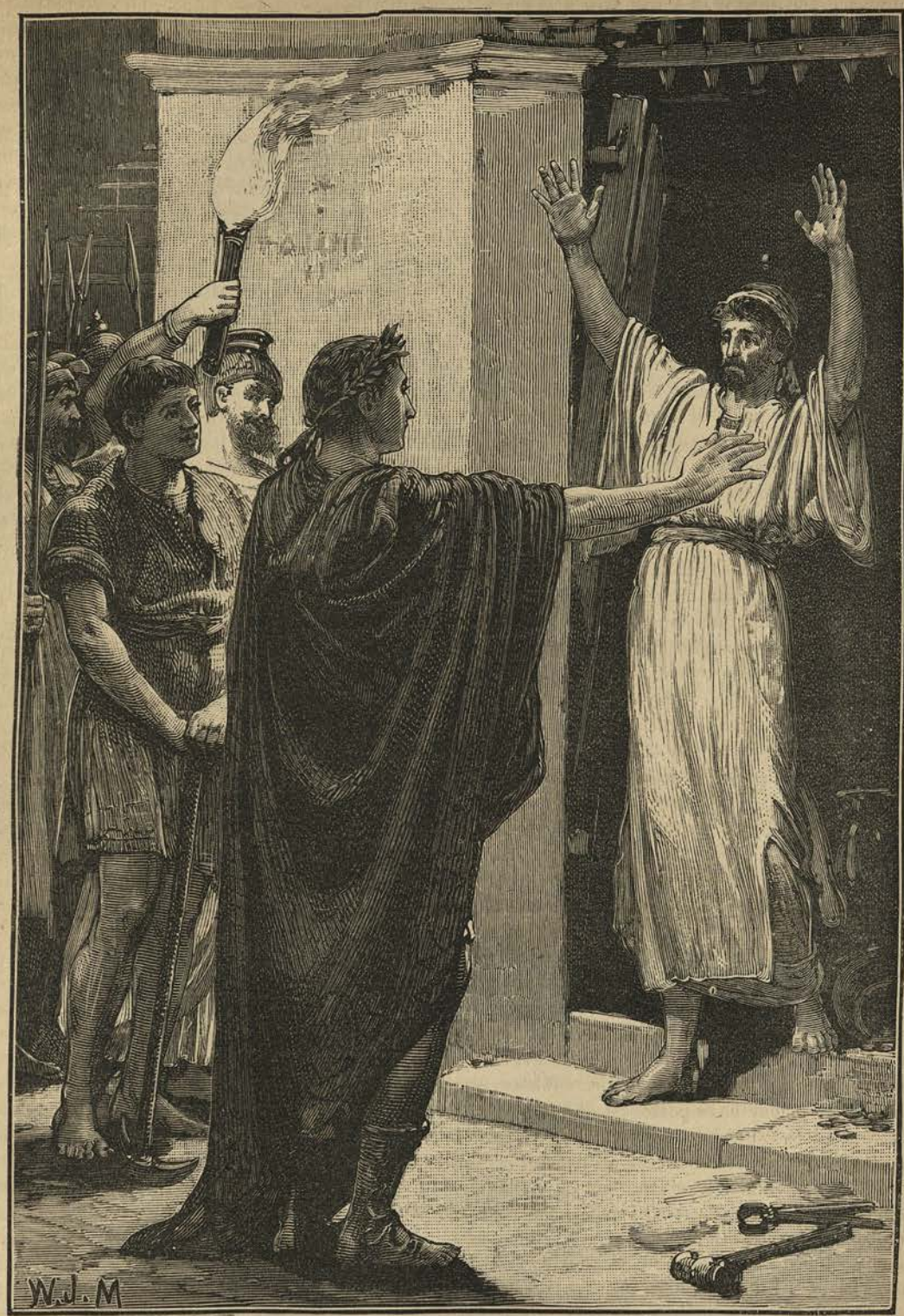
Cæsar himself, in his "Commentaries," simply tells us that he set out from Cisalpine Gaul, and entered Ariminum; but the mythological narratives of subsequent writers have this value, that they show how great an effect the genius and the success of Cæsar produced upon the popular mind, which, in the course of only a few generations, surrounded the hero with the nimbus of supernatural attributes. The great historic fact, however, is, that on the morning of the 16th of January, 49 B.C., Cæsar crossed the line of demarcation between his province and the Italian territory, and thus commenced the great Civil War of Rome. At Ariminum he found the ex-Tribunes, Marc Antony and Quintus Cassius, who were on their way from Rome to the Proconsul's camp. His remaining troops were now summoned from their winter quarters; and, having stationed three legions at Narbo, to watch the forces of Pompey in Spain, Cæsar resumed his southward march with a few detachments, which he found sufficient to secure the obedience of Pisaurum, Fanum, Ancona, Iguvium, and Auximum. Additional forces from Gaul joined him shortly afterwards, and, by the middle of February, Cæsar was enabled to invest the fortress of Corfinium, in the Apennines—a place at that time defended by Domitius Ahenobarbus and a number of Senators. No help was sent from Rome, and the soldiers of Domitius gave up their general to Cæsar, who treated him and the Senators with great forbearance. The march of the invaders, if such they should be called, was conducted after the most exemplary fashion. Cæsar would not allow any acts of personal violence or pillage to be committed in the cities which he passed or occupied; and the people found with delighted surprise that the soldiers of the Proconsul were disciplined and civilised troops, and not, as they had feared, a horde of savage and half-naked Gauls.

* Suetonius: Lives of the Cæsars; Sections 30—2 of the Life of Julius Cæsar.—Plutarch makes no mention of the celestial vision, though he describes the temporary hesitation of the Proconsul.

The honourable conduct of Cæsar rallied many adherents to his cause; the troops of Domitius took service under his flag. He was now much stronger than when he set out, and the chances of ultimate success were immeasurably heightened by so prosperous a beginning, and so temperate a use of power.

At this moment of supreme importance, when everything depended on a vigorous policy, Pompey was afflicted with a degree of hesitation which almost looks like mental incompetence. His first idea was to make a stand in Picenum, to the north-east of Rome, and he even quitted the city with that view. But, on hearing that Cæsar was rapidly advancing towards the capital, he at once withdrew, and, leaving Rome behind him, set out for Brundusium, where he was joined by the Consuls. The latter, however, had by this time conferred something like dictatorial authority on Pompey, who certainly had no reason to complain that his action was hampered by the interference of the civil magistrates. It is difficult to understand how a man of Pompey's genius and experience in war could have behaved with so much imbecility; but it seems impossible to doubt that he acted under a species of panic. His forces were larger than those of Cæsar; yet he declared that they were not strong enough to cope with the enemy. He therefore called upon the citizens to follow him along the Appian Way, and a train of fugitives, carrying with them the gods of Rome, hung upon his rear, and increased the general alarm by the hurried eagerness of their flight. Some attempt at negotiation had been made at the very commencement of Cæsar's march; but Pompey insisted that his adversary should first lay down his arms, and to this Cæsar would not consent, unless Pompey did the same. The time had evidently passed when compromise was possible; and Pompey, who had refused succour to Domitius Ahenobarbus, and had even been disinclined to the defence of Corfinium at all, continued his hurried flight towards the south-east. After pausing at various places, the fugitives arrived at Brundusium, where Pompey had collected several transport vessels for the embarkation of his army. Cicero, who had returned from Cilicia in the latter part of 50 B.C., was extremely annoyed at the precipitation of Pompey in abandoning the defence of Rome, and in his letters even accuses him of designing to subjugate Italy by the help of foreign tyrants and

CÆSAR CROSSING THE RUBICON.



CÆSAR POSSESSING HIMSELF OF THE TREASURE IN THE TEMPLE OF SATURN.

barbarians. The great orator was now at Capua, which he declined to leave, though instructed to do so by Pompey, who desired that he should join him in Apulia. The road, indeed, was no longer open, and Cicero did not care to take a sea-voyage in the depth of winter.

Having put his troops on board ship, Pompey despatched them across the Adriatic to Epirus. He had hardly departed before Cæsar was at the gates of Brundusium. The situation would have been extremely serious for Pompey, had he not held command of the sea, while Cæsar was totally devoid of ships. Hoping to prevent the escape of some forces still remaining, Cæsar endeavoured to throw a mole across the mouth of the harbour; but the attempt failed, and the Pompeians got away, leaving the walls of the city undefended. A slight skirmish, however, occurred at the entrance to the harbour, where two of the Pompeian vessels were destroyed by the Cæsarians when they had obtained admission into the town. This was the first blood shed in the Civil War which was afterwards to cost so much. Brundusium fell into the hands of Cæsar on the 17th of March, and, as he had now no longer any adversary in the peninsula, he might fairly boast that he had acquired the mastery of Italy in the brief period of two months. The achievement was undoubtedly remarkable, but not more so than the extraordinary collapse of the other side. Great as was Cæsar's genius in the art of war, it is difficult to believe that his advance might not have been seriously checked, had there been spirit and resolution enough to strike a vigorous blow. Labienus, the ablest lieutenant of the great Proconsul, had deserted his cause, and it is very possible that Domitius might have foiled his attack on Corfinium, if he had been properly supported. On the other hand, Cæsar was powerfully aided by the Italian populations, who in many places opened their cities with enthusiasm to one whom they regarded as a deliverer from the tyranny of Rome. Whatever chance Pompey may have possessed at the outset, he had now lost by his pusillanimous retreat. Disgusted by his abandonment of all defence upon the soil of Italy, many of the nobles declared against him, and determined to espouse the cause of Cæsar. They returned from Brundusium to Rome while Pompey was sailing across the Adriatic, his mind occupied with the plans by which he yet hoped to foil his adversary. He seems to have determined on organising an elaborate defence in the Eastern Provinces, where he was to fit out large fleets for blockading the coast of Italy, and starving Rome; after which, he would lead a foreign army against the stronghold of his rival. The words, "Sulla could do this: why not I?" were frequently on his lips. But the reference to Sulla alarmed all save the most reckless. If Pompey was to inaugurate a second proscription, it were better to trust to Cæsar than to him.

Leaving detachments of his troops amongst the chief Italian towns, Cæsar advanced to Rome at the head of a very small force, trusting to the effect he had already produced, and to the readiness of a large body of citizens to accept his rule. On the 1st of April he re-entered the capital after an absence of nearly ten years. The greater number of his enemies were absent, and he met with the reception that he anticipated. His first act was to call together the remaining members of the Senate, to whom he proposed that envoys should be sent to treat with Pompey. No one, however, was willing to undertake the office, and Metellus, one of the Tribunes attached to the Pompeian faction, purposely interposed delays, which had the effect of defeating Cæsar's intention. With respect to this Tribune and his dealings with the conqueror, a story is told which may perhaps be apocryphal, but which is not devoid of a certain probability. When Pompey abandoned Rome, he left behind him a large treasure in the vaults of the temple of Saturn. Cæsar determined to apply this wealth to his own purposes, that he might reward his soldiers, and make a present to the citizens. The Senators authorised him to do as he pleased in the matter; but Metellus interposed his veto, on the ground that this particular treasure was the actual ransom which Rome had paid to Brennus, but which, according to an extremely doubtful tradition, Camillus had recovered. Addressing the people, Metellus reminded them that a curse had been denounced against any one who should remove the stored-up gold for any purpose whatever, except to repel another Gallic invasion. Cæsar's reply was to the effect that, as he had subdued the Gauls, the fear of Gallic invasion was for ever at an end. The keys having been carried off by the Consuls, the door was broken open with pickaxes; but Metellus stood in the gap, and endeavoured to oppose the passage of Cæsar. "Stand aside, young man, if you value your life!" exclaimed Cæsar; "it is easier for me to take it than to utter the words." Whether this collision actually occurred or not, it is at any rate certain that Cæsar possessed himself of the treasure which his enemies had neglected to secure. If any one felt troubled as to the violence that had been com-

mitted, Cæsar defended himself by remarking that it was war-time, and that in war one could not listen to the scruples of peace.

His power at Rome being now sufficiently established, the victor started for Spain about the middle of April. The western peninsula was at that time held by two of Pompey's officers, Afranius and Petreius, who had under their command seven legions, composed of veteran soldiers devoted to the interests of the aristocratic party. In making his way to Spain, Cæsar found that Marseilles had declared for his antagonists, and he was therefore compelled to leave behind him a portion of his forces under Caius Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, to besiege that city both by sea and land. He then resumed his march, and crossed the Pyrenees early in the summer. The troops of Afranius and Petreius were now concentrated at Ilerda, the modern Lerida. The Roman legions were augmented by large numbers of Iberians, and the position was such as to be capable of a very effective defence. Cæsar was compelled to occupy a position on a wedge of land between the rivers Segre and Cinca, where it was very difficult to get supplies. To obtain command of the open country was a necessity of the first importance; but Cæsar's bridges were broken down by the violence of the waters, and the besiegers found themselves reduced to a position of desperate peril. The genius of Cæsar, however, was equal to the emergency. He made a number of light boats, similar to the coracles which he had observed in Britain, and in this way conveyed his troops across the swollen waters. He now took advantage of his greater liberty to acquire the support of the natives; and when Afranius and Petreius discovered that they were surrounded by a hostile population, they evacuated the city, and retreated in the direction of Tarraco and Valentia. Cæsar followed in close pursuit, overtook the fugitives, and turned them back towards Ilerda. The results were a parley and the capitulation of the whole force. Cæsar then marched into the south of Spain, and received the submission of Varro, the Pompeian commander at Corduba. The whole of Spain was in the power of Cæsar before the close of autumn; and on his way back to Italy he received the submission of Marseilles, which up to that time had successfully resisted the assaults of Trebonius by land, and of Decimus Brutus by sea.

Arriving at Rome, Cæsar found that Æmilius Lepidus, who had been left to govern the city in his absence, had named him Dictator. He did not hold the position longer than eleven days, but during that period was elected Consul, together with Servilius Isauricus. Among the laws due to the Dictatorship of Cæsar was one for restoring all exiles to the city, except Milo, the slayer of Clodius. Another provided for the payment of the debts of those who were unable to meet their liabilities from their own resources. Judged by modern standards of policy, this may appear a measure of doubtful prudence; but the poverty of many Romans was so excessive, and the exactions of the usurers had been so extreme, that some species of relief was perhaps imperative. It would have been easy for Cæsar to go much farther, and it is to the credit of his moderation that he refrained. There were many who loudly demanded the entire abolition of all contracts, and a sweeping confiscation of property. Cæsar closed his ears to such cries, while giving a considerable satisfaction to what he may have legitimately considered a popular necessity. He required that the property of the debtors should be sold for meeting their obligations, but at the same time insisted that the creditors should forego the accumulations of interest. Thus the debtor paid to the full extent of his means, and what remained of the original debt, over and above the debtor's capacity to discharge, was defrayed by the State. It was also decreed that no citizen should be allowed to keep by him more than 60,000 sesterces—a measure rendered advisable by the tendency of the rich to hoard up the bullion which was needed for general circulation.

One very serious danger threatened Rome, and that was the stoppage of supplies. The chief granaries of the Roman people were Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, all of which were held by Pompeian lieutenants. It was therefore very possible that Rome might be starved into submission, and Cæsar took immediate measures for recovering dependencies of such great importance. By the Sardinians his forces were received with enthusiasm, and Cato at once abandoned Sicily to Curio. In Africa, however, a stern resistance was encountered, and Curio, having transported his legions thither, found himself opposed, not only by Attius Varus, a lieutenant of Pompey, but by the Numidian chieftain, Juba. After obtaining a few successes, Curio was overwhelmed by the combined forces of the Pompeian commander and his native ally. He withdrew into the camp of Scipio, which was still existing, and might have been safe from any further attack, had he not been drawn out by a false report that Juba had retired. Anxious to recover the credit he had lost, and reckoning on an easy success, he sallied forth, but was surprised by a force of such magnitude that defeat was unavoid-

able, and Curio fell in endeavouring to retrieve the fortunes of the day. A small portion of his legions was saved by Asinius Pollio, and conducted back to Italy; but the province of Africa remained for the present in possession of the Senatorial party. Cæsar, however, had gained two out of the three great corn-supplying countries, and was therefore delivered from the fear of famine, the greatest of the perils with which his fortunes were at that time menaced. He was now in a position of superiority over his enemies; for he had not only the physical power of armies, but the letter of the law, on his side. He held possession of all Italy, and was installed at Rome, the capital of the whole Empire. He had the sanction of the constitutional bodies by which that Empire was governed from its centre, and he was elected Consul, with full powers to carry on the government of the State. While advancing on Rome from the province which he was not legally entitled to quit, he was a rebel; but, having established himself at the capital, and obtained the countenance of the Senate and the electoral bodies, he became a legitimate ruler, against whose power nothing could be alleged but the personal enmities of a faction which had abandoned Italy for distant provinces. It is none the less true, however, that the impending contest was to a large extent a struggle between Pompey and Cæsar for individual supremacy. This was felt on all hands, and the Roman children, in their street games, divided themselves into Cæsarians and Pompeians. Such was the influence of two leading intellects upon a commonwealth which had long ceased to possess any force apart from the rivalries of ambitious chieftains.

While these events were proceeding in Rome and elsewhere, Pompey was constructing an army by which he hoped to recover the ground he had lost. In making his preparations, he depended on the principal Greek and Asiatic communities, and on those foreign princes whom his exploits in former years had impressed with a profound conception of his genius and invincibility. Large numbers of semi-barbarian troops—infantry, bowmen, and slingers—were furnished by Oriental potentates. Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, supplied formidable contingents, and four legions of Roman veterans, settled in the eastern provinces and in Sicily, were added to the five which had been brought over from the Italian peninsula. Other forces, partly Roman and partly alien, were summoned from various localities, and the number of soldiers under the command of Pompey must have been very considerable, when all his requisitions were satisfied. Of these, however, only a certain proportion were valuable as men of courage, experience, and fidelity. Many were little worthy of reliance, and, while adding to the show of strength, may have detracted from its reality. The place of gathering, in the first instance, was Thessalonica, and here Pompey devoted himself with recovered energy and spirit to the work of training his motley levies. Keenly alive to the inefficiency of his irregular warriors, he set them a good example by subjecting himself, though now in his fifty-eighth year, to all the severity of martial discipline. But he depended not merely on his army: he collected ships from the islands and maritime cities of Greece and Asia Minor, from Phœnicia, and from Egypt. This powerful fleet was stationed in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, and placed under the command of Cæsar's former colleague, Bibulus, whose head-quarters were at Corcyra. That the sinews of war might not be wanting, Pompey drew immense sums of money from the Roman province of Asia, the princes of Syria, and the communities of Greece; while at the same time corn was obtained from Thessaly, Egypt, Crete, and other places. At the close of 49 B.C., all these stores were ready for use, and the forces were distributed in several towns along the eastern shores of the Adriatic, where they would be ready to oppose any attempt at landing which might be made by Cæsar.

The vast body of the Republic was now practically divided into two separate States, with two independent leaders and two opposing armies. It was, in truth, a foreshadowing of that partition into a Western and an Eastern Empire which took place some centuries later, and which contributed to the downfall of Rome as the leading Power of the world. In those moments of suspense and anxiety, it must to many have been extremely doubtful which of the rivals would prevail. Both were men of high military genius; but, if the personal superiority was on the side of Cæsar, the weight of numbers was on that of Pompey. Still, the levies of the former were far from contemptible. Besides his own Romans, he had auxiliaries from Gaul and Spain; some squadrons of German horse enlisted in his service; and even from the banks of the Danube contingents of hardy barbarians were sent to fight under his banner. The impending struggle rapidly assumed gigantic proportions, and swept into its orbit most of the nations then known to civilised mankind. The Roman claim to universal dominion seems to have been portentously asserted in this contest — a contest which concerned the interests of the world on a larger scale than any which had happened in preceding ages. The

old antagonism of the East and West was now to be renewed upon the fields of Eastern Europe; and it strangely typifies the superior forces and fresher life of the Occident, as compared with the Orient, that the former was led by Cæsar, and the latter by Pompey. The decrepit East, marshalled by the failing and valetudinarian Pompey, was to wrestle with the ardent and vigorous West, directed by the greatest genius of his age, who, though not many years younger than his opponent, was still in the very meridian of his splendid powers. Looking back upon the conflict from our existing point of view, it might appear that there should never have been any doubt as to which antagonist would prevail. But men living in the time itself, and therefore not capable of correctly estimating all the forces that were at work beneath the surface, may well have held their breath in doubt and troublous perplexity, as the two black clouds of war came darkening on from opposite directions of the horizon.

Cæsar always depended much on the rapidity of his movements and the startling vigour of his initiative. He now determined not to wait for Pompey's attack, but to carry the war at once into the enemy's quarters. He therefore set sail from Brundusium on the 4th of January, 48 B.C., though his means of transport were so slight that he could not carry across the Adriatic more than 15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. This was a very small force indeed, compared with that which obeyed the commands of Pompey; and even before he could effect a landing, Cæsar had to run the risk of being destroyed at sea by the fleet of Bibulus, which consisted of 500 galleys. To escape this peril, he voluntarily braved one which was scarcely less, by steering his ships among the Ceraunian rocks, on the coast of Epirus. Favoured by the winds and waves, however, he landed safely at a retired village called Palæste, and the transports were then immediately sent back, to bring over the remainder of the army. About thirty of these vessels were intercepted by Bibulus, who, enraged at the success of Cæsar in evading his squadrons, burnt the galleys, together with their masters and crews. Determined to act with more vigilance in the future, he kept so close a watch upon the seas that Antony, who had command of the reserves, would not venture to embark. To this extent the designs of Cæsar were baffled; but Bibulus died soon after, from the effects of cold, fatigue, and mortification at his discomfiture.

The position of Cæsar was now extremely critical. His forces were numerically weak; the sea was at his back, and his naval power was quite inadequate. But he had his own unfailing genius wherewith to meet every emergency, and all his soldiers were veterans, long accustomed to the dangers of battle, and to the hardships of campaigning under disadvantageous circumstances. He found support, moreover, in many of the neighbouring cities. The Pompeian garrisons of Oricum in Epirus, and of Apollonia in Illyria, thought it prudent to march out on the approach of Cæsar; and Dyrrachium would have fallen, had it not been hastily relieved by Pompey, who then advanced to the Illyrian river Apsus, where he drew up his forces opposite to those of Cæsar, already stationed on the southern side. During the rest of the winter, the adversaries confronted one another from the banks of this little stream. The soldiers of the two camps were divided by so small a space that they often exchanged those courtesies which are perhaps less frequent in civil struggles than in international wars, but which are not wholly wanting even to the former. Cæsar felt uneasy about the smallness of his forces, and despatched pressing orders to Brundusium for the remaining legions to be sent on at all hazards; but for the present this could not be accomplished. The winter season prevented the immediate opening of the campaign, and the interval was employed by Cæsar in a final attempt at compromise. Immediately after landing, he had addressed a message to Pompey, reminding him of the uncertain fortunes of war, and suggesting the desirability of a pacific settlement. He proposed that terms of peace should be settled at Rome by the Senate and the popular Assembly, and that each of the two military leaders should take an oath to disband his army within three days. But to these suggestions Pompey replied by asking, "What can I want with either life or citizenship, when I shall seem to owe them to Cæsar's good pleasure? For such cannot but be the opinion of all who see me brought back to Italy after leaving it as I did."* On one occasion, Cæsar sent his Legate, Vatinius, to the bank of the river to discuss terms of accommodation with Labienus, the representative of Pompey. The tones in which they spoke were so loud that the two armies heard them; and reference having been made to the anger of the gods at such an unnatural contest, to the tears of the country, and the impiety of a bloody feud between kinsmen, the soldiers were so deeply moved that they were on the point of rushing into one another's arms, when a shower of arrows from the Pompeians struck the Cæsarians, and Labienus suddenly broke up the conference, exclaiming,

* Cæsar's Commentaries on the Civil War, Book III., chap. 18.

"Peace! you shall have no peace till you bring us the head of Cæsar." It is possible that these repeated negotiations were merely devices for gaining time, while each commander strengthened himself by collecting fresh troops. But it is just as likely that Cæsar and Pompey recoiled from the thought of a war which, while it brought little honour to the victor, would entail incalculable misery on the whole Roman world. There was a generous and humane element in the hearts of both commanders: neither was a Marius nor a Sulla.

MOUNTAIN SCENE IN EPIRUS.

The period of the conferences was one of great anxiety for Cæsar, as Antony had not yet been able to send over the reinforcements which his superior had ordered him to transport, but which the Pompeian navy threatened to intercept. Unable to bear his suspense any longer, Cæsar at last determined to cross the straits himself, and conduct the missing legions in person to the seat of war. The design was extremely hazardous, for the presence of the chief commander was required at the camp in case of any sudden attack, and the risk of capture on the seas was of the gravest character. To avoid the dissuasions of his officers and the remonstrances of his men, Cæsar left the head-quarters at night, and, unaccompanied by any one, engaged a fishing-boat, in which he put to sea. A violent storm arose, and the pilot was about to put back, when the unknown traveller reassured him with the words, "Fear not! you carry Cæsar and his fortunes." They accordingly proceeded throughout the night; but the storm increased so seriously that, when day broke, it was found necessary to return. Cæsar, however, had not to wait much longer for the legions he so sorely needed. The death of Bibulus had thrown the command of the Pompeian fleet into the hands of eight different admirals, who acted without any concert, and in effect put an end to the blockade. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Cæsar sent an imperative message to Antony that he was to cross at once; and, in the event of any further hesitation, the envoy carried with him a commission empowering Fufius Calenus, the next in command, to discharge the duty. Antony at length got over the intervening sea without encountering the galleys of the enemy; but a southern gale drove him a long way past Apollonia, and he was

unable to land until he came to Nymphæum, a hundred miles distant from the camp of his commander. What rendered the matter worse was that the forces of Pompey lay between him and Cæsar. An attempt was made to intercept him; but it was so feebly executed that Cæsar and Antony were enabled to join their forces on the banks of the Apsus. About the same time, however, Pompey's father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, arrived in Macedon with two legions which he had brought with him from Syria at the bidding of his relative, who felt some apprehension for the future, notwithstanding the inferiority of his adversary's forces to his own.

ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS.

While the two antagonists were thus watching one another across the dividing stream, a great observer in the camp of Pompey was storing up recollections for the future, and taking note of all those imperfections which, he had the discrimination to perceive, would in all probability lead to a disastrous overthrow. The position of Cicero is not easy to understand. He had always been a changeable man, but his hesitation in this crisis of his country's fortunes admits of no satisfactory solution. His support had been requested by Cæsar, and for a long time he debated with himself whether he would throw in his lot with that commander. At length, however, he determined to seek the camp of Pompey, though, as we have seen, he had described Pompey's designs as atrocious, inasmuch as they contemplated the subjugation of Italy by savage nations and barbarian kings. He had no sooner reached the head-quarters of the aristocratical commander than he discovered the mistake he had made, though the facts should have been as plain to him before, as after, his passage of the Adriatic. "I soon repented of what I had done," he wrote to his friend Marius, two years later; "not so much on account of my danger, as for the many faults which I found when I had come. First, the forces were neither large nor warlike; then, except the general, and a few besides (I am speaking of the leaders), the rest were rapacious in the conduct of the war itself, while their talk of the future was so cruel that I shuddered at the very thought of victory. The most distinguished men were overwhelmed with debt. In a word, nothing was good but the cause." Impressed with these facts, Cicero advised that Pompey should make peace, and, when this was rejected, recommended that a dilatory war should be waged, rather than a war of great actions, which might result in great defeats. But Pompey always asserted his superiority to Cæsar, and perhaps believed that, as soon as all his forces had arrived, he should be able to crush the brilliant adventurer, whose fame as a soldier had been chiefly earned in conflicts with undisciplined Gauls. The mistake was pardonable, since Pompey could look back to many splendid triumphs over foes that were not contemptible; but the error of Cicero seems without excuse. If he had seen the turbulence of street mobs

led by such men as the savage demagogue Clodius, he must equally have known how base, cruel, and fatal were the objects of the aristocratic party. The predominance of Cæsar offered an escape from both evils, which Cicero, had he been wiser, would have accepted; and the moderating influence of a genius such as his might have proved of inestimable service to Cæsar himself. But, for lack of a correct and stable judgment, he wandered from the only hopeful path, and identified his fortunes with a leader who was hastening to his ruin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PHARSALIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

New Position of Pompey, South of Dyrrachium—His Lines Enclosed by Cæsar—Victory of the Pompeians over the Cæsarians—Measures of Cæsar after his Reverse—Retreat of his Army into Thessaly—The Action of Pompey Hampered by his Subordinates—The City of Pharsalus, and the Neighbouring Plain—Positions and Manœuvrings of the Pompeian and Cæsarian Forces—The Battle of Pharsalia—Defeat of Pompey, and Storming of his Camp—Pursuit of the Fugitives, and Surrender to Cæsar—Generosity of the Conqueror—Opinions of Cicero on the Aristocratic Party—Flight of Pompey to Egypt—State of that Country—Treacherous Assassination of Pompey—General Estimate of his Character—Pursuit of Pompey by Cæsar—Arrival of the Latter in Egypt, and Honours paid to the Remains of his Rival—Interference in Egyptian Affairs—Cleopatra and Ptolemy XII.—Cæsar Blockaded at Alexandria—Desperate Struggle with the Egyptians—Arrival of Reinforcements—Raising of the Siege by the Alexandrians, and Defeat of their Army on the Nile—Concentration of Pompeians at Cyrene, in Africa—Retirement of Cato to Utica—Signs of Reaction in Europe—Cæsar Proclaimed Dictator for the Second Time—He Leaves Egypt, and Vanquishes Pharnaces in Pontus - His Generous Conduct towards Cicero, and Return to Rome—Suppression of a Mutiny among his Legions—The War in Africa—Entire Ruin of the Pompeians—Suicide of Cato.

POMPEY, who had all along doubted the quality of his troops, and consequently refrained from attacking his opponent, felt an additional necessity for caution after the arrival of Antony with reinforcements for Cæsar. He therefore quitted the banks of the Apsus early in 48 B.C., and, marching northward, took up a new position on the promontory of Petra, south of Dyrrachium. There was here good anchorage for his ships, and the camp was at once secured by a line of entrenchments forming a circuit of nearly fifteen miles, or, to speak more strictly, an irregular half-circle, the base of which was the coast-line of Illyria. Cæsar perceived that his adversary's position was stronger than before, and began to take measures for vigorous action, which the arrival of his additional legions enabled him to carry out. He sent a detachment into Macedonia, to intercept the march of Metellus Scipio, who was coming to the relief of Pompey, and another to protect the States of Thessaly and Ætolia, which were favourably inclined to the Cæsarian cause. With respect to the enemy in his front, Cæsar conceived a very bold design. Small as his army was, compared with that of Pompey, he determined to draw lines of circumvallation round the entrenchments of his foe. Establishing his head-quarters between the Pompeians and Dyrrachium, Cæsar distributed his scanty legions so as to enclose the hostile position and its outworks. One of his intentions was to cut off the adversary from the surrounding country, and from the immediate sources of his supplies; but, as Pompey had command of the sea, he was not likely to be starved out. Still, it was a moral advantage to the Consul that he was thus able to shut up the larger forces of his antagonist within their own lines; and the result was seen in a growing disposition on the part of the Greeks and Macedonians to declare against Pompey. The blockading works were not prosecuted without frequent collisions between parties of the two opposing hosts; and on one occasion a Cæsarian redoubt was attacked with so much spirit that thirty thousand arrows were afterwards picked up within the lines. Yet Pompey would not at present hazard a general action, even to deliver himself from the girdle that was being formed around him. He continued steadily to discipline his troops, hoping in time to make them a match for Cæsar's veterans.

The position of both armies was very difficult to be borne. The Cæsarians were so straitened for food that they were compelled to subsist on herbs and roots; while the Pompeians were ill-supplied with water, owing to Cæsar having cut off the streams which flowed into their encampment. The latter, moreover, lacked green forage for their horses, and large numbers of the animals died, corrupting the air by their carcases. With advancing

summer, the evil would be worse, and Pompey at length considered his troops sufficiently seasoned to render an attack advisable. This was planned and carried out with great skill. Pompey had been informed by some Gallic deserters that between the ends of Cæsar's lines and the sea was an open space, through which an assailant could penetrate the investment. He consequently made a simultaneous attack on two points, and, getting into the midst of the Cæsarian lines, completely broke the communications. In a series of detached combats which followed, the Pompeians were victorious; the severed divisions of Cæsar's army were beaten in detail, and scattered in headlong rout. Their flight, indeed, was so precipitate, notwithstanding the personal efforts of Cæsar to stem the panic, that Pompey suspected a feint, and recalled his men from the pursuit, fearing that they might fall into an ambush. The victor was justly proud of his success, for he had vanquished the conqueror of Gaul and his veteran legions; but he showed an excess of timidity in not immediately following up the blow. Unfortunately, he sullied his triumph by allowing his lieutenant, Labienus, to put many of the captives to death in cold blood. Cicero, who had previously obtained from Pompey a promise that he would act with clemency towards his enemies, wept with grief and shame at the miserable sight. Even in his eyes, the cause was discredited by its agents.

Cæsar himself admits the thoroughness of the defeat which had fallen upon him. "All," he declares, in his narrative of the Civil War,* "was disorder, consternation, and flight. Some left their horses behind, and continued to run; others, from fear, even threw away their colours; nor did a single man face about." Nearly a thousand were killed; the prisoners were counted by hundreds; and thirty-two standards fell into the hands of the enemy. The reverse was most serious, and with a vigorous pursuit might have been fatal. It was evident that the investment was no longer tenable, and Cæsar, calling in his outposts, and collecting his army into one place, addressed a few reassuring words to his dispirited soldiers. He reminded them of their many victories and strokes of luck, described their disaster as trifling, and attributed it rather to the caprice of fortune than to human defect. They must now, he told them, use their utmost efforts to repair the calamity, and in that case he doubted not they would recover all. At the same time, he disgraced some of the standard-bearers who had abandoned their ensigns, and he denied the request of the legions that they might at once be led against the enemy, so as to wipe out their reproach in a fresh encounter. It was rightly judged by their commander that troops so recently put to flight would not possess the requisite steadiness until time had restored their confidence. He accordingly placed his sick and wounded in security at Apollonia, south of Dyrrachium, and made instant preparations for rejoining Domitius Calvinus, whom, in the early part of the spring, he had despatched into Macedonia with two legions, and who had acted with so much promptitude as to check the advance of Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law. Want of provisions subsequently compelled Calvinus to fall back towards Epirus; at the same time, Cæsar marched from Apollonia up the valley of the Aoüs, in the direction of Thessaly; but the former commander, on learning what had happened, rapidly changed his route, and effected a junction with his principal.

The success of Pompey was in truth his ruin. He suffered himself to be unduly elated by the victory he had won, and, believing that the army of Cæsar was totally disorganised, and in full flight to any place of safety it could find, took it for granted that the war was at an end, and neither followed his adversary with rapidity and decision, nor adopted any measures for the future. This gave Cæsar sufficient time to reconstruct his shattered legions, and prepare his men for decisive contests in the future. Abundant supplies were found in Thessaly, where, after the town of Gomphi had been stormed and given up to plunder, Cæsar experienced no further opposition; indeed, when Pompey at length entered that division of Greece, it was only at the city of Larissa, now occupied by Metellus Scipio, that his power was recognised. Notwithstanding the successful action which broke up the blockade at Dyrrachium, his former popularity with the army had very considerably decreased. His officers intrigued against him, and hampered his action by inopportune advice. They accused him of unnecessary delay; expressed their conviction that a single blow would dispose of Cæsar for ever; and even divided by anticipation the official appointments, the gardens and the palaces, of their great antagonist. Pompey himself agreed with the advice of Cicero and Cato, that it would be wiser to avoid a battle, and allow Cæsar to exhaust himself and his army by marching about Greece. But Pompey was no longer his own master; the energy of his earlier years had vanished; and, though not actually old, his military genius and personal authority had been much impaired by illness. Moved by the

* Book III., chap. 69.

representations of his aristocratic associates, who were eager to snatch the fruits of victory, and to seek once more the pleasures and debaucheries of Rome, he conducted his army southward, and occupied a strong position on an eminence near the city of Pharsalus, not far from the central parts of Thessaly.

The town was situated on the river Enipeus, and in its immediate vicinity was the large plain of Pharsalia, where Pompey and Cæsar fought one of the most important battles in the whole range of history. When quitting the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, Pompey had left behind him fifteen cohorts under the command of Cato, who was accompanied by Cicero; but, on arriving at Pharsalus, his forces, owing to the junction with Metellus Scipio, were very considerable, and every hope was entertained that the enemy would be overwhelmed, if not out-generalled. The Pharsalian plain was divided into two equal parts by the river which flowed across it, and it was on the banks of this stream that the memorable battle was fought. The first position of Cæsar was in the southern portion of the plain, west of the city of Pharsalus; Pompey drew up his forces about four miles off, on the same side of the Enipeus; and in these positions the adversaries kept watching one another for some time, Cæsar endeavouring to force on an engagement, which Pompey still hesitated to accept. After a while, Cæsar shifted his camp to a position about three miles north-west of Pharsalus, in an angle formed by the Enipeus and a small tributary stream. Pompey, however, maintained his reserve, and endeavoured to provoke Cæsar into attacking him on the hill, where the assailant would have been at a disadvantage. Refusing to be thus led, Cæsar kept manœuvring in the plain, shifting his camp from place to place, and, while retaining his own command of supplies, threatening the communications of his opponent with his base at Larissa. It was this danger which finally determined Pompey to give battle.

According to the unreformed Roman Calendar, the date of this momentous encounter was the 9th of August, 48 B.C.; but the true date was the 6th of June. The number of combatants on the two sides was greatly disproportioned; for, whereas Pompey had a legionary force of 45,000 men, with 7,000 cavalry, and countless hosts of barbarian auxiliaries, Cæsar had no more than 22,000 legionaries, only 1,000 cavalry, and subsidiary forces of no great strength. Pompey took his post at the left extremity of his line, in association with the two legions which he had withdrawn from Cæsar when the latter was commanding in Gaul. Immediately opposite to him was his formidable adversary, at the head of the favourite tenth legion. The right wing of the Pompeians, which rested on the Enipeus, was commanded by Lentulus Spinther, the left by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the centre by Metellus Scipio; while the cavalry, which covered the left flank, was directed by Labienus. Cæsar's army was drawn up in three lines, the last of which was to act as a reserve. His forces looked towards the south-east, and his cavalry faced that of Pompey. Domitius Calvinus in the centre, and Antony on the left, towards the river, supported Cæsar in his position to the extreme right. The great weakness of Cæsar was undoubtedly in the matter of cavalry. Not merely were the mounted troops of Pompey as seven to one, compared with those of Cæsar, but their quality as soldiers was of a very high order. They consisted of the celebrated horsemen of Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, and Cappadocia, together with other contingents, and were commanded by the young nobility of Rome, who, however great their vices, were not often wanting in courage. Pompey placed his chief reliance on this brilliant force of cavalry, with which he hoped to outflank the enemy's right; but Cæsar, anticipating the movement, drafted six cohorts from his third line, formed them in the rear of his mounted troops, and warned them that the success of the battle depended mainly on their valour.

A little before noon, the Pompeians descended from their camp, and took up the positions already indicated. Cæsar accepted battle with enthusiasm, for he had long been endeavouring to bring matters to an issue in the plain. That he might facilitate the egress of his men from the camp, he levelled the rampart of his entrenchments, and the serried ranks came pouring forth at a run. They were surprised, after having covered half the distance, to find that the Pompeians did not advance to meet them. Pompey had ordered his men to wait, and receive the charge of their opponents on their own ground, hoping that the latter would lose breath with their rapid pace, and be the less able to use their weapons with effect. It is interesting, as a piece of military criticism, to know what Cæsar himself observed upon this point. "To me," he writes, "Pompey seems to have acted without sufficient reason; for there is a certain impetuosity of spirit, and an alacrity implanted by Nature in the hearts of all men, which is inflamed by the desire to meet the foe. This feeling a general should endeavour, not to repress, but to increase; nor was it a vain institution of our ancestors that the trumpets should sound on all

sides, and a general shout be raised, by which they imagined that the enemy was struck with terror, and their own army inspired with courage."* Nevertheless, there was some danger that the Cæsarians would be exhausted before they reached their antagonists. They appear to have felt so themselves, and, observing that the Pompeians did not move, halted to recover breath before they proceeded any farther. They then hurled their javelins, drew forth their swords, and rushed down upon the awaiting enemy. The Pompeians received them with great firmness, and the contest soon became general. The charge of Pompey's cavalry, though executed with spirit, failed to produce the effect which was confidently anticipated. Cæsar's German horse, assisted by some picked men, who fought on foot amidst their ranks, retreated slowly before the onset of their enemies, until they found themselves supported by the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed in the rear. This was an unexpected check to the Pompeian cavalry, who at once broke, and fled to the shelter of the neighbouring mountains. The fury of the cohorts was now directed against the archers and slingers of the opposing force, and, having swept these aside, they fell upon the rear of Pompey's left, exposed by the overthrow of his cavalry. The infantry still held their ground with much tenacity; but Cæsar, bringing up all his reserves, charged them both in front and in flank. The effect of this movement was soon perceived in the Pompeian lines, which began to waver and fall back. Seeing that the day was going in his favour, Cæsar reversed a command which he had given before the action commenced, and directed his soldiers to abstain as much as possible from shedding the blood of Romans, and to concentrate their energies on the barbarian hordes included in the adversary's ranks. The soldiers themselves shouted out this order as they advanced; and the Roman legions of Pompey, recognising the voice of brothers, and feeling, perhaps, little sympathy with the cause they had been compelled to support, opened their ranks, so that the Cæsarians might rush upon their allies, who were heaped together in masses behind the front lines. The battle was now virtually decided; but much had yet to be done before the defeat could be converted into a rout.

On seeing the discomfiture of his cavalry, Pompey, auguring the worst, had quitted the field and retired to his camp, warning the cohorts stationed at the gates to be on the alert, lest the enemy should make any attempt on the position. It was an ignominious end to a great military career, this hasty abandonment of a field where the presence of the chief commander was imperatively needed to restore the fortunes of the day. But Pompey appears to have been filled with the spirit of despondency, and to have considered that, with subordinate officers who set their will above his own, there was little chance of resisting the tremendous activity of Cæsar. In his camp, however, he thought himself secure; but it was not long before a stream of fugitives, pouring in with cries and gestures of confusion, informed him that the danger was imminent, even within his own enclosures. The enemy was close at hand, flushed with success, and eager to attack the outworks. "What!" he exclaimed, "assault my very camp!" He had already made various dispositions for defending the lines; but many of his routed soldiers fled beyond the entrenchments, and took refuge on a hill some way off. There were not sufficient men left to defend the ramparts, and Pompey had no alternative but flight or immediate surrender. He accordingly mounted his horse, and galloped with a few attendants through the rear-gate of the camp. Immediately afterwards, the conquerors burst into the enclosure. The sight which met their eyes accounted in a great measure for the utter collapse of the Pompeian army. Where the officers of a great force are unable, while in the field, to dispense with the luxuries of a voluptuous city, but give their attention more to the indulgence of their appetites than to the stern discipline of a soldier's life, defeat is certain at the hands of a capable general and war-seasoned levies. On entering the camp of Pompey, Cæsar's legions found tables spread for a banquet, and decked with splendid services of plate. The viands had been prepared with all the most exquisite arts of Roman cookery; choice wines were ready for cavaliers who were destined never to partake of them; couches were laid out for the repose of warriors who reckoned too confidently on that success which Fortune grants only to hard and strenuous endeavour. To live under canvas was too great a trial to these exquisite patricians; and, for their greater comfort, huts of turf had been erected, over the doors of which hung trails of ivy, designed partly for shade, and partly, it may be, for some Bacchanalian triumph. The feast, however, was not to be tasted by those who had prepared it in the wantonness of an idle trust; neither was it to be enjoyed by the conquerors. The enemy had taken up a fresh position on the adjacent hills, and Cæsar was determined to complete his victory without a moment's pause. The Pompeians gave

* Civil War, Book III., chap. 92.

FLIGHT OF POMPEY FROM THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PHARSALIA.

way before their adversary's renewed assault, and rushed in broken masses towards Larissa.

Evening being now at hand, Cæsar sent back such of his troops as were the most fatigued, placed himself at the head of the freshest, and started in pursuit. Dashing along a shorter road, he managed to get ahead of the fugitives, who suddenly found themselves confronted by a new line of battle. The heat of the weather was suffocating, and the hills furnished little water, either to the pursuers or the pursued. But the Cæsarians were sustained by the consciousness of victory; the Pompeians were cowed and broken by defeat. The former, moreover, had contrived to place themselves between their adversaries and a river which flowed at the foot of the eminence where the two armies stood, and which Cæsar's men immediately cut off by entrenchments, so that the miserable fugitives could not approach to quench their thirst. Some of the Pompeian leaders escaped during the night; the others, to the number of 24,000, surrendered at break of day. Fearing that they would suffer in cold blood the death they had escaped on the battle-field, they sought the victor in the attitude of suppliants, begging with tears and sobs that they might be treated with mercy. It is to the honour of Cæsar that he acted towards them with that mildness which usually distinguished his conduct when resistance was at an end. With a few gentle and reassuring words, the disheartened combatants were sent back to their camp. Domitius Ahenobarbus, fearing that there would be no forgiveness for him after having so ill repaid Cæsar's generosity at Corfinium, tried to escape, and was killed in the attempt; but the contest was followed by none of those deliberate executions which add so dark a horror to many battles of the ancient world, especially where the passions of civil war had been aroused.

CLEOPATRA. (*After an Egyptian Representation.*)

The loss to the Cæsarians during the great battle

of Pharsalia was very slight, being said not to have exceeded two hundred. The Pompeians, on the other hand, lost 15,000 men, and among these were many of the patricians. Suetonius, quoting from Asinius Pollio, who was present at the battle, records that Cæsar, looking sadly on the bodies of these young noblemen, exclaimed, "They would have it so! After all I have done for my country, I should have been condemned by them, had I not appealed to my army." It was a natural reflection, and by many would have been made the excuse for subsequent persecutions; but the nobleness of Cæsar's mind asserted itself now, as on several other occasions. In the tent of Pompey, a large amount of secret correspondence was discovered. This would doubtless have revealed the names of the principal enemies whom Cæsar had to dread; but the conqueror forbore from taking advantage of an opportunity which the fortune of war had thrown into his hands. Without even reading the papers of his fallen adversary, he cast them at once into the flames. It is certain that no such generosity would have been exhibited by the Pompeians, had they, instead of Cæsar, prevailed. Their own advocate, Cicero, said, in writing to his friend Varro, "If our side had won, they would have shown no forbearance;" and in a letter to Plancius he observed, with even greater emphasis, "I saw, if we had the better, how cruel would be the triumph of an exasperated, avaricious, and insolent set of men." Yet, out of some merely pedantic devotion to political forms which had long outlived their virtue, Cicero gave his countenance and support to politicians whom he could thus characterise. He could not even allege in his own defence that, when the war broke out, he had no idea that such was the disposition of the agents by whom, on the side of Pompey, it would be conducted. Writing to Cæcina after the termination of the struggle, he said that no misfortune had happened during the contest which he had not predicted. He avowedly dreaded the success of those to whom he had attached himself, and, after the battle of Pharsalia, retired in disgust from a war in which, by his own showing, he ought at no time to have shared.

Owing either to the insane confidence of the nobles, or to the despair which had seized on Pompey, no preparations had been made for a defeat which was certainly possible, if it was not even likely. Had more prudent counsels prevailed, some place of rallying would have been appointed beforehand, where the scattered remnants of the army might have collected and re-formed. But nothing of the kind had been done, nor was the fleet of any avail, since it was dispersed in various directions. Pompey himself fled through Larissa (where he might have made a stand), and, penetrating the gorge of Tempe, gained the mouth of the Peneus, where it flows into the Thermaic Gulf. Entering a merchant-vessel, together with some of his friends, he sailed for Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia was awaiting him, expecting confirmation of the news of victory—not Cæsar's victory, but her husband's—which had been brought to her by interested or misinformed patricians. The Lesbians were not at all disposed to receive the vanquished hero, nor, indeed, could their island have long afforded him a safe retreat. He therefore speedily set sail once more, and, landing in Cilicia, began to deliberate on his prospects. To give some kind of sanction to his plans, he assembled his followers, called them by the name of a Senate, and took their advice as to the future. He had two legions in Africa, and could reckon on the assistance of the warlike Numidian king, Juba. Here he might have maintained the struggle for an indefinite period, as his fleet under Cassius had recently gained a brilliant victory off Sicily, and would doubtless have been able to prevent the inferior naval force of Cæsar from following his adversary across the Mediterranean. Pompey's own inclination was towards one of the Asiatic States, a species of superstition having identified his fortunes with the East, where his greatest successes had in truth been accomplished. But he at length decided to take refuge in Egypt, as his friends assured him he would there find abundant support. Since the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes by Gabinius in 57 B.C., several events had happened in that country, tending to place it still more beneath the influence of Rome, and connecting it in an especial degree with Pompey himself. After a brief period of violence and cruelty, the restored Ptolemy died in 51 B.C., leaving behind him a daughter (the celebrated Cleopatra), two youthful sons, and another daughter, named Arsinoë. His will directed that the kingdom should be shared by Cleopatra and the elder of her two brothers, who thus became Ptolemy XII. The execution of the will was entrusted to the Roman Senate, and Pompey was appointed guardian to the young king, who married his sister Cleopatra, according to the incestuous custom which prevailed in Egypt. For three years they reigned conjointly, without any disturbance of the peace; but at the end of that time three of the king's ministers incited the young monarch to set aside his wife, and govern singly. A popular insurrection was got up, and Cleopatra was expelled. She was at that time

only twenty-one years of age, but her spirit and courage were equal to the crisis. She collected an army in Syria, with which she landed at Pelusium; and Ptolemy XII. set out at the head of his Egyptian forces to encounter her in battle.

While the two hosts were thus confronting one another, the flotilla of Pompey approached the shore. The army of Ptolemy was seen encamped at the foot of Mount Casius, and a messenger landed with the request that the Egyptian king would grant the fugitives a refuge at Alexandria. Whatever the inclinations of the monarch may have been, he was in no position to carry them out, since he was a mere tool in the hands of his three principal ministers, Pothinus, a Greek eunuch, Theodotus, the royal preceptor, and Achillas, an officer in the army. These persons saw the difficulty of the position, and determined to evade it by one of those treacherous acts which have always been common in the East. They feared to drive Pompey into the camp of Cleopatra, should they refuse his application, and to offend the victorious Cæsar, should they grant it. Achillas was accordingly sent off in a small fishing-smack, to invite Pompey to a conference on shore. The real object in sending so mean a vessel was that Pompey should be accompanied by only a very few companions. The excuse offered to the Roman commander was that the shallowness of the water off the northern coast of Egypt did not permit of any larger boat. As, however, the Egyptian fleet was at that very moment drawn up close at hand, it was evident that the excuse was false, and Pompey's friends, apprehending an attack, besought him not to leave. It seems probable that Pompey himself was conscious of the same forebodings; but life had become worthless to him, and in the despair of his heart he may even have welcomed a death which should rescue him from the bitterness of failure, and the consciousness of fallen greatness. He bade his companions farewell, and with a melancholy smile repeated the words of Sophocles:—

> "Whoever to a tyrant bends his steps,
> Goes as a slave, although his hands be free."

Entering the boat, he recognised among the persons in it a Roman officer named Salvius, and another named Septimius, who had served as centurions under him in the war against the pirates. Their presence was evidently designed to prevent suspicion as to the intentions of the Egyptian negotiators; but they acted their part ill, and made no response to Pompey's salutation. The great general who had once held the East in awe was now accompanied by only four attendants—viz., two centurions, a freedman named Philippus, and a single slave. The boat put off from the flotilla, and rowed towards the shore, anxiously watched by the wife and friends of Pompey, who remained on board the principal vessel. A number of persons were seen collected on the beach, and among them was the young king himself. Any fears that may have been previously entertained were lightened, if not entirely dissipated, by this circumstance. Surely it was to do honour to the illustrious Pompey that the boyish Ptolemy made his way to the beach as the fishing-boat approached. But, while the distinguished Roman was stepping on shore, the murderous plot suddenly unfolded itself, both to him who was its object, and to those who watched his progress from the sea. Septimius struck him from behind, and Achillas repeated the blow. Pompey, caring not to make any resistance, drew his toga over his face, and fell upon the beach. His head was cut off, and carried away; the mangled body, left among the washing of the waves, was tended by the faithful freedman, and by an old soldier of the murdered general, who resolved that even in that distant land, and under circumstances so unpropitious, the corpse of the once mighty Roman should not lack some species of sepulture, however humble. They gathered together the wreck of a fishing-bark, set light to it, and burnt the body. The ashes were then buried in the sand, and covered by a stone, on which, with a fragment of charred wood, was traced the name of Magnus.

The detestable act which closed the life of Pompey, at fifty-eight years of age, was beheld by his wife and friends on board the flotilla. Uttering cries of horror, they immediately hoisted sails and departed, fearing that if they stayed they would themselves be attacked. The apprehension was not unreasonable, for, a few days later, Lentulus, then in prison in Egypt, was killed, together with two sons of Bibulus, who accompanied him. As regards Pompey himself, one can hardly wish that his life had been prolonged to taste yet more deeply the bitter ignominy of his position. The character of this remarkable man has been variously estimated by different historians; but its main lines are not difficult to trace. When we consider his action against the pirates, his command in Spain, and his innumerable triumphs in the East, it seems impossible to deny him the reputation of a great general. His moral character was far superior to that of most contemporary Romans. He was conspicuously an honest man, refusing to enrich himself by plunder when his opportunities for doing so were entirely without check, and when the com-

mon opinion of his time would have amply supported him in the despoiling of subject populations. His nature was in the main devoid of cruelty, and susceptible of kindly attachments. He does not appear to have been tainted by the vices of his age and country, and it may be said of him that no great blot rests upon his personal character. But his vanity was excessive, and it led him into the worst errors of his conduct as a politician. He seems to have considered himself an universal genius, which he certainly was not. A petty jealousy of Cæsar, whom he affected to regard as his inferior, but really dreaded as the stronger man, had doubtless more than anything else to do with his final adoption of the aristocratic cause. Throughout his life he had been a man of vacillating purposes, and, however great his honesty as a private individual, it is difficult to relieve him at all times from the imputation of dishonourable motives in matters essentially political. Had he lived, and prevailed over his antagonist, it is to be feared that he would have proved a mere instrument in the hands of men whose cruelties he might have abhorred, but whose actions he would have lacked the power, if not the will, to oppose.

While Pompey was making his way from the fatal plain of Pharsalia to the no less fatal shores of Egypt, Cæsar was already on his track. Proceeding by forced marches, he reached Amphipolis (a town on the Strymon, between Macedon and Thrace) shortly after his enemy had touched there. Without a moment's unnecessary delay, he and his companions crossed the Hellespont in open boats, and during their passage fell in with a squadron of Pompey's fleet under the command of Caius Cassius, who surrendered to Cæsar, and was received with kindness and favour. But the principal antagonist was still in advance, and Cæsar rapidly made his way to Asia Minor, frequently inquiring as to the direction taken by the defeated general. At length he heard that he had recently sailed from Cyprus, and, with the quick intuition of genius, at once guessed that the fugitive's destination was Egypt. He might have been excused had he hesitated to follow him there; for the victor of Pharsalia could collect only a small body of soldiers, and the Mediterranean was rendered dangerous by the presence of Pompey's fleet. Nevertheless, Cæsar embarked from the coast of Cilicia as soon as he could take such measures as the situation rendered necessary. Before starting on his new enterprise, he secured the friendship of the provincials by various acts redressing the wrongs recently done them by Metellus Scipio. He then left Calvinus with three legions, to oppose the Asiatic princes who had favoured the cause of Pompey, and, having completed these arrangements, embarked for Egypt with only 3,200 foot and 800 horse. His arrival at Alexandria was but a few days after the murder of his rival, and on landing he was met by Theodotus, bearing the head of Pompey, together with the ring of the deceased general. Cæsar accepted the latter, but in indignant horror and passionate grief turned his eyes away from the ghastly relic, which he ordered to be burnt with proper ceremonies. He erected a shrine to Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance, over the ashes of Pompey's body. A hundred and sixty years after, the Emperor Hadrian, when visiting Egypt, ordered this monument to be repaired at his own expense; but whether the ashes still rested beneath it is very doubtful, since tradition asserts that they were recovered by Pompey's wife, Cornelia, and buried at his Alban villa.

Having rendered these honours to his great antagonist, Cæsar entered Alexandria with his Consular emblems displayed. He determined to make his stay in Egypt serve his purposes in more ways than one. He had a claim against the Egyptian treasury for 17,500,000 drachmas (equal to about £700,000 of English money), which had been promised him as an acknowledgment of his services in the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes. He therefore required immediate payment of 10,000,000 drachmas; but it was no easy matter to enforce this demand, for not only were the Egyptian ministers averse from furnishing so large a sum, but the people themselves were in a mood of angry excitement at what they regarded as a foreign invasion. Cleopatra visited Cæsar in disguise, and is said to have made an easy conquest of his heart, though it is possible that the subsequent report of this matter was exaggerated. With respect to the government of Egypt, Cæsar decided that Cleopatra and her brother should again share the throne between them; but this was an arrangement exceedingly distasteful to those who had acted as the nominal guardians, but the real masters, of Ptolemy XII. They saw that with Cleopatra once more upon the throne their influence would be at an end, and they accordingly fostered the turbulent spirit already existing among the Alexandrian populace. They had under their command a force of 20,000 desperadoes, consisting of Greeks, Asiatics, Egyptians, some Roman legionaries left by Gabinius, pirates, and outlaws; and these, acting in combination with the citizens, placed Cæsar in a position of no little danger.

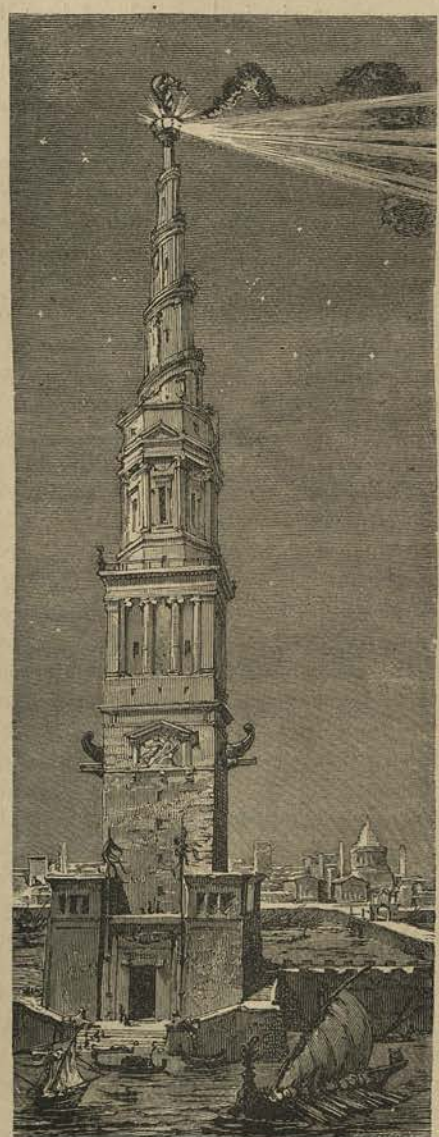
Pothinus, the palace eunuch, gave the command of these motley troops to Achillas, and in October,

48 B.C., Cæsar found himself blockaded in the Brucheion, or Greek quarter of Alexandria, containing the palace, and that part of the city which joined the outer harbour. The peril of the situation was enhanced by the return of the Egyptian fleet from Greece, where it had been sent in aid of Pompey's cause. It was much superior in strength to Cæsar's, and the vessels, having taken up a position in the inner basin, seconded the efforts of the soldiers on shore. Thus beset on two sides, Cæsar set fire to the docks, burnt or disabled the greater number of the ships (and, by an accidental consequence, the library in the Museum), and strongly fortified the Brucheion, together with the Pharos, and the mole connecting it with the town. But he had to fight hard for his very existence, as the Alexandrians gave him no rest. The conduits which supplied his men with water were rendered undrinkable by the operations of the enemy, who pumped the sea into them; and had not Cæsar obtained fresh water, or at any rate water not intolerably brackish, by sinking wells in the sea-sand, he would speedily have been forced to succumb. The Alexandrians then constructed a new fleet, for the equipment of which they made oars and spars out of the furniture of the Academical lecture-rooms. Thus strengthened, they endeavoured to retake the mole, and even captured a ship in which Cæsar himself was conducting operations. The great commander narrowly escaped out of their hands, and gained the shore by swimming. An improbable legend relates that on this occasion he propelled himself with one hand, while with the other he held above the water a bundle of papers, which some say were his famous Commentaries. The siege lasted for a considerable time, during which the activity, cheerfulness, and self-reliance of Cæsar were taxed to the utmost. But his genius bore the strain without a moment's faltering: his spirits never gave way, his resources were equal to every emergency. He had already sent a message to Mithridates of Pergamus—a supposed natural son of Mithridates the Great, who enjoyed his special confidence—to send reinforcements from Syria; and he believed that he could hold out until these arrived.

Neither party could make much impression on the other, and after a while both were inclined to enter into terms of agreement. Cæsar had taken the boy Ptolemy with him as a hostage, and the Alexandrians now promised that, if he were given up, they would discontinue their assaults. The youthful sovereign was accordingly released; but the undertaking on the part of the Alexandrians was immediately broken, and the war proceeded as before. Shortly afterwards, Pothinus fell into Cæsar's hands, and was executed as one of the murderers of Pompey. Achillas was assassinated by another eunuch, named Ganymede, who assumed command of the army. This person was the favourite of Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoë, who had now proclaimed herself queen, and who seems to have given up Achillas to the jealous fears of Ganymede. Such was the turbulent condition of Egypt while Cæsar was defending himself in the Brucheion and the Pharos. How far the Roman commander was influenced in his policy by the charms of Cleopatra may be doubtful; but it is certain that he could not have had many opportunities of enjoying her society. He had to give his utmost attention to the necessities of self-defence; but, after the lapse of some months, reinforcements began to arrive. Besides sending to Mithridates, he had communicated with Domitius Calvinus in Asia Minor, and two legions were despatched to him by that commander. One of these did not arrive until the struggle was over; the other reached Alexandria by sea, and got into port with some difficulty. Mithridates had done his utmost to collect a force in Cilicia and the adjoining regions. Having raised an army with extraordinary quickness, he marched with equal celerity through Syria, and reached Pelusium, which he took by storm, about the beginning of 47 B.C. He then proceeded up the Nile to a point opposite Memphis, whence he sent word to Cæsar that he was in front of the Egyptian army, which was posted on the western side of the river. The commander of the Alexandrian forces, however, heard the news at the same time, and, breaking up the blockade of the Brucheion, marched to encounter the titular king of Pergamus, taking the boy Ptolemy with him. Cæsar at once issued forth from his entrenchments, joined his legions to those of Mithridates, forced the passage of the Nile, and stormed the enemy's camp. Large numbers of the Egyptians were slain; the rest escaped by the river, and Ptolemy was drowned by the upsetting of an overladen boat. Thus the war came to a close in March, 47 B.C. Cleopatra was restored to the throne, under the protection of the Roman army; but her younger brother was associated with her in the royal dignity. Arsinoë was sent to Rome, and Cæsar himself sailed for Syria, leaving two legions behind him in Egypt, to assert the supremacy of the Republic over the degraded monarchy of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies.*

* The accounts of the Egyptian war are rather confused, and, according to some, it would appear that Cæsar failed in

The first effect of Pharsalia on the adherents of Pompey in Europe was naturally of the most depressing character. Some broken remnants of the defeated army found their way to Dyrrachium, where Cato had been left in command; but the soldiers soon broke out into mutiny, while the desertion of the fleets added a new danger to the situation. Cato could do nothing better than withdraw his forces to the small island of Corcyra, in the Ionian Sea, where he was joined by Cneius, the eldest son of Pompey, together with Cicero, Labienus, Afranius, and others. Hopeless of effecting any good, Cato offered the command of his forces to Cicero, who declined so fruitless and perilous an honour. Cicero was regarded with extreme distrust by those to whom he had capriciously attached himself, and Cneius Pompey even threatened his life. Cato interposed to protect him, and Cicero gladly returned to Italy before the end of 48 B.C. Seeing the impossibility of any successful action in Europe, Cato and his companions, together with the forces they still retained under their command, or had been able to collect from different points, sailed for Cyrene, the capital of the Greek colonies of the Cyrenaica, north of the Libyan desert; and here they were soon joined by Metellus Scipio, who, after uniting the scattered garrisons in Greece, thought it prudent to depart when Athens surrendered to Cæsar's lieutenant, Calenus.



THE PHAROS, ANCIENT ALEXANDRIA.

So far, all had gone well for the Cæsarians; but the long detention of their chief at Alexandria proved damaging to the cause. It gave time for the Pompeians to rally, and a reaction began in the early part of 47 B.C. Cyrene was a place of gathering for the malcontents; and when a sufficient force had been collected, Labienus conducted the greater number across the Syrtes (two dangerous gulfs on the northern coast of Africa) to the Roman province which had been formed out of the Carthaginian territory. Cato joined him, after a painful march across the desert, which has been reckoned among the greatest exploits of Roman generalship; and the command of the entire forces was then conferred on Metellus Scipio. The Pompeians in Africa had the support of Juba, the Numidian king, so that in no quarter did it seem more probable that a stand might be hopefully made against the power of Cæsar. It was proposed to destroy the city of Utica, a town older than its neighbour Carthage, but which was now threatened with a similar fate, because of the assistance it had rendered to the Cæsarian party. Cato, however, offered to be answerable for its fidelity, if invested with the local government. He was weary of the war, distrustful of its results, and as much dissatisfied as Cicero with the character of some among its supporters. To Utica he went, and there, as we shall shortly see, invited the death which, to so stoical a Roman, was preferable to the ruin of his hopes, and the failure of his political ideal.

But it was not merely in Africa that the Pompeian cause showed signs of recovery. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, who had been established on the throne of Bosphorus by Pompey, led an army into Pontus, overran Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, and threatened Galatia. The Cæsarian army in Further Spain mutinied against the oppressive rule of Quintus Cassius. Gabinius, who had been recalled from exile, and had joined the Cæsarian party in Illyria, was

his attempt to secure the island of the Pharos. The probability, however, seems to be that this important position was taken, re-taken, and taken again, but that Cæsar finally retained the ground.

CÆSAR ADDRESSING THE MALCONTENT LEGIONS IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.

defeated and slain during an inroad into Dalmatia. Even in Italy there were symptoms of discontent, and some legions quartered in Campania, including Cæsar's favourite tenth, became restless and insubordinate. At Rome itself, however, the interests of Cæsar were effectually maintained by Marc Antony, though apparently by means which can only be described as tyrannical. From the shores of Egypt, Cæsar kept close watch on all that was proceeding at the capital, and his letters written at this period show the active intelligence which he devoted to home affairs, even while engaged in warlike operations at a distance, or in the political rearrangements which followed. The majority of the Roman citizens were favourable to his cause: after the battle of Pharsalia, the Senate itself ordered the statues of Pompey and Sulla to be thrown down. Cæsar transmitted Pompey's signet-ring to Rome, and the popular enthusiasm was boundless at this indisputable proof that the great champion of the aristocratic party was no longer to be feared. It was but the natural consequence of these events that in January, 47 B.C., Cæsar was proclaimed Dictator for the second time. His exceptional powers were to be extended for the unprecedented period of a year, and he was invested with the sole right of making war and peace. Antony was appointed Master of the Horse, and in that capacity suppressed a sedition excited by Cicero's son-in-law, the Tribune Dolabella. Tumults of this nature occurred from time to time, but were always vigorously checked, and do not appear to have seriously threatened the supremacy of the Cæsarians.

The long absence of the Dictator in Egypt was nevertheless to be regretted, since it led to futile hopes, and to the necessity of violent repressions. It was not until four months after his victory on the Nile that Cæsar quitted Alexandria. Those who are inclined to take the worst view of his conduct, attribute his delay to the fascinations of Cleopatra; but it is very probable that he did not find four months too considerable a time to settle the affairs of a country which had long been torn by internal dissensions. In the summer of 47 B.C. he felt himself at liberty to depart; but he could not at once return to Italy, as the state of matters in Pontus rendered his presence in that region a matter of immediate necessity. In endeavouring to oppose Pharnaces, Calvinus, whose army had been weakened by the reinforcements he had sent to Egypt, underwent a disastrous defeat. Cæsar therefore marched with the utmost speed through Syria (where he entered into friendly relations with the Jews, and was received with general submission), and, appearing in Pontus, drove Pharnaces into the town of Zela, near which his father Mithridates had gained a brilliant victory over the Romans, but which was now to be associated with the discomfiture of the son. News of the victory won by Cæsar was transmitted by him to Rome in a despatch which is said to have consisted of the three words, "Veni, vidi, vici" ("I came, I saw, I conquered"). The result to Pharnaces was the loss not merely of his recent acquisitions, but even of his kingdom in the Chersonesus Taurica, which was conferred on Mithridates of Pergamus, possibly his half-brother. The affairs of Western Asia were settled by the conqueror before he set his face for Europe; but it was with great reluctance that he quitted that part of the world without measuring his strength against the Parthian monarchy, the conquest of which was one of those projects which his assassination cut short. Landing at Tarentum, Cæsar was met by Cicero, whom he generously pardoned for his recent opposition. He returned to Rome in October, 47 B.C., and at once added to his popularity by the questionable means of giving to the poorer citizens a donation out of the public purse. But the absence of the great conqueror in the East had done a certain injury to his character, which from this time forth becomes apparent. The boastful despatch from Zela was unworthy of his genius. Something of Oriental pride and vain-gloriousness had entered into his disposition; something, also, of the arrogant spirit which is more proper to Asiatic sovereigns, ruling over a nation of slaves, than to the first soldier of a Republic, guarding the dearest interests of citizens. It proves the essential nobility of his nature that power so unbounded, success so brilliant and predominant, should not have corrupted him far more.

One of the first subjects that engaged the attention of Cæsar after his return to Italy was the disaffection among the legions in Campania, which had by this time assumed the form of positive revolt. The malcontents marched to Rome, and demanded their discharge, imagining that they would be re-enlisted with a large donation, in order to prosecute the war in Africa which was imminent. Having already disobeyed the commands of Antony, who had ordered them to embark for Sicily, they now declared that they would confer with no other than Cæsar himself. The Dictator accordingly met them in the Campus Martius. These men had fought with Cæsar in Gaul, and had received munificent rewards for their services in that country. They had not been recompensed for their toils in the campaigns

of Spain and Greece; but this was simply because Cæsar had, as yet, had no time for determining the amount of their gains. They had returned from Macedonia full of discontent, but on meeting their great captain did not venture to demand more than their discharge. "I discharge you," said Cæsar, and then, after a pause which no one dared to interrupt, continued, "The rewards which I have promised you shall have when I return to celebrate my triumph with the other troops." The thought that they would be excluded from the triumph, and receive only the material satisfaction of money, struck the veterans to the heart. But they awaited the continuance of their leader's speech. When he at length addressed them again, it was to add yet another pang to the poignancy of their grief and humiliation. He had been in the habit of calling his soldiers "commilitones," that is, comrades, or brothers-in-arms. He now addressed them as "quirites," or citizens, as if they had lost their quality of warriors. The legionaries burst into tears, and, as Cæsar turned to leave, begged of him to punish them with any degree of severity, but not to dismiss them from his service. They would go with him to Africa, or to the world's end; but Cæsar was not to be immediately appeased. He told them that lands had been allotted to every soldier out of the national property, or from his own personal estates. But the tenth legion—his beloved and trusted tenth—he must perforce dismiss. The result was that all were received again into their general's favour; but nothing could be more masterly, and at the same time more truly generous, than the way in which Cæsar met and quelled this formidable revolt.

Affairs in Africa had now assumed an alarming aspect. Metellus Scipio had fixed his head-quarters at Hadrumetum, a maritime town to the south-east of Carthage. Here he succeeded in bringing together no fewer than ten legions, whose efficacy was enhanced by the Numidian cavalry of Juba, and by a hundred and twenty elephants. Cæsar left Rome towards the latter end of 47 B.C., and landed in Africa with a force far inferior to that of his adversary. In the first instance, his small army was overpowered by superior numbers, and it was not without difficulty that he got back to his camp. On the arrival of reinforcements, he besieged Thapsus, on the coast of Byzacium. A large Pompeian garrison was stationed in this city, and Metellus Scipio marched to its relief in February, 46 B.C. A desperate battle ensued; but the assailants were entirely defeated, and Cæsar pursued them to their camp. Some of the Pompeian leaders escaped; others were less fortunate. Afranius was killed by his own soldiers. Metellus Scipio, driven back by stress of weather after he had put to sea, slew himself in despair. Petreius, whom Cæsar had defeated in Spain, fled together with Juba, and the two joined in a wild banquet, drank to excess, and agreed to end their lives by single combat. The struggle terminated in the death of Petreius, and Juba was despatched by the faithful slave who was never wanting in such emergencies.

The death of Cato was less theatrical, but more truly impressive. Honest, but narrow-minded, intellectual, but unable to comprehend the changed conditions of the time, Cato now saw that the cause to which he had pledged himself was lost beyond hope of redemption, and felt that he ought not to survive it. On receiving news of the battle of Thapsus, he determined to put an end to his existence; and when we consider that suicide was permissible by the moral law of antiquity, it is difficult to blame his decision. The inflexibility of his principles rendered it impossible that he could in any way identify himself with the new order which was emerging from the ruins of the old; nor could his life have been other than one of misery in the contemplation of his own failure, and his enemy's success. With his mind full of such thoughts, he entertained his friends at supper, and talked on philosophical and political topics with the calmness which became his stoical disposition and habits. It was known that Cæsar was rapidly approaching Utica; but Cato had resolved that he should not be victor over him. One of the subjects of discourse at supper was the well-known principle of the Stoics, that all bad men are slaves, and only the good man is free. His companions guessed the kind of freedom which he had determined to secure for himself; but he endeavoured to disabuse their minds by the spirit and variety of his conversation. Large numbers of the citizens were at that very time embarking in the harbour, to escape from a city which they had themselves decided it was dangerous to defend. Cato repeatedly inquired who had already put out to sea, and then, withdrawing to his own room, read that noble dialogue on the immortality of the soul which cheered the last hours of Socrates, and is recorded in the "Phædon" of Plato. Looking up after a while, he found that his sword had been removed, and, divining the reason, upbraided his attendant for what had been done, and even struck him on the mouth with such violence as to hurt his own hand. The weapon was restored; and shortly after midnight, having learned that the last vessel

was on the point of leaving the quay, he threw himself on the bed, and plunged his sword into his stomach. The wound was afterwards sewn up while the sufferer was in a state of unconsciousness; but, on recovering from the fainting fit into which, after a brief moment of agony, he had fallen, he tore open the gash with his own hands, and presently expired. Cæsar, when he heard of this tragedy, lamented that he had lost the satisfaction of pardoning the noblest of his enemies, and caused due honour to be paid to his remains, as he had done to those of Pompey. But at a later period he wrote a book called the "Anti-Cato," in which he ridiculed the principles and practice of the departed philosopher. It would have been nobler, and even wiser for his own ends, had he refrained from such criticisms; but the nature and objects of Cæsar and Cato were diametrically opposed, and the pity of death itself could only for a moment unite them in a bond of sympathy.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LAST YEARS OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

Return of Cæsar to Rome—His Four Triumphs—Execution of Vercingetorix—Banquets and Gifts to the People—Honours paid to Cæsar—His Extensive Powers as Dictator for Ten Years—Foreign Soldiery in Rome—Reform of the Roman Calendar—Renewal of the Civil War—The Sons of Pompey in Spain—General Rising of the Iberians—Desperate Battle near Munda—Cæsar in Danger of Defeat—Final Discomfiture of the Pompeians, and Capture of Munda—Severity of the Cæsarians—Death of Cneius Pompey—Return of Cæsar to Rome—Additional Honours paid to him—Origin of the Term "Emperor"—Reforms in the Roman State introduced by Cæsar—Vast Public Works projected—Melancholy Forebodings—Hatred of Cæsar by the Aristocracy—Design of making him King, and Consequent Loss of Popularity—Devotion of the Romans to the Republican Form of Government—Plot against the Life of Cæsar—Marcus Junius Brutus—Honesty of his Motives and Aims—Progress of the Conspiracy—The Ides of March—Apprehensions of the Conspirators—Assassination of Cæsar in the Senate House—General View of his Character.

After forming Juba's Numidian realm into a province, which he placed under the government of the historian Sallust—a devoted adherent of the popular cause, who had been expelled from the Senate in 50 B.C.—Cæsar returned to Rome in July, 46. He was now sufficiently delivered from danger to be able to celebrate four triumphs, which he claimed in respect of his successes in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Numidia. No reference could be made to the victory over Pompey, for that was gained in civil war, and Rome allowed no honours to the conqueror in a fratricidal struggle. Nor could the war in Africa have been included, had it not been for the alliance of Juba with the Roman commanders. The triumphs were of the most splendid description. In imitation of Camillus, the reputed vanquisher of Brennus, Cæsar's car was drawn by white horses—the sacred colour, which no other person until his time had ventured to use. On the first of these occasions—the Gallic triumph—the procession started from the Campus Martius, outside the walls, and, passing through the Triumphal Gate at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, wound through the principal streets of the city. At one point the Dictator's chariot broke down, and it is said that this accident so affected the master of many legions that he never afterwards ascended a vehicle without repeating a charm. The circumstance was undoubtedly ominous in the estimation of a people so regardful of portents as the Romans; and Cæsar, with all his strength of mind, was not devoid of superstition. Another instance of this weakness occurred during the same occasion, and it was connected with a tragic incident, casting a deep stain on the character of the hero. On reaching that part of the city where two roads branched off, one going to the Capitoline Temple, the other to the Mamertine prison, the brave and unfortunate Vercingetorix, who had been retained as a captive for the last six years, and had thus far marched in the triumph, was led to the subterranean dungeon, and strangled. He had relied on the friendship of the conqueror, but relied in vain. Cæsar, who might have spared him if he would, for his power was absolute, was so impressed with the possible consequences of his act that he crawled up the steps of the Capitol, to avert the wrath of Nemesis.*

* The chief authority for the execution of Vercingetorix is Dion Cassius, who lived more than two centuries after the time of Cæsar. Perhaps we do not know all the facts. There may possibly have been some justification or excuse, of which we are not informed, for an act that is out of harmony with the usual character of Cæsar.

The four triumphs, celebrated at intervals of a few days, were followed by a magnificent banquet, at which vast multitudes of the citizens feasted at twenty-two thousand tables. Donations in money were bestowed both on the soldiers and the people, and to the latter was also granted a year's remission of house-rent. Shows were given in the circus and the theatre; the blood of gladiators and of wild beasts was profusely shed; and Cæsar threw open to the public the splendid Forum which he had built at his own expense. The measure of the great conqueror's glory might well have seemed complete. Even before his return to Rome, he had been made Dictator for the third time, and that for the space of ten years. This gave him the command of all the armies of the State, and the presidency at public festivals. He was likewise invested with Censorial authority for three years, without a colleague; so that he was really a king in all but the name and the royal insignia. When proceeding through Northern Italy on his first journey to Spain, in 61 B.C., Cæsar, stopping for a while in a mean village, is said to have remarked that he would rather be the first man there than the second man at Rome. He had now become the supreme arbiter of the greatest Empire in the world, and honours flowed in upon him to an extent which must in some degree have intoxicated his otherwise calm and evenly-balanced temperament. A thanksgiving was decreed for forty days —a term far exceeding that which had been ordered for the Gallic conquests, and which was in itself unprecedented. The number of his lictors was doubled. Statues of the conqueror were made in bronze and ivory, and associated with those of Jupiter and the other gods. Temples, dedicated in the first instance to his clemency—for the Roman faith was accustomed to embody abstract virtues—were soon appropriated to the direct worship of the mighty soldier himself. He was even styled, by the more obsequious of his flatterers, "Cæsar the demi-god." It is true, he declined these divine ascriptions; but the incense, nevertheless, ascended to his nostrils.

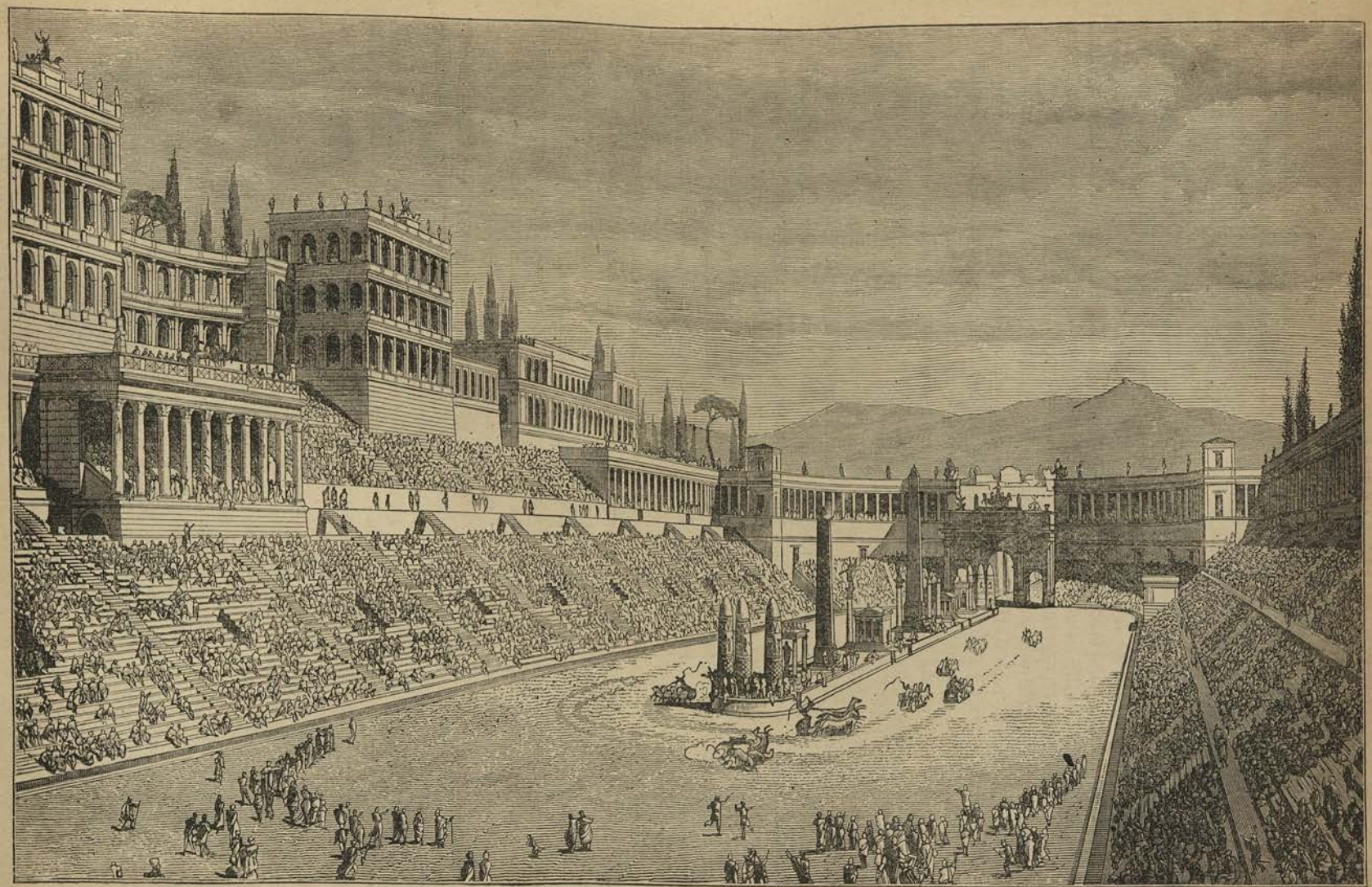
What he chiefly valued, however, was the reality of power, which he had now obtained in ample measure. With him the Censorship assumed a very extensive character, and, under the new title of Guardian of Manners (in other words, of the public morals), Cæsar acquired the sole right of revising the lists of the Senators and Knights. With the exception of the Consulships, he was to nominate to one-half of the curule magistracies (those which conferred the privilege of sitting in the *sella curulis*, or chair of state); he was to make all appointments to the Prætorian provinces; and in the Senate he was to take his seat between the Consuls, and to be the first to give his judgment on public affairs. He might have used these great powers for the persecution of his enemies, had he been of a persecuting mind. But he declared that he would make no distinction between Cæsarians and Pompeians; and his actions were in accordance with his word. It must, nevertheless, have been with a feeling of uneasiness that Romans beheld their city occupied by legions largely drawn from foreign, and in some cases barbarian, populations. Gauls, Spaniards, Epirotes, and Africans, marched under the banner of Cæsar; and it almost seemed as if the supremacy of Rome were imperilled in the very magnitude of her triumph. Yet these victorious soldiers were not permitted to fatten on the ruin of private citizens. Cæsar was less a partisan than a politician. It was his ambition to found the State anew, and to establish it on the basis of the general good.

He now set himself to the removal of several abuses from which the commonwealth had long suffered. One of the most remarkable of these edicts was the reformation of the Roman Calendar, which in the course of ages had wandered very far from accuracy. The existing computation of time was more than two months in advance of the truth, and it is in the nature of such errors to grow progressively worse. The exact length of the solar year is 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 49 seconds, and a fraction. But, in the ancient Roman world, so nice a calculation was impossible, and people reckoned by the revolutions of the moon. This gave a year of twelve lunar months; in other words, a year of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 36 seconds, which, for greater convenience of calculation, or in order to obtain an odd or fortunate number, Numa Pompilius (according to tradition) fixed at 355 days. It must be borne in mind that the length of the lunar month is not, as people often suppose, exactly four weeks, or twenty-eight days, but a little more than twenty-nine days and a half. The difference between the lunar year attributed to Pompilius and the true solar year was about 10 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes. As the seasons depend upon the sun, and not upon the moon, this discrepancy would soon have worked the most extraordinary confusion, had it not at a later period been to some extent rectified by the insertion, every second year, after the 23rd of February, of an additional or intercalary month, called Mercedonius, and consisting alternately of twenty-two and twenty-three days. This was too large

an addition, and resulted in a gain upon the sun of rather more than four days in four years. Various intricate arrangements were introduced for redressing the balance; but the discordancy continued to increase, owing partly to the irregularity with which the pontiffs of the Sacred College, who had the superintendence of such matters, discharged their functions. The intercalary month was sometimes left out, and sometimes arbitrarily added, to suit temporary purposes; and during the civil disturbances of the previous six years the matter had been totally neglected. One of the consequences of these derelictions was that the religious festivals which were assigned to certain fixed days, and at the same time associated with particular seasons—as, for instance, the festival of harvest and vintage—fell in periods of the year when they were wholly inappropriate, and husbandmen were compelled to disregard the calendar altogether, and trust to their own observation of natural phenomena.

Long before the days of the Roman dominion, the Egyptians appear to have made a very near approach to an exact knowledge of the solar year and its duration. Herodotus says that they were the first to arrive at a precise conception of such matters, and they seem to have done this by observing the apparent path of the sun among the fixed stars. The Romans were so far behind them in astronomical science that when Cæsar desired to reform the calendar, he looked to Egypt for adequate assistance. His position as Chief Pontiff brought the question especially within his province, and he summoned to his aid a Greek, of Alexandrian birth and training, named Sosigenes. By the help of this learned man, and of others, Cæsar (who was himself a competent astronomer, and had written a treatise on the subject) arranged that ninety additional days should be inserted in the current year (708 of the city, or 46 B.C.), so as to bring it back to an agreement with the natural order of the seasons. That particular year, therefore, was made to contain the extraordinary number of 445 days. People called it the year of confusion; but it has been justly observed that it ought rather to have been named the last year of confusion. With respect to the future, it was determined that 365 days and a quarter should be considered the true length of the year, and, as the nearest approach to a lunation, Cæsar directed that some of the months should consist of thirty days, while to some others were assigned thirty-one.

VIEW FROM THE GARDENS OF SALLUST.



THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS (RESTORATION).

[The Palatine and Emperor's Palaces to the left, and the Aventine to the right. The Alban Mountains in the background.]

The whole twelve gave a total of exactly 365 days, and the remaining six hours were added every fourth year, in the form of an extra day attached to February. This, however, was not inserted at the end of the month, as we do in England, but after the 24th of February, which was counted twice over, and entitled Bissextus, the *second-sixth*, because the 24th of February was reckoned the sixth day before the Kalends, or 1st, of March, though, strictly speaking, the first day of that month must be included in the calculation. Hence arose what we now understand as Bissextile, or Leap Year; and it was an arrangement which to a very considerable extent remedied the confusion that had previously existed. But, while removing one error, it established another; for, as we have shown, the exact length of the solar year is something less than 365 days and a quarter. Consequently, the addition of a day every four years was in excess of the real time by nearly eleven minutes for each year. The effect of the error was not seen for many centuries; but by 1582 of the Christian era the Julian Calendar had gone wrong to the extent of some ten days. Pope Gregory XIII. accordingly shortened the current year to that extent, and ordered that for the future the additional day to February should be omitted three times in every four centuries. This reform was not adopted in England until the year 1752, owing to a grotesque perversion of Protestant feeling, which refused to follow the head of the Romish Church, even in so untheological a matter as the arrangement of the almanac. The same prejudice still exists in the eastern countries of Europe, where the Greek Church prevails, and which still follow the old and incorrect style of reckoning. The Gregorian year is in itself about 24 seconds longer than the solar year—an excess which amounts to a day in the course of 3,600 years, but which will be remedied by a corresponding omission of leap years. The calendar, therefore, is at the present time as much in accordance with natural facts as the difficulties of the calculation permit.

Cæsar was about to prosecute other reforms, when the Civil War broke out anew. The relics of the Pompeian army, commanded by Cneius and Sextus Pompey, by Varus and Labienus, had rallied in Spain, where their numbers were speedily augmented by scattered adherents of the aristocratic cause, and even by many of Cæsar's troops, who were discontented with the rewards they had obtained, or by their inability to indulge in general plunder. Most of the Spanish cities identified themselves with the anti-Cæsarians, and the province was in a state of general revolt before the autumn of 46 B.C. Trebonius, the successor of Quintus Cassius in the government of Spain, was expelled by his own legions, and Cæsar found it necessary to repair in person to the seat of war, lest the whole peninsula should be lost to the Republic. Cneius Pompey inscribed his banner with the word *Pietas*, or "Filial Duty;" and there can be little doubt that the miserable end of the father inspired many persons with a romantic attachment to the cause of the son. Influenced by a rancorous feeling against all whom he may have considered in any way accountable for the tragic incident on the beach near Pelusium, Cneius behaved with ferocity towards those who fell into his power. Cæsar, on the other hand, acted with merciless severity towards the insurgents, and the contest was carried on with the utmost bitterness of party hate. At Saguntum, the Dictator fell ill towards the end of October, and it was not until the close of 46 B.C. that he was able to take the field. Cneius Pompey had by this time concentrated his forces near Corduba; but Cæsar had great difficulty in bringing matters to an issue, for his opponent, knowing that he had to deal with the greatest and most successful captain of his age, avoided a battle as long as he could. At length, however, on the 17th of March, 45 B.C., Cæsar found his antagonist in a strong position near Munda, a small town of Andalusia, between Malaga and Ronda. Relying on their favourable situation, the Pompeians offered battle, and Cæsar accepted it, though the ground presented many difficulties by which his movements were seriously hampered.

The conflict was desperate, and for a long time it seemed doubtful whether the conqueror of the elder Pompey would not be overthrown by the younger. Cæsar himself was in imminent personal danger, and at one time the fortune of the day seemed so plainly to have declared against him, that, according to Suetonius, he had almost resolved to lay violent hands on himself. "On other occasions," he used afterwards to observe, "I fought for victory; there I fought for life." At length, however, his own unfailing genius, the valour of his soldiers, and a mistake on the part of the Pompeians, who thought that Labienus was flying, secured the defeat of the enemy; and more than 30,000 of the opposing forces lay dead upon the field. Among the slain were Labienus and Attius Varus, but the two Pompeys escaped. One wing of the defeated army fled wildly towards Cordova; the rest found temporary refuge within the walls of Munda, which after a while surrendered to the

Cæsarians. Cordova was subsequently stormed, and given up to plunder and massacre. The temper of Cæsar's troops was by this time excited to frenzy, and it is to be feared that the Dictator himself, wearied and exasperated by years of civil strife, did nothing to check the ferocity of his men. But the terror thus inspired had at least one good effect: the remaining Spanish towns opened their gates to the conqueror, and the great Civil War of Pompey and Cæsar was absolutely at an end. The fate of the two Pompeys was widely different. Sextus, making his way through the mountains of Granada, succeeded in reaching the northern parts of Spain, and was afterwards able to raise fresh disturbances. Cneius fled to Gibraltar, where he hoped to find a squadron that would convey him to some safer locality; but most of the ships had already been taken by Cæsar's fleet. Nevertheless, he put to sea, but was driven back by stress of weather, or by the necessity of obtaining surgical aid for a wound in the foot which he had accidentally received on shipboard. For some time he lay concealed in a cave, but, being discovered by his pursuers, was slain.

The settlement of affairs in the western province detained Cæsar until the autumn of 45 B.C., when, after about a year's absence, he again returned to the capital. On the 1st of October he celebrated a fifth triumph, in honour of his success in the Iberian peninsula, the first triumph ever celebrated by a Roman general over Roman citizens. The victory was represented as one gained over the Spaniards; but the battle was in truth a portion of the Civil War which commenced with the crossing of the Rubicon. The conqueror was also granted by the Senate a thanksgiving of fifty days, which was ten days more than that following the overthrow of Pompey, and of his adherents in Asia and Africa. Great as had been the honours previously conferred upon the victor, they were now vastly exceeded. Medals of him were struck, with the inscription "Pater Patriæ," the Father of his Country—a title, however, which had formerly been given to Camillus and Cicero, and which was therefore not without precedent. When in the Senate, Cæsar was to occupy a golden chair. His fasces were to be wreathed with laurel, and a laurel crown was to be worn by him in public. It was decreed that his birthday should for ever be observed as a holiday, and his natal month, Quinctilis—the fifth of the year, according to the old style, which was reckoned from March—received thenceforth the name of Julius, or, as we say, July. The title of Imperator was conferred upon him in a sense different from that in which the term had ever been used before. Formerly it had been nothing more than a military designation; now it was employed to denote a supreme ruler, and thus became the origin of the modern word "Emperor," the highest appellation of sovereignty. The military Imperium was even made hereditary in the family of the illustrious Dictator, and it was resolved by the Senate that the statue of Cæsar should appear in the Capitol as an eighth among the Kings of Rome. It was proposed to set up his image in the Temple of Romulus, with an inscription denoting that he was "the invincible god;" and he was in fact called "Divus Julius," the divine or deified Julius. He was made Consul for ten years, and was also to retain for life his position as Dictator and Guardian of Manners. His person was declared inviolable; a body-guard of Senators and Knights (soon to be set aside by the great man himself) was appointed for his protection; and all the Senators took an oath to watch over his safety. The principal friends of Cæsar were rewarded by high appointments in the State, and additions were made to the priestly colleges, with a view to similar favours. The people were intoxicated by a long succession of games and shows; deputations from civilised countries and barbarian tribes proceeded to Rome, that the great arbiter of the Republic might receive due honour; and thither, amongst others, came Cleopatra, to offer her submission to one whom she may have admired as a man, but whom she knew it was impossible for her to resist as a soldier. With her she brought her infant son, Cæsarion, said to be the child of Julius, but never acknowledged in that capacity, although the allegation seems not improbable.

After all these magnificent celebrations were over, Cæsar returned to his proper sphere, which was that of strenuous work. He now resumed those elaborate and varied reforms which had been interrupted by the outbreak of hostilities in Spain. He found the Treasury very much reduced, as a consequence of the recent troubles, and of his own profusion in rewarding his soldiers and adherents. Another cause of this embarrassment was to be discovered in the enormous sums expended in the gratuitous distributions of grain. Large numbers of persons having no legitimate claim to such assistance were nevertheless in receipt of these public gifts. Cæsar recognised the magnitude of the abuse, and, while not venturing to abolish the custom altogether, made very considerable diminutions in the list. It appeared that no fewer than 320,000 persons enjoyed the monthly donation: Cæsar curtailed the number by more than a half,

and the Treasury was at once relieved in a very important degree. But, while he thus diminished a privilege which tended to pauperise large masses of the people, he advanced and augmented the rights of citizenship in various ways. A liberal extension of the franchise was granted to the provincials in Rome, and several communities in Gaul and Spain were admitted to the full Roman citizenship. The same rights were conferred on all professors of science and learning, and on medical practitioners—a curious instance in ancient times of what in our own days has been called "fancy franchises." The number of Senators—which had originally been three hundred, which since then had been greatly magnified, but which the recent wars had seriously attenuated—was now raised by Cæsar to nine hundred. Among these new accessions to the ancient council were many of Cæsar's veterans: enfranchised citizens from the towns of Gaul were also introduced. So great an innovation gave serious offence to the purely Roman families, and the aliens were received with much coldness and incivility. But it was a part of Cæsar's truly noble scheme of government to admit Romans and provincials to an equality, and to change Rome from a mere municipal organisation to the capital of a vast and constantly increasing Empire. The curule offices, however, were for the present still confined to men of Italian birth. The judicial power was restored to the Senators and Equites jointly. New laws were made for the security of life and property, and the political clubs, from which so vast an amount of mischief had proceeded in the days of civil faction, were entirely abolished. The Jews received several privileges in the exercise of their religion, and, in particular, were exempted from paying tribute in the Sabbatical Year. It is to the enormous credit of Cæsar that, with almost unlimited power in his hands, he sanctioned no proscriptions of the opposite party, nor confiscated the lands of his enemies. When he wished to bestow lands upon his old soldiers, he did so in the distant possessions of the Republic. As many as 80,000 Roman citizens were sent forth to people new cities. Corinth was restored to something like its former splendour, and an attempt was made to raise Carthage from its ruins. The population of Italy itself, which had been miserably wasted by many years of conflict, Cæsar sought to repair by encouraging with special rewards and exemptions those fathers who had three or more legitimate children. Slave-labour, and the absence of landlords from their estates, were evils which could not escape the observation of so broad and searching a mind. Cæsar tried to amend both by enactments of some severity; but his endeavours were crowned with very slight success.

Seeing the undigested and incongruous character of Roman law, he designed to harmonise the whole mass into a complete and intelligible code; but this he did not live to accomplish. He also contemplated the draining of the Pontine Marshes, the formation of tunnels and canals, and a survey and map of the whole Empire. He founded a magnificent public library, which was afterwards completed by his friend Asinius Pollio, who wrote a history of the Civil War. Many public buildings, either ornamental or useful, were planned by this universal genius, and literary men were encouraged by one who was himself an author, and a perfect master of the Latin tongue. If the exercise of power, and the sense of intellectual predominance, could make a man happy, Cæsar should have been among the most enviable of human beings; yet Cicero, addressing him in a speech on the pardon of Marcellus, alluded to a saying constantly in his mouth, viz., that he had lived long enough.* His health was breaking; his epileptic seizures were becoming more frequent; in the midst of all the flattery which worldly minds pay to success, he must have felt that there was a large amount of jealous distrust and hatred. He went about unguarded, yet he knew that assassination was likely. A certain melancholy seized upon his spirit, and he turned to fresh wars beyond the eastern frontier as the most obvious means of escaping the burden and the agony of power.

For the preparation of his numerous reforms, Cæsar had but two brief periods: one of less than four months, extending from the quadruple triumph to the Spanish campaign; the other of rather more than five months, counting from October, 45 B.C., when he returned from Spain, to the 15th of March, 44 B.C., when he was killed. Such constant and laborious occupation obliged the Dictator to spend much of his time in private, accompanied only by those men of letters and science whose advice and co-operation were necessary. By many, this was attributed to the fear of assassination; by others it was regarded as a sign of haughtiness. The Patricians disliked Cæsar for curbing their power; and the difficulty of obtaining access to his person

* The authenticity of this speech has been doubted, but never disproved. If really delivered, as seems probable, it casts a heavy stain of hypocrisy on the reputation of Cicero, considering his subsequent approval of the assassination; for he here praises Cæsar in terms of extravagant flattery, tells him his life is needed for the reconstruction of the commonwealth and the salvation of society, and gives him the assurance that he (Cicero), and others, would interpose their own bodies between him and danger.

exasperated their feelings of antagonism. At the same time, the great body of the people whom he had benefited began to conceive a prejudice against their deliverer, from the fact that in their estimation he desired to assume the style and title of a king. It matters little whether he really felt such an ambition: as the whole power of kingship was in his hands, it is difficult to see how the people would have been worse off by his taking the name. His head was now stamped on the money of the Republic—an honour never before conceded to any Roman since the fall of the Monarchy, although the effigies of Proconsuls appeared on the provincial coins. In various other ways, attempts were made to ascertain the feeling of the public on this question; but the results were not favourable to Cæsar's design, if, indeed, he ever entertained it. One morning, his statue in the Forum was seen to be crowned with a diadem; but the mob applauded the Tribunes who tore it off. Shortly afterwards, as Cæsar was returning from the great Latin Festival at the Alban Mount, on the 26th of January, 44 B.C., some voices in the crowd saluted him as King; others began to murmur—diffidently, perhaps, but with a feeling which could not be mistaken; and the object of the demonstration put an end to it by exclaiming, "I am no king, but Cæsar." This incident was followed by one of a more dramatic kind at the Feast of the Lupercalia on the 15th of February, when Cæsar's fellow-Consul, Marc Antony, who was also one of the priests of Pan, approached the Dictator in that relation, and, as he sat in his golden chair of state, wreathed his head with an embroidered band, similar to the fillet worn by Oriental sovereigns. The Dictator put it aside; the offer was renewed, and again rejected. Some slight applause attended the action of Antony; but a storm of cheers burst forth when Cæsar persistently refused the dangerous honour. "I am no king," he said, repeating so far the words he had used on the former occasion; "the only king of the Romans is Jupiter." He ordered the diadem to be suspended in the temple of that god; and his popularity was to a great extent restored by this seeming evidence of his piety, and of his modest self-esteem.*

Nevertheless, the idea of a monarchy was not entirely abandoned, at any rate by the friends of Cæsar. The Dictator contemplated an expedition against Parthia in the following year, and a Sibylline oracle was now produced, to the effect that Parthia could be conquered only by a king. It was therefore proposed, as a sort of compromise, that Cæsar should receive the royal title in respect of foreign subjects, though not with regard to the Romans themselves. No one, however, could doubt that, if such a concession were made, it would at no great distance of time lead to a general assumption of the hated dignity. The Dictatorship of Cæsar was disliked by many; but it might not in itself have provoked a revolution, even though it was to continue for the whole term of the conqueror's life. Rome was accustomed to Dictators, and the office was not essentially opposed to the Republican idea. But the kingly position would be hereditary, and it was this which moved the anger and distrust of some good men, together with others who hated Cæsar because he had curbed their aristocratic privileges, and had consulted the good of the community, rather than that of a class. Since the days of Tarquinius Superbus, the very name of king was detestable to the Romans, and there had been numerous instances in which it was quite enough to charge a man with aspiring to the crown to effect his ruin and his death. Cæsar himself may have had no very earnest desire for the royal title. The project was, perhaps, rather that of his injudicious flatterers; and some have even suggested that the idea originated with his concealed enemies, as the most likely means of bringing him into odium. At any rate, such was the effect of the question being mooted, and the concoction of a plot for the Dictator's death followed as a matter of course. Amongst the Greeks and Romans, tyrannicide was considered not merely justifiable, but one of the highest of virtues. Junius Brutus would undoubtedly have slain Tarquin, could he have found the opportunity; and a certain reputation for stern and unbending republicanism seems always to have attached to the family of that somewhat mythical personage. Hence it ensued that when a plot was formed against the life of Cæsar, its leading spirit was Marcus Junius Brutus. The conspiracy, however, did not originate with him. So far as the first conception of the murderous design can be fixed on any man, that man was Caius Cassius Longinus, who had acted as Quæstor under Crassus in Parthia, and as commander of the Pompeian fleet during the Civil War. He had been pardoned by Cæsar soon after the battle of Pharsalia; but the petty jealousy of his nature could not tolerate the vast superiority of the Dictator's genius. He was a man of lax

* A recent biographer of Cæsar (Mr. J. A. Froude) is of opinion that the great Roman had no religious views whatever. This appears to be disproved by various circumstances related of him; though he was doubtless sceptical as to some of the received ideas of his time.

principles, and of no great devotion to any abstract theory of government. Solicitude for the Republic, however, was a very good card to play with, and in this way he appears to have drawn in a number of exasperated nobles and disappointed adventurers. Lastly, he obtained the countenance and support of his brother-in-law, Marcus Junius Brutus—a man whose name and family connections gave a colour of virtue to what was otherwise a dastardly confederation for effecting a plain murder.

colour to the story of his illicit parentage. He bestowed on him the Proconsulship of Cisalpine Gaul, and in this very year, 44 B.C., had appointed him Prætor of the city, with a promise that in time he should enjoy the Consulship. Brutus was a man of recluse life and studious habits, and to him it may in truth have appeared that the concentration in the hands of one man of powers so great as those engrossed by Cæsar was a danger to the State, and a fact of evil omen. We must

MARCUS BRUTUS.

The descent of Marcus Brutus from the Junius Brutus of Tarquin's day is doubtful. Scandal even alleged that he was the son of Cæsar, though, as he was only fifteen years younger than the Dictator, this seems extremely improbable. His putative father had been an adherent of Marius; his mother was a sister of Cato, and it was probably from this relationship that he derived his feeling of loyalty to Republican forms, especially after his marriage with Cato's daughter, Portia. In the late Civil War he had fought on the side of Pompey, though that general had put his father to death. At the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar spared the life of Brutus, and treated him afterwards with a degree of affection which may have given some

do him the justice to admit that he aimed his dagger against Cæsar, not from any personal motives, which indeed lay quite in the other direction, but from a regard to those political forms which he considered indispensable to the Roman State. Yet it is ridiculous to speak of Brutus as a model of heroic virtue. Though attached to the cause of Pompey, he did not scruple to accept favours and appointments at the hands of Cæsar; and it is said that when, in 58 B.C., he accompanied his uncle Cato to Cyprus, he was guilty of pecuniary extortions. On the other hand, his administration of Cisalpine Gaul was irreproachable, and it would seem that he was rather a weak than a vicious man. The somewhat

ASSASSINATION OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

shallow nature of Brutus may be gauged without much difficulty. It is only the declamatory and irrational spirit in which Roman history was long written that has cast a halo of exaggerated sentiment round the person himself, and the cause which he favoured.

One thing is certain—that Brutus hesitated a good deal as to taking any active measures against Cæsar. The malcontents were obliged to adopt unusual means to excite the habitual indolence of his mind. One day, a paper was found attached to the statue of his ancestor in the Prætorian tribunal, containing the words, "Would that Brutus were alive!" As he walked along the streets, billets were thrust into his hand, inscribed, "Brutus, thou sleepest,—thou art no longer Brutus;" or sometimes with the exclamation, "Awake, Brutus!" These incitements at length had their effect, and Marcus Junius resolved to slay his friend—a purpose in which he might have subsequently wavered, had he not been encouraged in the design by the stronger and sterner will of Cassius. It is remarkable that Cassius, like Brutus, was indebted to Cæsar for many favours. He and some other of the conspirators enjoyed offices of importance by the grace of the Dictator; but they may have supposed that, by putting their master out of the way, their own political fortunes would be enhanced. At any rate, a considerable body of distinguished persons joined in the plot. The total number of the conspirators amounted to sixty, if not to eighty; and amongst so many it must always have been doubtful whether one would not prove a traitor to the design.

Cæsar was rapidly making preparations for his expedition to Parthia, and the Senate was convened for the Ides of March (the 15th of the month), in order, it was believed, that the title and prerogatives of a king might be conferred on Cæsar, so far as the provinces were concerned. It was determined, therefore, that on that day he should perish. Whether by mere coincidence, or because some inkling of the plot had really spread abroad, men were found repeating a prediction that the Ides of March would be fatal to the mighty Cæsar. The Dictator knew of this prophecy, but declined to take any measures against its fulfilment. Perhaps, even, he was tired of life, worn out with its conflicts and its disappointments. Supping with Lepidus on the evening of the 14th of March, a question was raised as to what kind of death was the best; and before any one else could speak, Cæsar, who was signing papers, looked up, and abruptly exclaimed, "That which is least expected." On the same night, Calpurnia had so terrible a dream that next morning she induced her husband to consult the sacrifices. The signs observed in the victims were ominous, and Cæsar, yielding to the terrors and persuasions of his wife, and perhaps even to some apprehensions of his own, for he seemed restless and out of spirits, determined to send Antony to the Senate with excuses for his absence. But, before this purpose could be effected, Decimus Brutus, one of the principal conspirators, though he had received from the Dictator the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and was designated as the Consul of some future year, arrived to conduct Cæsar to the place of meeting.

In the meanwhile, the confederates had been busy with their final arrangements. The gloomy abstraction and agitated demeanour of Marcus Brutus had revealed to Portia the existence of some grave design, and, by a long succession of entreaties, she had extracted from him the particulars of the impending plot. It may be that Brutus quailed in his intent; there was also the possibility that news of the conspiracy might reach the ears of its object, and that the whole plan would thus be frustrated. When, therefore, Decimus Brutus was informed of Cæsar's resolve not to meet the Senate that day, he feared that the secret had been divulged. It was then, however, too late to draw back, if Cæsar could only be induced to enter the fatal edifice. Several of the conspirators had already assembled beneath the portico of Pompey's theatre, as the members of the Senate were to meet in the adjacent Curia. Each of the assassins was armed with a dagger, concealed in the little case which usually carried the iron stylus wherewith the ancients wrote upon their waxen tablets; for the open exhibition of arms in Rome itself was illegal, and, except in periods of commotion, contrary to habit. The Dictator not having arrived, Brutus and Cassius, as Prætors, occupied themselves with listening to casual applications. When the former gave decisions adverse to the plaintiffs, and was told that Cæsar would reverse his judgments, he replied with a confidence which was remarked even at the time, and still more afterwards. Yet most of the conspirators were nervously apprehensive; and while they were in this state of anxious suspense, Popillius Lænas approached Brutus, whispered to him, "What you have in hand despatch quickly," and disappeared in the crowd. His precise meaning was never made clear; but his words were calculated to deepen the alarm already felt.

It would appear that a knowledge of the plot had got wind, and Decimus Brutus knew that if Cæsar persisted in not meeting the Senate, the

project would be entirely baffled, and the lives of the conspirators forfeited. He therefore used his utmost adroitness to remove the Dictator's scruples, and at length succeeded. Cæsar entered a litter, to give some countenance to his previous excuse of ill-health, and in this manner was borne along the streets. Several persons pressed forward, with design to warn him of his danger; but the conspirators kept them off—all excepting one man (a Greek philosopher, named Artemidorus), who thrust some document into the hand of the Dictator, and earnestly besought him to read it on the instant. Cæsar does not appear to have done so; for, as it doubtless contained a revelation of the plot, it is not likely he would have gone on, had he possessed himself of its contents. The scroll of paper was still in his hand when he entered the Senate-house. On his way thither, he had met the augur Spurinna, and had observed to him, with a smile, "The Ides of March are come." "Ay," replied the augur, "but not passed, Cæsar." Shortly afterwards the Dictator descended from his litter, and entered the door of the building which was soon to be crimsoned by his blood. Popillius Lænas approached him, and entered into earnest conversation. The conspirators believed that their design was discovered, and some of them, especially Cassius, were about to despatch themselves with their own daggers, when Brutus called attention to the fact that the gestures of Popillius were those rather of a suppliant than one of giving a serious warning. Cæsar passed on, and took his seat; the assassins closed round him, and kept his friends far off. Cimber now presented a petition, praying for his brother's recall from banishment; the others, in accordance with their preconcerted plan, joined in the supplication, grasped the hands of the Dictator, and embraced his neck. Their importunities at last became so extreme that Cæsar, probably suspecting some evil design, repelled the Senators from his person, and attempted to rise. The moment for action had arrived, and Cimber, taking hold of the victim's toga with both hands, pulled it violently over the arms. At the back of the Dictator's chair stood a Tribune of the Plebs, named Servilius Casca. It was this man who struck the first blow. In his nervousness he aimed badly, and did nothing more than slightly graze the shoulder of the Dictator. By a great effort, Cæsar got free one hand, swung round, and, snatching at the hilt of his opponent's weapon, exclaimed, "Thou villain, Casca! what means this?" Casca called for help, and the other conspirators struck at Cæsar with their daggers. He defended himself to the best of his power, and even wounded one of the assailants with his stylus. But fate had prepared for him a great and agonising surprise. He had never suspected Brutus of unkindness, nor, after all the favours he had recently shown, had he any reason to suspect him. But he now beheld this very man approaching with uplifted steel. At that cruel sight, he appears to have considered that life was no longer worth preserving. He piteously exclaimed, "Et tu, Brute!" ("And thou, Brutus!") and made no further efforts to avoid the blows which were showered upon him in such frantic haste and passion that Brutus and others were accidentally wounded. Each of the assassins had pledged himself to redden his poniard in the blood of Cæsar; and all fulfilled their vow. The Dictator, reeling from point to point of the great hall, would have fallen ere he did, had not his person been repeatedly propped up by the dagger-thrusts of his murderers. But in a few moments, with one final stagger, he fell dead and mangled at the foot of Pompey's statue.

The stilettos of a band of miscreants, aided, perhaps, by some honest but fanatical enthusiasts, had robbed the world of its greatest man. There is hardly any figure in Ancient History which occupies so commanding a position as that of Julius Cæsar. Even Alexander, though more remarkable as a conqueror, did not possess the varied genius and the practical sense of the Roman Dictator. Alexander has been described as a madman: no one would think of applying that epithet to the victim of the Ides of March. Many have condemned him as a tyrant, and as the originator of a species of government, partly democratic, partly despotic, which has been made the subject of more wild vituperation than any other method of conducting the affairs of men. But no one has ever questioned the complete sanity of Cæsar, or the vastness of his genius. He has had his detractors out of number; he has had his admirers too. Few have taken the trouble, or used a judgment sufficiently dispassionate, to estimate correctly what were the virtues, and what the errors, of the man. But history, which is now written with a more philosophical insight than in former ages, is beginning to appraise Cæsar at his true value in that wonderful Roman world, of which, in a certain sense, we all are citizens to this day. Cæsar was the mighty result of causes that had been gathering force for a century, or more. He created the only issue out of a state of things which was a standing insult, not merely to the policy of any civilised state, but to eternal justice and eternal reason. The cruel and corrupt

Roman aristocracy had played too long with the lives and fortunes of nearly half the world. The Roman people had tried in vain to rid themselves of their oppressors, and to turn the forms of the constitution to their legitimate ends. Nothing but the prescience and the power of a special genius could help them to a better future. Cæsar may have curbed or hampered some of the forms of freedom; but he opened a long course of comparative justice, of internal development, of legality and repose, to all who dwelt beneath the shadow of the Roman name.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RIVALRY OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

First Effect of the Assassination of Cæsar—Popular Feeling against the Murderers—Measures of Public Safety—Conduct of Cicero—The Acts of Cæsar Ratified—Chief Provisions of Cæsar's Will—Popular Excitement at the Funeral of the Dictator—The Houses of the Conspirators Attacked—Measures of Antony as Chief Consul—His Corrupt and Despotic Rule—Octavius, afterwards Octavian—His Character and Early Life—Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa—Claims of Octavian under the Will of Cæsar—His Appearance in Italy, and Support by the Army—Proceedings at Rome—Mutual Distrust of Octavian and Antony—Violent Actions of the Latter—Indecision of Brutus and Cassius—Cicero's "Philippics" against Antony—Military Preparations by Antony and Octavian—The Two Leaders in a Position of Rivalry—Departure of Antony for Cisalpine Gaul, to Oppose Decimus Brutus—Bitterness of Cicero against Antony—Premonitory Notes of Renewed Civil War—Activity of Cicero—His Insincere Praises of Octavian—The War Feeling Maintained by his Energy—Revival of the Pompeian Faction in the Provinces—Defeat of the Consul Hirtius by Antony—The Forces of Antony Driven Back by Pansa—Popularity of Cicero—Octavian in the North—Retreat of Antony into Transalpine Gaul—Junction of Antony and Lepidus, and Retreat of Decimus Brutus—Advance of Octavian on Rome—He is Chosen to the Consulship—His Subsequent Arrangement with Antony and Lepidus—Formation of the Triumvirate—Sanguinary Persecution of the Anti-Cæsarians—Flight of Cicero—His Pursuit and Murder.

A MOMENT after the murdered Dictator had sunk lifeless before the image of his great rival, the place was empty of all but the conspirators. The other Senators had fled, whether in horror or in fear. Even the officials of the Chamber had vanished, not knowing but that a general massacre was about to ensue. It was the distinguished adherents of Cæsar, however, who felt the extremity of apprehension. Antony, in particular, dreaded the vengeance of the Pompeian party, and, exchanging clothes with a slave or some humble retainer, escaped to his own house. The danger was imminent, as a body of gladiators had been stationed by the assassins in the Pompeian theatre, adjoining the building in which the Senate had met. On the other hand, the city was filled with Cæsar's veterans, and Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, and the newly-appointed Proconsul of Gaul, had a legion outside the walls. It was therefore a matter of uncertainty which side was in the greater peril, and indeed it was obvious that the conspirators would soon be brought to bay, unless they could excite a popular movement in their favour. They were fully alive to this fact, and instantly prepared to operate on the passions and prejudices of the citizens. Preceded by a cap of liberty, carried on the point of a spear, they marched through the streets of Rome, their right hands brandishing the blood-stained daggers which had just been used with such terrible effect, their left arms muffled in their togas, so as to ward off any open attack. As they made their way to the Forum, the self-styled Liberators cried out that they had killed a king and a tyrant; but they neither encountered opposition, nor received support. On reaching the place of public assembly, they were dismayed to find that the people were wholly unmoved by the speeches of Brutus and Cassius. It was now their turn to feel alarm, and to recognise the necessity of discovering a convenient retreat. They accordingly ascended the Capitoline, and took possession of the fortified heights commanding the Forum, where they were safe for the present from the vengeance of the Cæsarians.

While the conspirators were seeking the shelter of the Capitol, after their vain appeals to a spurious Republicanism, the body of Cæsar was being carried to his house by three of his slaves. With one arm dangling over the side of the litter, the corpse of the murdered Dictator was conveyed in the dusk of the evening to the dwelling which he had so recently quitted a living man. For the moment, there was no one to take his place, and the gladiators in the Pompeian theatre sallied forth, and committed acts of plunder at their will. But

the reign of illegal violence was but short-lived. Lepidus moved his troops into the city, and occupied the Forum. Marc Antony, after taking possession of the treasure which Cæsar had collected for his contemplated campaign in Parthia, and obtaining from Calpurnia all her husband's papers, barricaded his house, and watched the turn of events in comparative security. The assassins were discouraged, but not entirely without hope. In the evening, Cicero visited the Capitol, and deliberated with them on the posture of affairs. He had seen the murder committed, though he was not one of the conspirators, and, now that Cæsar was dead, he hesitated not to join his enemies. The conduct of this remarkable man is incapable of defence. He had greeted the conqueror on his return to Italy from the East; he had accepted a pardon; he had abandoned his half-hearted support of the Pompeians, whose corruption and cruelty he knew from experience; he had subsequently eulogised Cæsar, and was supposed to be his friend; yet he consorted with his murderers, told them he rejoiced in their deed, and gave them the benefit of his advice. He recommended that the Senate should be immediately convened, and urged that, as there were in effect no Consuls—Cæsar being dead, and Antony in concealment—the Prætors would have the right to summon the council of the Fathers, and preside in it. Brutus, who was generally regarded as the leader of the movement, was in favour of delay, and next morning again addressed the people from the Forum, justifying his action, and calling on his countrymen to support the Pompeian flag, now being borne aloft by Sextus in the north of Spain. But the citizens were still cold to his words, and it was only by the more fiery rhetoric of Dolabella and Cinna—the latter, a son of the Marian partisan, and brother-in-law of Cæsar, though he had joined the Senatorial side—that any effect was produced.

The first intention of the conspirators was to throw the body of Cæsar into the Tiber, and to confiscate his property to the State, as if he had been a common malefactor. But it soon occurred to them that to invalidate Cæsar's authority would be to annul all his appointments, some of which were of men among their own confederacy. In virtue of one of the late Dictator's promises, Dolabella claimed to be considered Consul immediately after the death of Cæsar; for, although the form of election to the Consulate was still retained, it was exercised only in accordance with the previous nomination of the supreme arbiter. It was therefore determined that the appointments and the *acts of Cæsar should stand; and, as a necessary* consequence of this resolve, the body was to be treated with respect. The conspirators even wanted Cicero to go to Antony, with proposals that he should combine with them in creating a new order of things; but Cicero saw the absurdity of the suggestion, and refused to sanction it. By means of other agents, however, a meeting with Antony was arranged, and on the following day the Senate assembled in the temple of Terra. Cicero made a long address, warning his hearers of the danger of faction, which had ruined the Grecian commonwealths, and exhorting them to close the epoch of violence by introducing that of general conciliation and forbearance. Antony pressed for a public and honourable funeral; and it was granted. The assassins were not present, for they dared not leave the Capitol; but it was understood that Cassius strongly opposed the concession, the effect of which on public feeling he clearly foresaw, while Brutus, in his more generous but less practical spirit, gave the proposal his support. A strong feeling against the conspirators was rapidly growing up, and the Forum, which was close to the temple where the Senators had gathered, was filled with soldiers. During the progress of the debate, Antony went out among the people. They received him with enthusiasm, and warned him to take care of his own life. Smiling, he opened his toga, and revealed a corslet beneath its folds.

In accordance with Cicero's wish, an amnesty was decreed. On the following day, the great orator harangued the people in a tranquillising strain; the conspirators were invited to leave the precincts of the capital; and they and the leading Cæsarians entered into some degree of intercourse. Next morning, the Senators met again in the Curia Pompeii—the building where Cæsar had been slain—and formally confirmed the appointments of the Dictator; in accordance with which, Trebonius succeeded to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Marcus Brutus to Macedonia, and Cassius to Syria. The funeral ceremonies followed soon after. The body of Cæsar had been brought down to the Forum, and placed on the rostra, or pulpit from which addresses were delivered; but for the present it was covered from the public view. Antony began by reading to the people the will of their benefactor. Cæsar, it appeared, had left to each citizen the sum of seventy-five drachmas (nearly £3 in English money), and had also bequeathed to them his gardens on the Tiber, as grounds for public recreation. Being himself childless, he had adopted for his heir Caius Octavius, son of Atia, the daughter of Cæsar's sister

Julia—a youth who, having lost his father at a very early age, had been brought up by his great-uncle. Should Octavius refuse the inheritance, it was to pass to Decimus Brutus—to one, that is, whom Cæsar had loved and trusted, but who, as all men were now aware, had plotted against him, and assisted in his murder. Others among the assassins had been appointed as his guardians; several were mentioned for considerable legacies. The bare statement of these facts had the effect on which

Forum Boarium. Temple of Jupiter. Basilica Sempronia. Tabularium. Temple in the Forum Romanum.

THE CAPITOL, FROM MOUNT PALATINE (RESTORATION).

Antony had relied The people were inflamed against the conspirators for robbing the world of so noble and generous a spirit. They began to give expression to their feelings in deep murmurs. Antony paused before he resumed.

The ceremony of cremation was to be performed in the Campus Martius, where a funeral pyre had been erected; but all the preliminaries were to take place in the Forum. Before the rostra stood a species of shrine, adorned with gold; and inside this lay the body of the Dictator, disposed upon a couch inlaid with ivory, and emblazoned with gold and purple. Above the shrine was suspended the very toga in which the mighty Julius had been killed—a garment pierced through with many stabs, and deeply stained with blood. A waxen image of the deceased, turned by machinery, and painted so as to represent his three-and-twenty wounds, was also exhibited to the public gaze. In Rome, as in Greece, it was customary to give dramatic spectacles at the obsequies of great men. On the present occasion, the murder of Agamemnon, and the contest of Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of the slain Achilles, were represented before the people, and the application of the old legends to the recent fact was not lost or unobserved. After these performances, Antony, as the chief of the two Consuls, came forward to deliver the funeral eulogium. He referred to the honours which the Senate itself, including the faction of his murderers, had recently conferred on Cæsar. His person had been declared inviolable, his authority supreme. Yet those who had sworn to defend him,—who had devoted to supernatural vengeance whoever should assail his life, whoever should hesitate to cover his body with his own,—even those had struck him down. Deriving inspiration from his theme, Antony poured forth a flood of magnificent eloquence. He described all the great actions, all the noble qualities, of the illustrious dead. He

spoke of his "inbred goodness." He reminded his auditors of what he had done for the State and for the people; he told them of what he would still have accomplished, had his enemies suffered him to live. He vowed that he would avenge the victim he could not save; then, suddenly changing his tone, he said that the death of Cæsar was the result of a divine decree—that the Dictator was too far above the race of men to be overthrown by any power but that of the Immortals. Leaning over the bier, he chanted in low tones a kind of hymn to the body, as to the image of a god. The attendants at the same time turned the waxen figure of the murdered Cæsar in various directions, so that all should behold it. A perfect madness of grief and horror, of rage and ecstasy, took possession of the popular mind. Men groaned, and women shrieked; the speaker went on with his measured utterances, but not for much longer. By a quick and unanticipated action, he now revealed the corpse itself to the eyes of the people, who were in a mood bordering on frenzy. They recognised in Antony the priest of the deified Cæsar. They showered maledictions on the heads of the conspirators, and of the Senators generally. In the fervour of their enthusiasm, they insisted on conducting the funeral themselves, and declared that the body should not be carried beyond the walls to the pyre in the Field of Mars. Some were desirous of celebrating the final rites in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, but were dissuaded by the priests, who probably feared for the safety of the building. Others proposed to burn the remains of the Dictator in the Senate-house itself; but it was at length deter-

MARC ANTONY.

mined to consume them where they lay, although it was generally considered sacrilegious to burn the dead within the sacred boundaries of the city. The rostra was broken up, and its timbers formed the nucleus of the pile. Tables, chairs, and benches were taken by force from the adjacent houses. The bystanders flung in whatever they could obtain, even to their dresses, their ornaments, the instruments of their calling, and the playthings of their children. Women were as eager as men; the young vied with the old in the passion and pathos of the time. The body was lifted on to the pyre, and two young men, girt with swords and carrying javelins in their hands, applied the torch. In the exaltation and excitement of the hour, they were regarded as divine beings, similar to the youthful warriors, of no earthly breed, who had helped the Romans to win the battle of Lake Regillus. Even men of alien and subject races caught the fire of the popular affection; and Jews continued for many nights to add their lamentations to the general grief.*

When the fire had burnt itself out, the ashes of Cæsar were collected, and placed in the family tomb, which stood in the Campus Martius; but before this final rite was accomplished, the crowds who had witnessed the cremation, and who consisted largely of Italian and other provincials, had dispersed themselves throughout the city, intent on avenging Cæsar by the destruction of his enemies. Armed with flaming brands, which they had snatched from the pyre, they attacked the houses of the chief conspirators. They did not, however, succeed in effecting much damage; but, according to a somewhat doubtful tradition, a poet named Helvius Cinna, one of the most attached friends of Cæsar, was torn in pieces, in mistake for Cinna the conspirator. Brutus and Cassius, fearing for their lives, either escaped from the city, or effectually hid themselves. The popular rage diminished after a while, as such emotional excesses are sure to do; but the Senate was irritated at the failure of its attempts to effect a compromise, and Antony found it necessary to conciliate the aristocratic faction. The chief executive power was entirely in his hands, together with the public treasure, consisting of 700,000,000 sesterces; yet he affected a degree of moderation which few, perhaps, had anticipated. He proposed that Sextus, the son of Pompey, should be recalled home; he carried a resolution for the abolition of the Dictatorship, and it was never again revived. He took measures to suppress sedition, and arrested and put to death an impostor named Amatius, who pretended to be a kinsman of Marius and Cæsar, and who had incited the populace to violent acts against the assassins of the late Dictator, and the Senate generally. To show more completely that he desired to bury the past in oblivion, Antony sought an interview with Brutus and Cassius, and offered to guarantee their security. But, notwithstanding these apparent concessions, the bosom friend of Cæsar was determined, above all things, to secure his own power. On the plea that his person was in danger, he required of the Senate, to grant him an armed body-guard. This was done, and he speedily raised the number of the force to six thousand men.

Thus protected from the risk of assassination, he proceeded to dispose of all things according to his pleasure. By a very wide interpretation of the recent Senatorial decision that Cæsar's acts should be confirmed, he insisted that this sanction should be extended to whatever the late Dictator had designed. He had taken care, as we have shown, to acquire all the papers of Cæsar immediately after the assassination. Cæsar's secretary, Faberius, was in the interests of Antony, and the latter continually brought forward new proposals which he said were those of Cæsar, and which he insisted should be ratified. By these artifices he was enabled to reign with as absolute a sway as if he had been an hereditary monarch. Unfortunately, his audacity in usurping such powers was not equalled by his discretion in using them. The profligacy of his life had ruined his fortunes, and he now repaired them at the public cost. He sold the provinces of Crete and Lesser Armenia for sums of money which found their way into his own coffers; and this was done with such extreme haste that, in about a fortnight from the death of Cæsar, he had amassed an enormous sum, by the aid of which he commenced an extensive system of bribery, with a view to strengthening his own position in the State. Amongst others, he purchased the support of the second Consul, Dolabella, though Dolabella, up to that time, had been an adherent of the Senate, and therefore an enemy of Cæsar. Whatever Antony desired to do the Senate permitted, for it was supposed that the former was simply carrying out the intentions of the deified Julius, and the demonstration at the funeral had so clearly revealed the temper of the people that to oppose anything which bore upon it even the shadow of the mighty dead was an enterprise too dangerous to be risked. It is not improbable that Antony palmed off many of his own ideas as those of his late master; but,

* According to some accounts, the reading of the will took place a few days before the funeral rites.

as he kept Cæsar's papers from the view of all, it was impossible to convict him of frauds which were none the less suspected by those who hated his supremacy. The position of Antony, however, was precarious in many ways. He was disliked by the Senatorial party for having stepped so easily into the position of Cæsar. He speedily brought himself into odium with the populace by the despotic character of his rule; and in the course of April he found it expedient to quit Rome, that he might superintend the distribution of the Campanian lands amongst Cæsar's veterans. His eloquence at the obsequies of the fallen Dictator had won the hearts of the multitude; but he had not his master's adroitness in recommending the methods of despotic government to a community like the Romans. His colleague, Dolabella, who was now left at the head of affairs, was even less skilled in this difficult art. Popular movements were made in the name of Cæsar, and Dolabella repressed them with a severity which excited general detestation.

The absence of Antony made room for one who was destined to acquire a permanent mastery over the Empire. Octavius, the grandson of Cæsar's sister, was at that time about midway between eighteen and nineteen years of age. The fragility of his constitution had prevented his distinguishing himself in the field; but he had accompanied Cæsar in the last Spanish war, and always retained the affection of his illustrious relative. The Dictator had caused the Senate to raise the Octavian house from plebeian to patrician rank, and he then sent the youth to complete his studies at Apollonia, in Illyricum. By the testamentary instructions of Cæsar, Octavius now became the adopted son of his great-uncle, and, in accordance with this changed condition, assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. Thenceforward, until he received the title of Augustus, the name by which he is known to history is Octavian, rather than Octavius.* His nature was ambitious; his devotion to Cæsar, intense and earnest. In personal appearance, he seemed made by Nature herself for the founder of a splendid Empire. His youthful beauty at the age of eighteen seemed to give him kinship with those figures of gods and heroes with which the sculptors of Greece had familiarised the western world. At a later period, he affected to consider himself the son of Apollo, and was pleased if any one, after glancing at him, cast down his eyes, as though overcome by the celestial effulgence proceeding from his countenance. His birth, which took place in the year of Cicero's Consulship, and on the very day when the Senators were considering what sentence should be passed on the Catilinarian conspirators, was believed to have been signalised by the mysterious declaration of an astrologer, that the Lord of the World was born.

Up to the present time, Octavius had not in any way distinguished himself, nor, indeed, had his opportunities been many. At Apollonia he awaited the arrival of Cæsar on his way to the Parthian campaign, and, had the Dictator lived, he was to have joined him in that perilous enterprise. But one day he received a hurried letter from his mother, informing him of the assassination in the Senate-house. The writer did not then know that her son had been made the heir of Julius; but she may have suspected the fact, and, at any rate, she regarded Octavius as the true head of Cæsar's party, and the natural avenger of his death. She spoke of the high destiny which summoned him to Rome; she anticipated that he would soon be victorious over his enemies. Octavius was eager to grasp the prize which seemed only to await a vigorous attempt to secure it. In this design he was encouraged by his familiar friend, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a youth of about the same age as himself, born of an obscure family, but possessed of striking abilities and unfailing courage. He had also the support of another friend, Quintus Salvidienus Rufus, who advised him to the same effect. Though he had been but a few months at Apollonia, he had won the affection both of the officers and soldiers stationed in that city. They declared their readiness to follow him even to the capital; but he preferred to enter Italy without any parade of military force, which would have looked like the reopening of civil war. Attended by only a few friends, he landed on the coast of Apulia, and, on receiving copies of his great-uncle's will, and of the Senate's decrees, at once assumed the name which marked his new relationship. He presented himself to the soldiers at Brundusium as the son of the illustrious general who had so often led them to victory. Their response was immediate and enthusiastic: they greeted him with acclamations as their chief. Large numbers of the civilians were equally inclined to his cause; and he might have marched on Rome at the head of an overwhelming array, had he chosen to make an exhibition of material force.

* Strictly speaking, perhaps, he should not be called Octavian until the passing of the law by which, in 43 B.C., he was adopted into the Patrician Gens of the Julii; but that was the name he gave himself immediately after he became acquainted with the provisions of his great-uncle's will.

Whether from a really honourable feeling, or from mere considerations of policy, Octavian was resolved to advance his claims in a peaceful and conciliatory manner. He addressed the Senate as a private citizen, and claimed the inheritance which was rightly his. He then advanced to Cumæ, a coast-town lying to the north-west of Neapolis. Cicero was in the neighbourhood at the time, and Octavian visited him. The veteran statesman seemed to be convinced of the young man's loyalty, but shortly afterwards declared that he would use Octavian to ruin Antony, and would throw him over when he had no further occasion for his services. The words were reported to the heir of Cæsar, who simply remarked, "Cicero will learn that I am not to be played with so easily." Before long, that knowledge came in a very startling form to the vain old orator who thought the world was to be governed by fine speeches. Youthful as he was, Octavian possessed the skill, self-reliance, and subtlety of a mature mind. He fully understood his position in the Roman world, and neither compromised it by delay, nor ruined it by undue haste. He was at Rome by the end of April, and his adherents said that he was supernaturally welcomed by a peculiar radiance in the heavens. Turning a deaf ear to all who would persuade him to abandon his claims, he mounted the tribunal on the second day after his arrival, and harangued the people. At the same time, his demeanour was such as not to offend the Senate. Antony was still in the provinces, and, believing that he had nothing to dread from the possible rivalry of a mere boy, delayed his return until the middle of May. When at length he reached the capital, his first interview with Octavian promised badly for their future alliance. The heir of Cæsar considered that Antony had done ill in not punishing the assassins of the Dictator, and in appropriating the large treasures which Julius had left. With respect to the latter point, the reply of Antony was to the effect that the sums which he had spent on public matters had been intended for such purposes, and were no portion of the private estate belonging to the deceased.

Octavian was doubtless far from satisfied by the explanations and excuses of the Consul; and although their interview did not lead to any immediate hostility, it was sufficient to establish a mutual distrust. The legacies bequeathed by Cæsar to the Roman citizens Octavian was determined to pay, though Antony had rendered this very difficult by his dissipation of the Cæsarian treasures. He managed, however, to raise sufficient funds for the purpose, and his popularity was increased by the prompt recognition of his kinsman's intentions. Another of his actions tended to the same effect. On the morning of the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar had vowed, in the event of victory, to build a temple to Venus, his supposed ancestress, and to celebrate annual games in her honour. Although the temple had been built, the priests had neglected the games, and Octavian now promised to celebrate them at his own cost. In fulfilment of his undertaking, he brought forth the golden throne and jewelled crown which the Senate itself had appointed for Cæsarian festivals; and a comet of unusual brightness flamed in the skies for seven out of the eleven days of the celebration. This was taken as a sign that the soul of the Dictator had been received among the gods; and the comet was called the Julian Star.

Octavian had suddenly become a power in the State; and the Senate, perceiving that he must be propitiated, determined that the month Quinctilis should still be called July, as already settled in the Dictator's lifetime, and that the memory of Cæsar should be celebrated with divine honours. On the other hand, Antony exhibited a spirit of bitter antagonism to the adopted son of his great friend and patron. He did his utmost to prevent the passing of the law necessary for the adoption of Octavian as the son of Julius. He involved him in lawsuits, and even caused him to be dragged from the tribune when addressing the people. The influence of Antony was great, for he held the post of Consul, and was supposed to be in possession of the most secret intentions formed by the late Dictator in the fulness of his power. Whenever it suited him, however, he showed no scruple in setting aside the arrangements of his predecessor. By the aid of votes obtained from the Senate and the people, he transferred the province of Macedon from Brutus to himself. Syria was withdrawn from Cassius, and given to Dolabella. Decimus Brutus had already taken possession of Cisalpine Gaul; Trebonius and Cimber had set out for their respective provinces; but Marcus Brutus and Cassius still lingered in Italy. The indecision of the two latter provoked the indignation of Cicero, who left Italy in despair, but was driven back by contrary winds, and returned to Rome at the end of August. As some species of compensation to Brutus and Cassius, Antony offered them a commission to collect corn on the coasts of the Mediterranean; but they refused the appointment, and protested against the Consul's breach of faith. At the same time, a superficial reconciliation was effected between Antony and Octavian, and the

former now challenged Cicero to meet him in the Senate. The orator refused, but afterwards relieved his feelings in a series of invectives against his adversary, to which, in imitation of Demosthenes, he gave the title of "Philippics." Antony replied with equal virulence; but it cannot be said that either party to the contest increased his reputation for dignity or wisdom.

The real struggle for power was between Antony and Octavian, however much they might dissemble their antagonism for the sake of ulterior purposes. At present, it seemed as if Antony would prove the master, for he was skilled in the ways of the world, and already in a position which gave him great advantages. He had secured four Macedonian legions which had recently landed at Brundusium; but, desiring to increase his force, he demanded of the Senate the succession to Cisalpine Gaul, where he affected to consider, or perhaps justly considered, that Decimus Brutus was preparing to march on Rome, in the interests of the reactionary party. The Senate evaded, without actually rejecting, this request, and Antony transferred his application to the popular Assembly, which granted it. Octavian now collected a force among Cæsar's veterans in Campania, and then, turning his attention to Etruria and the north of Italy, succeeded in enlisting large numbers of men, who regarded him as the legitimate representative of the Dictator. This was a threatening fact for Antony, and another, of still more serious import, occurred about the same time. The Macedonian legions at Brundusium showed signs of insubordination, alleging that the largess offered them by the Consul was insufficient. Antony seized the ringleaders, and put them to death; but, so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, this act of severity inflamed the antagonism of the men. The emissaries of Octavian found no difficulty in drawing over many to the side of their employer. Two out of the four legions deserted the cause of Antony, and it was only by offering a much larger payment in money that he retained the rest. The apparent reconciliation between Antony and Octavian, which several officers had urged upon them as a step absolutely necessary to success, was now seen to be hollow. Some little while before, each had accused the other of having suborned assassins to make away with him. Perhaps neither accusation was true; perhaps both were true. At any rate, here were two men, who assumed to represent the cause of Cæsar, standing in a position of mutual defiance, each with his body of armed soldiers, ready to execute his will.

In many respects, the situation was menacing for Antony, and, finding that in Rome his power was becoming visibly less, he determined to place himself at the head of a large body of troops, and take immediate proceedings against Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. He therefore marched along the Æmilian Road, and compelled Decimus to retire into Mutina (the Modena of later times), where he was speedily blockaded by Antony. In the absence of the latter, Cicero continued to pour forth his so-called Philippics, some of which were published as writings, while ten were delivered in the Senate-house and the Forum during the five months from December, 44 B.C., to April, 43. On the first day of the latter year, the exasperated orator proposed that Antony should be declared a public enemy. This was done while Antony was away, and therefore unable to defend himself—a proceeding very much in accordance with Cicero's weak and unmanly nature. The majority of the Senators, however, considered it but fair, or at any rate advisable, to open negotiations with the friend of Cæsar, so as to effect a compromise with that powerful chief, if he were willing to come to terms. But Antony's demands were considered too extravagant for acceptance, and all men perceived that a renewal of the Civil War was imminent. The Consuls for 43 B.C. were two old officers of the Gallic army,—Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the second of whom is believed to have been the author of the Eighth Book of the History of the Gallic War, and of the Histories of the Alexandrine and African Wars, appended to Cæsar's Commentaries. Both had been designated for the Consulship by Cæsar himself; yet they were not inclined to support Antony. They had in fact declared for Octavian and the Senate, who were acting together with some degree of harmony. The youthful heir of Cæsar even offered to lead his troops, in the name of the Senate, to the relief of Decimus Brutus; and the Senate accepted his services in a modified capacity.

Cicero was now practically at the head of the Roman Republic, though he held no office. His age, his brilliant abilities, and his many distinguished actions, conferred on him an influence wider and more potent than that of a mere functionary; and in the absence of any dangerous opposition, which had disappeared with Antony, he seems to have recovered much of his early fire and impetuosity. The Senate submitted to his will; he controlled the expenditure of the Treasury, and entered into correspondence with the conspirators in the provinces. Yet such was the extraordinary complication of affairs that, at the very same time, he praised Octavian in his fifth

Philippic, spoke of his patriotic devotion to the country, and on these grounds preferred him to his great-uncle, who had paid the penalty of his ambition by a bloody death in the Senate-house. Such flattery may seem difficult of belief; but it is sufficiently explained by the fact that Octavian had first flattered Cicero. The vanity of the orator was not proof against the seductions of a compliment; and he had another motive also. Antony had attacked him in the Senate with a bitterness which stung him to fury. It is true he had replied with equal venom; but this was not sufficient to relieve his mortification. Nothing would satisfy him but the complete ruin of Antony; and to effect this purpose it was very convenient to have Octavian on his side. There was in truth no real affection between the older and the younger man. Each used the other as a card in the game; and Octavian was the more skilful player—perhaps also the less scrupulous antagonist.

Whatever the motives of Cicero—and it is difficult to believe that they were not largely mingled with personal feelings—the fervour and passion of his eloquence produced a wonderful effect in Rome during the crisis which supervened on Antony's departure. The late Consul had still some friends in the Senate and the popular Assembly; but the vehemence of Cicero sufficed to keep them in check. He insisted that the Senate should compel Antony to lay down his arms, and the Senate determined on making the attempt. He also recommended Octavian to the favourable consideration of the national Council; and the Senators were so much impressed with the orator's views that they decreed Octavian a statue, gave him permission to sue for public offices before the legal age, and undertook to defray all the charges on behalf of his soldiers which the aspiring youth had recently assumed. Early in 43 B.C., Hirtius marched into Cisalpine Gaul, accompanied by the legions of

VIEW OF THE CAMPAGNA FROM THE VIA APPIA.
(In the centre, ruins of the Tomb of Cœcilia Metella; wall of Rome in the distance.)

Octavian, who, as if to prove his devotion to the Republic, was contented with the inferior position of the Consul's Legate. At the end of March, Hirtius was joined by his colleague Pansa; but the Senate exhibited some degree of hesitation in the prosecution of hostilities. The contest was not to be called a war; it was characterised simply as a tumult. The name, however, mattered nothing. The forces of the Senate were face to face with those of Antony, and Cicero was resolved that there should be no flinching on the part of the former.

MURDER OF CICERO.

Though still without any distinct office, the irrepressible orator now concentrated in his own hands the whole power of the State. He pronounced one speech after another against Antony and his claims. His harangues bristled with invective and menace, and, clad in a martial costume, he went about the streets, calling aloud for contributions, which, when obtained, he paid into the Treasury. Brutus and Cassius were by this time in Greece and Syria, where they had collected considerable forces. Pompey's son, Sextus, was making progress beyond the Alps. Decimus Brutus, though besieged by Antony, held an important position in Cisalpine Gaul. Cicero corresponded with the leaders of the Senatorial cause in the provinces, assured them that all was going well at Rome, and demanded the utmost efforts in their respective spheres. It is impossible not to

admire the varied energy and restless spirit of the man; yet it would be absurd to give him credit for any great exhibition of courage, when Antony was away, when Octavian was apparently on his side, when the Senate gave him its full support, and when several armies were operating in the provinces in favour of the ends which he desired to secure. The nature of those ends we all know. They were the predominance of a corrupt and tyrannical aristocracy, and the glorifying of himself.

On hearing of the approach of Hirtius, Antony departed from before Mutina, leaving his brother Lucius to watch that city, while his own legions confronted the danger in the open field. In the first place, he began negotiations with his adversary, but, learning that Pansa also was on his northward march, determined to strike a sudden and unexpected blow at that commander. Pansa's troops were defeated, and the Consul himself was mortally wounded. Antony's forces, however, were assailed on their way back to camp by those of Hirtius, and sustained considerable loss. These actions took place on the 15th of April, and on the 27th Hirtius provoked Antony to leave his entrenchments before Mutina, and risk a second engagement. The Antonians were driven back on this occasion; but Hirtius himself met the same fate as his colleague. Octavian was afterwards accused of having caused the death of both Consuls. The charge was probably false; yet the disappearance of Pansa and Hirtius was undoubtedly favourable to the heir of Cæsar. The news of Antony's defeat excited the wildest enthusiasm at Rome among the Senators and their adherents. Cicero was borne to the Capitol in the midst of repeated acclamations. The successes of the Senatorial commanders in other provinces, about the same time, increased the satisfaction of the anti-Cæsarians, and the legions of the late Consuls were placed under the command of Decimus Brutus. Cicero considered that the day was won, and his professed affection for young Octavian, which had been very useful in the earlier stages of the conflict, underwent considerable abatement. Octavian, however, had probably at no time been deceived as to the true meaning of those honeyed phrases, and he resolved that the turn of events in the north should operate to his own advantage. After his defeat by Hirtius, Antony felt it was impossible to maintain himself any longer before Mutina. By a masterly retreat, during which he shared all the hardships and sufferings of his men, he made his way across the Maritime Alps, and joined Lepidus at Forum Julii, in Transalpine Gaul. Decimus Brutus would have pursued him without a moment's pause, but Octavian flatly refused to join in any such project, and his determination seems to be explained by some words which Pansa is said to have uttered in the last moments of his life. The dying Consul is believed to have told him that he was in truth hated by the Senate, and that his only chance of safety lay in a reconciliation with Antony. Octavian lost no time in acting on this advice, which was doubtless entirely in accordance with his own view of probabilities. On his first interview with Decimus Brutus, he frankly declared that it was not for him he had taken up arms, but to avenge the murder of his father (meaning Cæsar); that he had, indeed, combated the overweening pretensions of Antony, but that, when his pride was humbled, he should have no public cause of quarrel with the friend of Julius.

Deprived of the co-operation of Octavian, Decimus Brutus followed at his leisure across the Alps, and joined hands with Plancus on the Isara; but the combination of forces in his front appeared so formidable that he despaired of success, and at once drew back into Cisalpine Gaul, while Plancus carried his troops over to the enemy. Antony was now at the head of twenty-three legions, and the Cæsarian cause began to acquire strength even in Spain, where the feelings of the people had generally been on the side of Pompey. The knowledge of these facts came like a thunderbolt on the Senatorial party in Rome. It had been supposed that everything was going in their favour, not merely in the remoter provinces, but in Cisalpine Gaul itself. Consternation seized upon Cicero and his friends when they discovered that Antony had escaped and formed a junction with Lepidus, that Decimus Brutus was completely out-generalled, and that Octavian was no longer to be trusted. The young Cæsar began to assume a more confident tone, and to press his demands. He required permission to sue for the Consulship, relying on the decree which had exempted him from the disqualification of youth; but the Senate refused his request. After some vain parleyings, Octavian crossed the Rubicon at the head of eight legions, and advanced towards Rome. He was forbidden to approach within ninety miles of the city; but at the same time, with a miserable exhibition of weakness, consistent with the precedents of many previous years, the Senate acceded to his demand, and offered a largess to his soldiers.

It should have been foreseen that Octavian would not retire before a tardy compromise. He continued his march, and reached the gates of Rome.

The Senators and their friends at once sought his camp, with abject proffers of submission. Cicero hesitated about going, as he hesitated about everything else; but he went at last, and was received with taunts and reproaches. On the following day (the 22nd of September), he fled in despair, and the Roman citizens elected Octavian to the Consulship. He completed his twentieth year on the 23rd of the month, and was now on the high road to that Imperial power which he ultimately wielded. The ratification of his adoption by Julius Cæsar was voted by the people, and the first act of his Consulship was to cite the murderers of the Dictator before the proper tribunals. They were not there to answer the charge; only one man voted for their acquittal, and they were interdicted from fire and water. The opposition in Cisalpine Gaul collapsed on the instant. The troops of Decimus Brutus deserted him in vast numbers, and he attempted to escape into Macedon through the passes of the Rhætian Alps, but was captured and slain. In the latter part of October, Octavian met Antony and Lepidus on a little island in the Rhenus, near Bononia (the modern Bologna), where for three days they discussed the existing posture of affairs. Their respective armies occupied the two banks of the narrow river; but there was little fear that they would come into collision. An amicable arrangement was effected, and it was settled that Octavian should resign the Consulship in favour of Ventidius, one of Antony's officers, and that, under the title of a Triumvirate, the three military chiefs should assume supreme prerogatives at Rome for the settlement of the commonwealth. Their powers were to be absolute; their edicts to be sufficient for all purposes, without needing confirmation, either from the Senate or the people. The provinces nearest to Italy were apportioned by the three amongst themselves, and it was agreed that the further progress of the war should be directed by Octavian and Antony, while Lepidus remained at Rome in charge of the Republic. The terms of alliance were afterwards read to the soldiers, who, pleased with the ample gratuities promised them, ratified the conclusions of their chiefs. This submission of a matter of policy to the legions is the first instance of its kind in the history of Rome; but the practice afterwards became frequent.

Having settled these matters, the Triumvirs sent on an order to Pedius—a kinsman of Octavian, and his colleague in the Consulship—commanding him to put to death seventeen of their principal enemies. This vengeful act was carried out during the night, and Pedius, who was an honourable man, died four-and-twenty hours later, apparently of shame and remorse. Shortly afterwards, Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus entered the city with their legions on three successive days. A *plebiscitum*, or general vote of the people, confirmed the power which the Triumvirate had already assumed by their own act. On the 27th of November a proclamation was issued, denouncing the murderers of Cæsar, and devoting them to vengeance. They were to be pursued wherever they might have fled, and rewards were promised to those who should bring their heads to the tribunals. A list of one hundred and thirty names was appended to the proclamation, which was soon followed by a second list of one hundred and fifty. By a singularly cold-blooded and iniquitous arrangement, it was agreed that when any one of the Triumvirate fixed on the name of a man who was a friend of either of the others, he should give up one of his own friends or relatives in exchange. A shocking massacre ensued, in which not merely men, but women and children, were sacrificed. The assassins of Julius had undoubtedly deserved exemplary punishment; but the deaths of these unfortunate persons seem to have been warranted by no process of law. It was simply murder on a large scale, and private enmity appears in several instances to have dictated the proscription. The offer of rewards tempted many mercenary wretches to bring false accusations, and an accusation was very apt to be followed by the speedy death-blow. The number of persons killed in this massacre was considerably less than in the massacres of Marius and Sulla; but the individual cruelties were not less. Some of the proscribed, however, made their escape; others succeeded in purchasing immunity. In a few instances, Octavian exhibited a degree of leniency which his colleagues were not inclined to imitate; but, on the whole, the vengeance taken by the Triumvirs forms an evil chapter in a history distinguished by many inhuman and revolting facts.

The most illustrious of the victims was Cicero, now in his sixty-fourth year. Antony, who could not forget the fierce attacks which the orator had made on him in his Philippics, demanded his death, and gave up his own uncle as an offering to Octavian. Cicero had acted a treacherous part towards Cæsar, had fawned on him when he was in power, and after his death had told the assassins that he loved them, and made their cause his own. Still, it cannot be said that his moral guilt was of sufficient depth and blackness to warrant the infliction of death, and that, too, a death ordered

by a secret tribunal, without public trial, and without the opportunity of defence. But Octavian did not care to oppose the demand of Antony, and emissaries were sent out to smite the fallen orator with the sword. Cicero was at that time staying with Quintus at his Tusculan villa. Thence he and his brother fled to another country residence, situated in a little island on the coast near Antium. Their design was to embark for Macedon, but, being ill provided with money, Quintus volunteered to go back to Rome and obtain some. In the capital he was recognised and slain, together with his son. The orator embarked without waiting for the reappearance of his brother, but, after proceeding a little distance, resolved to return, probably with the intention of begging the clemency of Octavian. Having advanced some miles on the way to Rome, the spirit of vacillation which was one of his evil genii effected another change in his mind, and he returned to Circeii, whence he had recently set sail. There he passed the night in a state of mental agitation which we can only faintly conceive. Among the thoughts which are said to have filled his mind during those hours of darkness and despair, was a wild project of entering the house of Octavian, and slaying himself on the hearth-stone, so as to fasten on the youthful Cæsar an avenging demon. This extravagant idea vanished with the morning light, and Cicero again set sail from the Circeian promontory. After a little while, he once more landed, and went to pass the night in his villa near Formiæ. His friends besought him to take measures for his safety while there was yet time, and not to compromise all by hesitation and delay; but he only replied, "Let me die in my own country, which I have so often saved." He appears to have been prostrate with grief, fatigue, and apprehension, and his slaves, lifting him into the litter, set out once more towards the coast.

Their path lay through thick woods, which might have shrouded them from pursuit, had they not been betrayed by a wretch on whom Cicero and his brother had conferred many benefits. A band of soldiers approached the villa shortly after Cicero had left, and, bursting open the doors, questioned the servants as to whither their master had departed. They denied all knowledge of his movements; but the traitor—a young man named Philogonus—indicated the direction which the orator had taken. Popillius, the commander of the military force—himself a man who owed his life to Cicero's interposition—made a rapid circuit round the woods, so as to block the outlet to the beach. When the attendants on the fugitive saw the soldiers approaching, they would have defended their master at the hazard of their own lives; for Cicero was beloved by his slaves, and in private life had always shown himself a man of amiable disposition. He appears to have considered his position hopeless, and to have gathered courage from the very extremity of peril. His death was more dignified and impressive than many passages in his life. He forbade his slaves to take any action, told them to set down the litter, and, leaning his chin on his left hand, with eyes steadily fixed on the soldiers, offered his throat to the sword. Popillius was seized with horror—let us hope, with remorse; but he executed his commission none the less. His hand trembled as he drew the blade of his weapon across the old man's throat, and he was compelled to repeat the action twice before death ensued. By the command of Antony himself, the head and hands of Cicero were cut off, sent to Rome, and placed in front of the rostra. The Second Triumvir showered rewards on the assassins, and it is said that his wife Fulvia pierced the once eloquent tongue with her hair-pin. The execrable deed, and the insults by which it was followed, caused general pity and indignation, and the memory of Cicero was consecrated by his death, as it hardly could have been by any prolongation of his life. His character has been made sufficiently apparent in the course of this narrative. He had splendid powers, and sometimes used them well; but he was vain, jealous, irritable, and vacillating, and, though faithful to certain abstract principles of government, which were to him as a religion, was a man on whom no person and no party could rely for any continuance of support.

CHAPTER XXXI.

APPROACHES TO THE EMPIRE.

Consequences of the Death of Cæsar—Cassius in Syria—Defeat and Death of Dolabella—Flattering Reception of Brutus in Greece—His Successes in Illyria, and Subsequent Junction with Cassius at Smyrna—Destruction of the City of Xanthus—Forced Contributions by Brutus and Cassius—Proceedings of the Triumvirate—Naval Reverse of Octavian off the Shores of Sicily—The "Evil Genius" of Brutus—Crossing of the United Forces of Brutus and Cassius into Thrace—Combination of Antony and Octavian in the Vicinity of Amphipolis—First Battle of Philippi—Success of Brutus—Cassius Defeated and Killed—Difficult Position of the Triumvirs—Second Battle of Philippi, and Defeat of Brutus—Disaffection of his Men, and Suicide of their Commander—Partition of the Empire among the Triumvirs—Antony's Progress through Western Asia—Sailing of Cleopatra up the Cydnus to Meet Antony—Departure of the Triumvir for Egypt—Agitation in Rome—Armed Opposition to Octavian, and Suppression of the Malcontents—Invasion of Syria by the Parthians—Antony again in Italy—Fresh Agreement between him and Octavian—Marriage of Antony with Octavia—The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil—Anticipations of a Golden Age—Arrangement by Octavian and Antony with Sextus Pompey—Piratical Court of the Latter at Syracuse—Defeat of the Parthians by Ventidius—Antony in Syria—Rupture with Sextus Pompey—Naval War in the Mediterranean—Renewal of the Triumvirate by the Treaty of Tarentum—Treachery and Punishment of Lepidus—Death of Sextus Pompey—Liberal Rule of Octavian at Rome—Mæcenas—Disastrous Invasion of Parthia by Antony—Hollow Pretence of Friendship between Antony and Octavian.

NEVER was a man more seriously needed in the world from which he was abruptly snatched than Cæsar. He had ended the great Civil War; he had commenced the reconstruction of the commonwealth, and had proved that his genius for peace was equal to his genius in the field of battle. But much remained to be accomplished, and there was no one fit to take the place of him who had been removed. The two principal representatives of the Cæsarian cause were Octavian and Antony; but the former was young and inexperienced, and the latter, though a man of ability and resolution, was too passionate and headstrong to be a wise or just ruler. Antony was sincerely devoted to Cæsar; but, the great man having disappeared, he made his own ambition the chief object of his political life. That object he pursued in a thoroughly unscrupulous and sometimes remorseless fashion, and the Roman world was thrown into confusion, not merely by the antagonism of Cæsarians and Pompeians, but by the internal jealousies of the former. For the present, however, it was necessary to combine against the common enemy. The aristocratic party was gathering strength in many quarters, and a few successes would be followed by a large accession of popular support. Sextus Pompey had, indeed, been driven out of Northern Spain by Pollio; but he soon afterwards established himself at Marseilles, and, collecting a fleet in that port, seized on Sicily, where he commenced a system of piracy, from which the Italians presently suffered in no slight measure. As yet, the most formidable opposition was that of Brutus and Cassius. Both had left Italy in the autumn of 44 B.C.; Cassius repairing to Syria, and Brutus to Greece. Neither of these generals was disposed to recognise Antony's cancelling of his appointment, and both took immediate measures to assert their power.

In Syria, Cassius found many adherents, for the people recollected the courage and ability with which, after the death of Crassus, he had repelled the repeated attacks of the Parthians. The Roman legionaries in that province flocked to his standards, and he had no great difficulty in worsting his opponent, Dolabella. While pursuing his way towards Syria, Dolabella had attacked Trebonius, the Senatorial Governor of Asia, and one of the assassins of Cæsar, and, having put him to death at Smyrna, had treated his body with insult. For this offence, he was declared by the Senate—then under the influence of Cicero—an enemy to the Republic. Cicero was not entirely without personal feeling in the matter, for Dolabella had divorced his daughter Tullia, who died some time before her former husband quitted Italy. Having fallen under the ban of the Senate, Dolabella would doubtless have been slain at no great distance of time; but he was defeated in Syria by Cassius in the early part of 43 B.C., and, being afterwards shut up in the Phrygian city of Laodicea, with no hope of escape, directed one of his own soldiers to kill him. Cassius had now no enemy to dispute his rule, and could give his undivided attention to concerting measures with Brutus for upholding the Senatorial cause against the Cæsarians. Brutus had left Italy somewhat later than Cassius, but, on arriving in Greece, had met with an equally good reception. At Athens, the citizens set up his statue next to those of the famous tyrannicides, Aristogiton and Harmodius. No compliment could have been

more agreeable to its object, and Brutus did his utmost to propitiate the Greeks. He attended the lectures of the philosophers, and flattered the literary class which was predominant in the Attic city. At the same time, he lost no opportunity of creating a strong military force. The remnants of the Pompeian legions scattered about the country gave him their hearty support, and he enlisted in his service a number of Roman and Italian youths, then pursuing their studies at Athens—among them, the son of a freedman and tax-collector of Apulia, who was afterwards to become illustrious as the poet Horace.

From various sources, Brutus got together a large sum of money and considerable stores of arms. Hortensius, the son of the orator, gave up to him the province of Macedon, and the rulers of neighbouring countries offered their assistance. Thus strengthened, he marched against Vatinius, who at that time held Illyria for the Triumvirate, and had recently been joined by Caius, the brother of Marc Antony, who claimed the province of Macedonia. Brutus and his men suffered greatly from the snow in crossing the intervening mountains; but the expedition was most successful. The soldiers of Vatinius deserted to the enemy, while Caius, driven out of Apollonia, and beaten in several encounters, was compelled to surrender. Before the end of 43 B.C., all the eastern parts of the Empire were in the hands of Brutus and Cassius; and the former, proceeding into Asia, effected a juncture with the latter at Smyrna. Had the two commanders determined to march on Rome with the armies then at their disposal, they might possibly have struck a very formidable blow. But they considered it necessary to collect more funds, and to augment still further their already large forces. Several of the cities in Asia Minor were plundered by the allied generals in the early part of 42 B.C. Men and money were demanded of the Lycians by Brutus, who, on being refused, laid siege to Xanthus, their principal city. The Xanthians had of old distinguished themselves by their love of independence, and their dauntless resolution in withstanding attack. Rather than submit to the Persians in the time of Cyrus, some five hundred years before, they had fired their city, and perished in the flames; and they now repeated

VIEW OF ATHENS FROM THE ROAD TO ELEUSIS.
(*Mount Hymettus in the background.*)

the desperate heroism of that earlier day. The better nature of Brutus (for he was not devoid of humane feelings) was touched with pity. He rode round the walls, stretching out his hands to the citizens, imploring them to spare their own lives, and offering a reward to each of his soldiers who should rescue a Xanthian. In the result, however (according to Plutarch), only a hundred and fifty were saved, and those much against their will, After obtaining a small sum of money—the most yet greater extremities, had not Brutus interposed with a remonstrance. The result was a violent quarrel at Sardis, where the two Proconsuls had met after a temporary separation. Cassius excused himself on the ground that he was unable to restrain the cupidity of his agents, and he might have retorted that Brutus himself had been far from blameless in this respect. Brutus, however, was not entirely devoid of conscience in his treatment of the provincial populations; and he replied

BRUTUS BEFORE XANTHUS.

that so poor a province could yield—Brutus retired from Lycia; but the scourge of predatory warfare still hung over Western Asia.

Cassius was less influenced by scruples of any kind than his colleague. He forced the Rhodians to give him all their precious metals; and telling the unfortunate people that in previously granting succours to Dolabella they had forfeited their claim to be considered the allies of Rome, he struck off the heads of fifty of their principal men. The same outrages were repeated at Laodicea, where the houses and temples were pillaged, and the noblest citizens put to death. Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, was slain, and his wealth confiscated, by the insatiable Cassius. The province of Asia was harassed by the most severe exactions, and the evil might have proceeded to that it would have been better to let Cæsar live than to commit such oppressions themselves. A reconciliation was soon effected between the two generals; yet it is not unlikely that they would have come to a final rupture, but for the necessity of united action against the Triumvirs. Rome was completely in the power of Octavian and his colleagues, and, although the proscriptions had made for them a host of enemies, and sweeping confiscations had ruined many who before were rich, the command of the army enabled the Cæsarians to maintain their position, and to make preparations for regaining the provinces. On the 1st of January, 42 B.C., Lepidus and Plancus entered on the Consulship, and proposed an oath to the citizens to observe all the enactments of Julius Cæsar. Octavian then departed for

Rhegium, and Antony for Brundusium. Their fleets and armies had been directed to assemble at those ports, and Octavian undertook to drive Sextus, the son of Pompey, out of Sicily, where, at the head of a number of pirates and other desperadoes, he had established a kind of independent sovereignty. In this enterprise Octavian was entirely unsuccessful, for his fleet was worsted off Rhegium by that of Sextus, which appears to have been much better handled. In the meanwhile, Antony had crossed over to Epirus, and here he was soon afterwards joined by Octavian. This was the combination which Brutus and Cassius were now called upon to encounter.

The plan of the Proconsuls was to cross over into Thrace, and thence march against the forces of Octavian and Antony. But, before they could leave Sardis, Brutus, according to the impressive story related by Plutarch, had a supernatural visitation, which he interpreted in a spirit of gloomy foreboding. The recluse habits of this general, his addiction to philosophical studies, and a certain taint of superstition which appears to have existed in his nature, inclined him to a melancholy view of life, which often affected his conduct, and made him especially liable to vague and cloudy apprehensions. His diet was poor and meagre; he allowed himself little rest; and his mind was constantly employed, either in abstruse speculations, or in the transaction of his affairs as the commander of a large army. It is said that he was sitting one night in his tent, when all the others were asleep, and that, while engaged in his occupations by a dim light, he thought he heard some one enter, and, casting up his eyes, beheld a strange and monstrous shape coming towards him, without speaking a word. He asked what it was, whether a god or a man, and what cause brought it thither. The figure answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me again at Philippi." Immediately afterwards it vanished, and Brutus, being troubled in his mind, spoke to Cassius about what he had seen. Cassius belonged to the sect of the Epicureans, who were extremely sceptical as to all spiritual appearances; and he endeavoured to persuade Brutus that the vision was simply the result of fatigue, long watching, and anxiety. Brutus was to some extent persuaded by his friend's reasoning; but there can be no doubt that from this time to his death he was depressed by a sentiment of supernatural fatality. His conscience must have reproached him for his treachery towards Cæsar, especially when every day made it more apparent that the assassination had not even the justification of success; and it was by a very deep and grand poetic insight that Shakspeare converted the evil genius into the ghost of the Dictator. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks and Romans, however, every man was accompanied from his birth to his death by two dæmons—one good, the other bad; and it was probably this belief which shaped the nocturnal vision of Brutus.

Metaphysical considerations soon gave place to action. On arriving in Thrace, the forces of the Proconsuls were joined by those of a native king named Rhascupolis; and the united armies, rapidly advancing in a westerly direction, nearly cut off Norbanus, one of the lieutenants of the Triumvirs. Antony, who was at Amphipolis at the time, saved him by a forced march, and Octavian soon arrived with additional troops. The army of Brutus and Cassius consisted of 80,000 infantry and 20,000 horse; but, with the exception of the two chief commanders, this immense host was ill-officered. The principal lieutenant was Valerius Messala, a young man of twenty-eight; and one of the Legionary Tribunes was the future poet Horace, then not more than three-and-twenty, feeble in constitution, and so little fitted for martial exploits, that, by his subsequent admission, he saved himself at the second battle of Philippi by throwing away his shield, and taking to flight. The Cæsarians, after the arrival of Octavian, were even more numerous than their opponents, though in the matter of cavalry their numbers were considerably less. The Proconsuls had also an advantage in their command of the sea, and it was therefore one of the great objects of Antony to cut off Cassius from all communication with his fleet. The position of the two armies was between Amphipolis and Philippi, the latter of which cities was situated within the borders of Thrace, though at no great distance from the Macedonian frontier. It was originally founded by islanders from Thasos, for the sake of the neighbouring gold-mines, and received the name by which it is now known in history from its second founder, Philip the Great of Macedon. Standing in a plain which extended from the bay of Neapolis to the foot of Mount Pangæus, its strategetical position was one of importance, since it commanded the pass by which the high road from Europe to Asia penetrated the rocky highlands. Brutus and Cassius occupied separate camps on the summits of two hills flanking the pass. The mountains were at their back; the sea lay to their left; and their line, consequently, faced towards the west. Cassius's flank reached completely to the shore, while the legions of Brutus extended inland. A line of fortifications

connected the camps of the allied generals, and the road through the mountains was thus completely closed. The immediate opponent of Cassius was Antony; in front of Brutus were the legions of Octavian, who, though ill, and compelled to travel in a litter, had hurriedly joined his colleague, that the latter might not enjoy the sole credit of the anticipated victory.

Such was the position of the antagonists on the morning of the memorable battle of Philippi, which is supposed to have been fought in the month of October, 42 B.C. The Cæsarians were embarrassed by a scarcity of provisions, and therefore desirous of forcing on a general engagement, to which they now felt that their armies were equal. Cassius, on the other hand, was disinclined to meet the enemy, and urged that it would be better to fall back behind the Hellespont, and conduct the war in Asia. In this view Brutus did not share. He considered that the decisive action should be fought where they then stood, and he put his troops in motion while Cassius was still meditating a retreat. Quickly descending the hill, the legions of Brutus attacked Octavian with such fury that his men were speedily put to flight. The victorious soldiers even penetrated into the Triumvir's camp, and the invalid, hastily quitting his litter, escaped on foot. Battle being thus joined on the right, Cassius felt compelled to leave his entrenched position, and attack the forces of Antony. But his assault was beaten back, and he was forced to abandon his camp, and retire to an eminence overlooking Philippi. From this position, a troop of cavalry was seen approaching. It was, in truth, a detachment from the army of Brutus, sent to communicate with Cassius; but the latter, being short-sighted, mistook the men for a portion of Antony's force. He now gave up all for lost, and, withdrawing to his tent, commanded his freedman, Pindarus, to despatch him. Such, at least, is the account generally given; but, as the head was afterwards found severed from the body, and as Pindarus was never seen again, it has been suspected that the death of the unfortunate Proconsul was due to treachery. When the fate of Cassius came to the knowledge of his colleague, he pronounced him the last of the Romans; but the general character of his life does not entitle him to so high a eulogy. It must be admitted, however, that he was an able and experienced commander, although, on the present occasion, his defeat seems to have been in part attributable to his own hesitation. He had the art of making his soldiers obey him, while Brutus, though fortunate in his share of the recent combat, could not hold his legions together after the success of Antony.

The flight of Octavian had caused a report that he was dead; but he soon rejoined his fellow-Triumvir, while both held themselves in readiness for a renewed attack. Their position was in many respects sufficiently perilous, and Brutus would have acted wisely in refraining from another assault, and leaving the enemy to wear himself out. The Cæsarians were still pressed for food, and the reinforcements sent to their aid by sea were intercepted by the Proconsular fleet. Unfortunately, Brutus was not aware of this fact, and he grew alarmed at the frequent desertions of his men. He tried to retain their allegiance by making them presents of money, and giving up captives to their vengeance. But the desertions continued, and Brutus, who was more a student than a soldier, considered that he must do something, if he would keep his forces together at all. After an interval of twenty days, he made a fresh attack on the same ground as before. The battle was prolonged and well fought; but it ended in the victory of the Triumvirs. At the close of the day, Octavian beleaguered the camp of his adversary. Brutus withdrew with four legions, and maintained himself among the hills throughout the ensuing night. Next day, he would once more have sought the enemy, but his men positively refused to renew the engagement. It is said that, on the eve of the second battle of Philippi, the evil spirit again appeared to Brutus, and vanished without uttering a word. Supposing the Proconsul to have really had such a vision, it was obviously calculated to impress him with the conviction that fate had pronounced against his cause. Accompanied by a few attendants, he now retired to a woody dell by the side of a stream, where, sitting down on a rock, he lamented the loss of his friends, and invoked retribution on his adversaries. He then sent off a messenger, to ascertain how far his legions were able to defend their camp, but shortly afterwards, without waiting for his return, begged his companions, one by one, to pierce him to the heart, or at least to hold his sword so that he might throw himself upon it. For a while, all refused to perform so miserable an office; but at length a Greek named Strato, formerly his preceptor, held the sword of the vanquished commander, on the point of which he threw himself, and expired. According to some accounts, he held the weapon himself; but in either case his death was followed by that of several officers who had accompanied him into the woody ravine. The

body of Brutus was honourably buried by the command of Antony; but the head had been first removed by Octavian, who sent it to Rome, that it might be laid at the base of Cæsar's statue. Portia, the widow of Brutus and the daughter of Cato, is said to have suffocated herself by putting live charcoal into her mouth on hearing of her husband's reverse; but the probability is that she was dead before the conflicts at Philippi.

Some of the defeated legions were carried off from the coast of Thrace by the fleet which had followed the movements of Brutus and Cassius, and several of the chief officers took service under the younger Pompey. But all serious resistance was at an end, and the conquerors began to divide the Empire between themselves. Octavian assumed the government of Spain and Numidia; Antony reserved to himself the provinces of Transalpine Gaul and Illyria; Cisalpine Gaul was combined with Italy itself, to which, indeed, it had originally belonged; and the whole peninsula was held in common by Antony and Octavian. Africa was subsequently assigned to Lepidus, but, for the present, he was accused of having opened a treasonable correspondence with Sextus. In order to reward the soldiers, Antony undertook to extort a sum of 200,000 talents from the Asiatic cities which had already been laid under heavy contribution by Brutus and Cassius. This purpose, however, he speedily forgot under the influence of those allurements which the East is ever ready to hold out to men who seek them. The treasure he collected was mainly applied to his own gratification, and to the lavish rewarding of his friends and flatterers. His entry into Ephesus had the character of a Bacchanalian procession. He was attended by a number of youths arrayed as Pans and Satyrs, and by women representing Mænads; while he himself was the wine-god in person, once more making a triumphal progress through the East. Antony was a man of intellectual powers when he chose to put them forth; but he was still more a sensualist. He now managed to combine his love of pleasure with schemes of future profit.

Having collected as much money as he could obtain from the chief cities of Western Asia, Antony turned his eyes towards Egypt, from which he considered that large sums might be extracted. He had also another motive, which was to renew his acquaintance with the fascinating Cleopatra, whom he had known even before her association with Cæsar. The Egyptian Queen was about seven-and-twenty years of age. It is denied by ancient authors that she was remarkable for beauty; but she had some extraordinary charm of manner, which never failed to attract. Antony had probably admired her in previous years; he may now have desired to substitute Cleopatra for the wife whom he had left in Italy. At the same time, he could doubtless use his influence, or his power, to extract treasure from Egyptian coffers—perhaps to bring the whole kingdom under the direct and absolute sway of Rome. He therefore summoned Cleopatra to attend upon him in Cilicia, and answer the charge of having supported the enemies of the late Dictator. This command she obeyed, no doubt relying on her power to entrance all who were brought within the sphere of her fascination. Antony fixed his quarters at Tarsus; and Plutarch, in his life of the Triumvir, has given a gorgeous description of the state in which Cleopatra sailed up the river Cydnus, to wait on him whom she was to conquer. The poop of her vessel was of gold; the oars were of silver, and the sails of purple. The stroke of the oars was regulated by the sound of flutes, citherns, and other instruments. Cleopatra herself reclined under a pavilion of golden tissue, apparelled after the manner of Venus, and attended on both sides by boys dressed so as to represent Cupids, who continually fanned her as the vessel proceeded on its way. Nereids and Graces steered the helm, or managed the tackle; and the odours burnt on deck diffused a perfume over both banks of the river. The people of Tarsus rushed to the water's side to behold so marvellous a spectacle, and declared that Venus herself had come to visit Bacchus, and to bless all Asia. Antony invited his visitor to supper with him; she replied that it would be better if he supped with her. He went, and the enchantment of an earlier time was renewed in tenfold force. Plutarch says that the palace which she occupied was lighted with extraordinary brilliance, and that her lover tried in vain to surpass her in magnificence. After remaining for a while at Tarsus, Antony accompanied Cleopatra to Alexandria, dressed himself in the costume of the court (which was an Egyptian modification of the Greek apparel), and in a continual round of dissipations forgot not merely his wife Fulvia, but his duty to the Roman commonwealth.*

While Antony was thus idling away his time in enjoyments which were frivolous when they were not disgraceful, events at Rome had taken a new direction, which for a time threatened

* Plutarch's description of the meeting of the Roman Triumvir and the Egyptian Queen has been wonderfully reproduced by Shakspeare (with poetical enrichments) in Act II., sc. 2, of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

the supremacy of Octavian. At the beginning of 41 B.C., the office of Consul was filled by Lucius, the brother of Marc Antony, and by Servilius Vatia Isauricus, who had occupied the same post seven years earlier. Both these men were much under the influence of Fulvia, who had a feeling of enmity towards Octavian, and was well disposed to raise commotions in Italy, for the double purpose of annoying the Triumvir, and drawing her husband away from Egypt and from Cleopatra. Lepidus, the third Triumvir, possessed little or no influence, and, for the time being, Fulvia was the mistress of Rome. When Octavian returned to the capital, still suffering from bad health, he found a condition of general disturbance, which it required all his address to compose. Fulvia was ambitious and clever, and she took advantage of the widespread discontent resulting from the confiscations, to foment insubordination in the provinces. The proprietors of estates thus forfeited drew the sword for the redress of their injuries. On the other hand, the veterans of the Cæsarian armies complained that they could not obtain possession of the lands they had been promised, without resorting to warlike operations. Fulvia and her brother-in-law encouraged both sides, with a view to embarrassing Octavian; but the Triumvir took immediate measures to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, and having, partly by forced contributions, partly by borrowing, obtained large sums of money, he was able to satisfy the requirements of his companions-in-arms, whose enmity might have been fatal to his future career. The difficulties of Octavian were principally due to the fact that Antony had entirely disregarded the mission on which he had started for the East, and had sent no money from the rich communities of Asia, wherewith to pay the soldiers who had conquered at Philippi. As a consequence of this defalcation, cities in every part of Italy were stripped of their lands, even in cases where the inhabitants had been faithful to the cause of Cæsar. Private individuals were robbed of their patrimony, to satisfy the demands of the legionaries; and many persons were compelled to work thenceforward for a master on lands which had once been their own. These were the circumstances which created a widespread disaffection in Italy while Antony was revelling at Alexandria.

Taking advantage of this general discontent, Lucius Antonius announced the intention of his brother to lay down the exceptional powers of the Triumvirate, and sue for the Consulship. After a while, Lucius levied troops by his own authority, and drove Lepidus out of Rome. He was opposed, however, by Agrippa, the friend of Octavian, and, finding that he could not depend on the fidelity of some among his troops, retreated to the strong Etrurian city of Perusia, where he was speedily besieged. The city was obstinately defended throughout the winter, but surrendered in the spring of 40 B.C., owing to extremity of famine. The chief citizens were then put to death by Octavian, and the town was destroyed by fire. The attempt was rash, ill-advised, and unfortunate, and it does not appear that Marc Antony himself had any share in it. His mind was entirely given up to the luxurious enjoyments of Alexandria, and the enervating society of Cleopatra; and he was probably annoyed at the endeavours of his wife and brother to bring him into collision with Octavian. But he was at length aroused from his dream of pleasure by the action of the Parthians, who sent an army into Syria, and overran the whole province as far as Palestine. This invasion was prompted by Labienus, the son of one of Cæsar's old lieutenants, who, shortly before Philippi, had been sent by Brutus and Cassius into the Pontic kingdom to effect such a diversion as might call off a large number of the enemy's forces.

When the inroad came, Antony saw that he must take immediate measures to repel it, and accordingly despatched Ventidius, who had fled to him from Italy, to deliver Syria from the invaders. At the same time, he roused himself from the voluptuous sloth which had overcome him, and, turning his attention towards Europe, of which Octavian had become the master, made his way to Athens, where Lucius and Fulvia had arrived before him. The meeting, as may be imagined, was a stormy one as between Antony and his wife. Each reproached the other with extreme bitterness, and Fulvia died at Sicyon not long after. The desire of Antony was to return to Rome with all speed; but to reach the Italian shores it was necessary that he should first come to terms with the powerful fleet still under the command of Sextus Pompey. He therefore formed a league with that pirate, and, while Sextus was blockading Thurii and Consentia, in the south-west of Italy, sailed unmolested to Brundusium, which he attacked. The prospect of a renewed civil war, however, was so revolting to the soldiers on both sides that they compelled their leaders to make peace, and towards the close of 40 B.C. the Triumvirs effected a new division of the Empire, by which, with the exception of Africa Proper (assigned to Lepidus), the whole dominion was divided into an Eastern and a Western half. The former was to be the realm of Antony, the latter that of Octavian. The earlier attempt

against Sextus Pompey in Sicily was now to be renewed by Octavian, while Antony was to attack the Parthians, and recover the standards left behind by Crassus. The compact was ratified by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, the sister of his colleague; and the two Triumvirs then entered Rome together, to celebrate the restoration of peace.

The occasion was commemorated by Virgil in his Fourth Eclogue, addressed to Asinius Pollio, one of the Consuls for the year 40 B.C. This is the poem which contains the remarkable prophecy of a child destined to restore the Golden Age, and

CLEOPATRA SAILING UP THE CYDNUS. (*After Hans Makart.*)

commence an era of universal peace and justice. By several commentators it has been supposed that Virgil (through the medium of the Sibylline Books) had some knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, and obscurely referred to the Jewish expectation of a Messiah. It has been much disputed whether he was thinking of the expected progeny of Antony and Octavia, of Octavian and his wife Scribonia, or of Pollio himself. The probability, however, is that he meant none of these, but was filled with some vague anticipation of a Divine Being, who was to relieve the accumulated miseries of the world. There is nothing at all extraordinary in the fact that an Italian poet should have entertained such a hope. It was in Italy, according to the popular belief, that Saturn had lived and reigned after his expulsion from heaven; it was there that he had presided over that state of innocence and happiness which the poets termed the Golden Age. The Italian imagination, therefore, was saturated with the idea of human perfectibility; and that which others had seen in the past Virgil looked for in the future. The profound weariness and despondency caused by so many years of civil strife, of murder, proscription, and tumultuous tyranny—that same feeling which made the soldiers of Antony and Octavian impose a pacific arrangement on their masters—would be very likely to induce a gentle and poetic nature, such as Virgil's, to glance forward, with an intense and passionate yearning, to a time when such insane rivalries would be at an end. The noble but brief rule of Julius Cæsar had seemed to offer the possibility of an escape from some of the greatest evils of humanity; and the immense range of the Roman Empire imparted to its policy, whether for good or evil, the appearance of universality. Many nations and races were gathered under the wings of the Imperial Eagle. Might it not be that that brooding protection would foster a new era of concord for the war-worn peoples of the world?

The Roman provinces, however, were still vexed by the exactions of Sextus Pompey, and the popular feeling on the subject was so strong that Octavian and Antony were pelted with stones for not taking measures to redress the evil. They accordingly made overtures to the pirate chieftain, and in 39 B.C. a meeting took place off the promontory of Misenum, in Campania. Octavian and Antony went on board his ship to settle the terms of an arrangement, and it is related that one day, when the Triumvirs were feasting with

Sextus, the chief officer of the latter, a Greek named Menodorus, suggested to him a plan for putting to sea with the two generals on board, and then extorting terms which should make him the absolute master of the Roman Empire. The reply of Sextus has been variously reported. According to the worst version, he said, "You should have done this without asking me;" but the reply takes a somewhat better form in the words, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my order! Such treachery might well befit him, but not a Pompey." At any rate, no such act was attempted, and an understanding was soon arranged. Sextus was to receive Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, together with compensation for his father's confiscated property. An amnesty was to be granted to all his followers, excepting the murderers of Cæsar, and his soldiers were to be remunerated for their labours and sufferings. In exchange for these concessions, Sextus promised to supply Rome with corn, and the undertaking was justly regarded as a matter of such supreme importance that the Triumvirs were greeted with acclamations along the whole of their route from Misenum back to Rome. For some time past the coasts had been closely blockaded, and the country was threatened with famine. The very system of piracy which Pompey the Great had put down, and which had brought Rome to the edge of dearth, had been revived by that commander's son. His crew consisted, to a very large extent, of corsairs, slaves, and foreign adventurers; and Sextus himself had been so long absent from Rome that it was believed he had lost all knowledge of the Latin tongue. People hated him as a barbarian and a robber; still, he was a formidable chieftain, and, as there was no power by which he could be subdued on the high seas, it was thought necessary to buy him off by a concession of the Italian islands. For the present, he was well contented with his bargain. He formed a court at Syracuse; affected a maritime supremacy to which he had, in truth, considerable claims; dressed himself in a sea-green mantle, carried a trident for a sceptre, and ordered that he should be addressed as the son of Neptune. A savage picturesqueness characterises his history, and it is said that he caused horses and men to be thrown into the waves, as sacrifices to his divine sire. He was now no longer the champion of the so-called Republicans, but a monarch ruling over a number of slavish dependents on shore, and ever ready to take to the sea again, as the most natural sphere of his wild and desultory operations.

ROMAN VOTIVE HELMET.

In the latter part of 39 B.C., Octavian left Italy to put down an insurrectionary movement in Gaul, while Antony proceeded to Parthia to restore the honour of the Roman arms in a region which was much associated with their ill-fortune. Labienus, the Roman ally of the Parthians, had invaded Asia Minor, and assumed the title of Imperator; but he was defeated by Ventidius, who, in 38 B.C., cleared Syria of the Eastern hordes. The Parthian prince, Pacorus, was obliged to re-cross the Euphrates, and it is said that he was worsted and slain on the very anniversary of the discomfiture of Crassus, fifteen years before. Antony would seem to have been unaware of these events when, on his journey towards the East, accompanied by his wife Octavia, he paused for a while at Athens. In that city, though indulging in frequent revels after his wont, and affecting an interest in Greek philosophy which was somewhat uncongenial to his nature, he continued to make vast preparations for encountering the Parthians—perhaps even for subduing the whole of their country. But on arriving in Syria he found that everything necessary to the defence of that province had already been accomplished by Ventidius. He had nothing more to do than to receive the submission of Antiochus, the petty king of Commagene, who had imprudently

aided the Parthian invaders, and was now besieged by Ventidius at Samosata. The war was at an end, and Antony, forgetting his promised redemption of the standards taken from Crassus, returned to Athens towards the close of the year. Ventidius proceeded to Rome, where he celebrated the first triumph ever claimed by a Roman general over the Parthians. This able commander was a native of Asculum, a city of Picenum, where he was born of humble parents; and when the town was subdued by Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompey the Great), during the Social War, the infant was taken captive, and carried at his mother's breast in the triumphal procession. When a young man, Ventidius gained his living as a muleteer, but, afterwards serving with Cæsar in Gaul, he made his way to high military command by his steady valour and capacity.

By this time, the agreement between Sextus Pompey and Octavian had come to a violent termination. The two leaders had quarrelled about certain matters of detail, each accusing the other of broken promises. Sextus, in particular, alleged that he was to be put in possession of Greece, as well as of the Italian islands, and he refused to give up certain places which he held on the coast of Italy, until Antony had evacuated the province he claimed. Accordingly, the Roman grain-ships were once more intercepted, and Octavian prepared for a naval war. In the prosecution of such a war, he could now count on the assistance of Menodorus, who had deserted his former master, and taken over a squadron of the piratical navy. Still, the maritime power of Rome was far from sufficient, and Octavian set to work building ships at Ostia and Ravenna. The war went very much in favour of the Pompeians, and Octavian himself was so seriously defeated in the Sicilian Straits that he saved his life only by jumping on to a reef. He was greatly aided in this crisis by the activity and genius of Agrippa, whom he brought back from Gaul, where he had been conducting a brilliant campaign, and who, to supply the want of a harbour on the Campanian coast, formed a canal between Lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, and constructed a massive breakwater, and a harbour for large ships, in connection with the latter. In 37 B.C., Antony sailed from Athens to Brundusium, at the request of his fellow-Triumvir; but Octavian afterwards felt so doubtful of his intentions that he forbade his landing. With a fleet of three hundred vessels, Antony sailed round the Iapygian peninsula from Brundusium to Tarentum, where a reconciliation between him and Octavian was effected by Mæcenas and Octavia. By the Treaty of Tarentum, the Triumvirate, which had expired at the end of 38 B.C., was renewed for another five years. Aided by a hundred and thirty ships lent him by Antony, Octavian now pursued the naval war with increased vigour, but with continued ill-success, so far as his own exertions were concerned. Agrippa, however, acting as one of the Consuls for 37 B.C., achieved several triumphs over the savage and degenerate Roman who held his mock court at Syracuse, and finally destroyed his whole fleet in the Straits of Messana. The army submitted in consequence of this disaster; nevertheless, the war was not at an end, for the Pompeian Legate Plennius arrived soon after with eight legions from Lilybæum, and established himself at Messana, where he was besieged by Agrippa in 36 B.C. The army of Lepidus joined in the investment; but the Third Triumvir permitted himself to be tempted by Plennius, who offered to surrender the city to him, and to divide its treasures. The Pompeian troops saluted Lepidus as Imperator, but subsequently deserted him when Octavian entered his camp in person, accompanied by only a few attendants. As a punishment, the traitor was deposed from his position in the Triumvirate, and confined to the island of Circeii. He had been appointed to the Chief Pontificate after the assassination of Julius Cæsar, and this office he was permitted to retain. We hear no more of him until his death in the year 13 B.C., when he was succeeded in the position of Chief Pontiff by Octavian himself, who had by that time received the title of Augustus.

After his defeat by Agrippa, Sextus Pompey fled to Lesbos, but soon quitted that refuge for the coast of Asia. His adventurous career was not much further prolonged; for, happening to fall into the hands of one of Antony's lieutenants, after a vain attempt to renew his rebellion, he was put to death in 35 B.C. Octavian was now busy with affairs of state, and in consolidating his power in the western half of the Empire. He had returned to Rome near the middle of November, 36 B.C., when he addressed the people outside the walls, and assured them that the civil wars were over, and that a large remission of taxation should mark the re-establishment of peace. A column to his honour was erected in the Forum, and the summit was crowned with a golden statue of himself. A public residence on the Palatine was voted to him by the people, and his position was now that of a king, though he wisely abstained from assuming a title which was held in general dislike by the Roman citizens. He even offered to relinquish the Triumvirate, if Antony would do the same; but it

is impossible to doubt that, in one form or another, he contemplated the perpetuation of his sovereign prerogatives. All documents which might implicate his personal enemies were committed to the flames. A vigorous internal rule was established; disorders were put down at Rome, and measures taken against the brigandage existing in the southern parts of the peninsula and in Sicily. Not only was civil strife at an end, but even the ordinary arts of faction were curbed by a strong will, and Rome discovered that, in obtaining a capable master, she was delivered from the miserable convulsions of many wasteful years. In this beneficent reconstruction of the State, Octavian was materially assisted by the celebrated Mæcenas—a man somewhat older than himself, descended from two great Etruscan families, one of which had been connected with royalty, while both had signalised themselves in the field of battle. The Mæcenas with whom we are now concerned belonged simply to the Equestrian order; but his genius advanced him to the highest position in the service of his country, and at a later period he enjoyed a permanent authority as head of the civil administration both of Rome and Italy. He is chiefly known to modern times as the patron of Virgil, Horace, and other writers, and as a man of elegant and luxurious habits, whose addiction to a graceful hospitality did not hinder his attention to political affairs.

Though again yielding to the seductions of Cleopatra, who had joined him in Syria, Antony was not entirely indifferent to his fame as a warrior, and in 36 B.C. began his long-contemplated attack on Parthia. The genius of Crassus, however, would seem to have inspired him on this occasion, for, like that unfortunate commander, he started without sufficient preparation, and seems to have calculated on effecting by celerity of movement what could be secured only by a more deliberate procedure. Under the guidance of the Armenian king, he marched across the southern districts of Armenia, penetrated three hundred miles into Atropatene (the northern province of Media), and arrived at length before the walls of Praaspa, a city of considerable size and importance. His battering-towers and other machines had been allowed to fall into the rear, so that an immediate attack upon Praaspa was impracticable, and nothing remained but the slow process of a regular siege. This was accordingly commenced; but the Parthians cut off Antony's munitions of war, and the Armenians treacherously deserted him when they perceived the gravity of the situation. The arrival of the Parthian main army necessitated an immediate retreat, though it was now mid-autumn, and in that wild and mountainous country the cold season was close at hand. The route of Antony and his legions lay through the barren precipices of Kurdistan. The cold was intense; snow and sleet fell in blinding and incessant showers; provisions failed the unhappy men, and they were compelled to feed on herbs, which in many instances were poisonous. Almost equally terrible were the continued attacks of the Parthian cavalry and archers, to repel whom it was necessary to maintain the solid formation of the phalanx. The splendid discipline of the Romans, however, carried them through these trials, though not without a loss amounting to one-third of their number. After a dreadful march of twenty-seven days, the invaders recrossed the Araxes, and the Parthians desisted from the pursuit. Still, the sufferings of the legions were far from ended. Antony did not care to rest within the Armenian frontiers, nor, at that time, to avenge the treachery of which he had been the victim. He continued his march towards the Roman frontier with so much rapidity that eight thousand more of his soldiers perished ere the bounds of Syria were attained. He then distributed his battalions in their cantonments, and sought repose and recreation in the pleasure-loving city of Alexandria.

His recent discomfiture had in some respects been worse even than that of Crassus; yet, on his return to Egypt, he presumed to address despatches to the Senate, in which he described himself as the conqueror of the Parthians. Octavian, who thought it politic to preserve an appearance of amity between himself and the Eastern Imperator, admitted his claims, and granted him the honours of which he was evidently greedy. When Sextus Pompey was slain in the following year (35 B.C.), games were celebrated at Rome in commemoration of the event. On this occasion, Octavian desired that the chariot of Antony should be decked with triumphal chaplets, and he placed his statue in the Temple of Concord, that the world might know how cordial was the feeling which then existed between the former rivals. To his clear and penetrating intellect it was doubtless apparent that the alliance was insecure and unreal; and events were at that moment approaching, which shattered it to atoms.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Deterioration of the Character of Antony under the Influence of Cleopatra—Rupture with Octavia—Antony's Invasion of Armenia—Division of the Roman Empire into Two Parts—Dissipation and Frivolity of Antony's Life at Alexandria—The Designs of Cleopatra—Successful Campaigns of Octavian in Dalmatia and Pannonia—Feeling of Irritation between Antony and Octavian—Warlike Preparations of Antony—Dionysian Festivals at Samos—Antony's supposed Plot for Subjecting Rome to Egypt—Declaration of War by Octavian against Cleopatra—Ineffectual Attempt at Compromise between Antony and Octavian—The Military and Naval Forces of the Two Triumvirs—Movements of the Antagonists—Concentration of Antony's Forces on the Southern Side of the Ambracian Gulf—His Dread of Secret Poisoning—The Army of Octavian on the Northern Side of the Gulf—General Position of the Combatants—Insubordination in the Army of Antony—Preparations for Departure—The Naval Battle of Actium—Flight of Cleopatra and Antony for Egypt—Partial Destruction of the Antonian Navy, and Submission of the Army—Octavian in Greece and Asia—Despair of Antony after his Discomfiture at Actium—Utter Ruin of his Cause—Designs of Cleopatra—Frantic Debauchery and Desperate Resolves—The Asp—Arrival of Octavian in Egypt—Betrayal of Antony by Cleopatra—Suicide of Antony—Interview between Cleopatra and Octavian—Death of Cleopatra—Political Executions—Egypt made a Province of the Roman Empire—Return of Octavian to Rome—Honours granted for his Victories—Increase of Wealth—Closing of the Temple of Janus—Suspension of the National Liberties—Reconstruction of the State by Octavian—Title of "Princeps" conferred on him—The Senatorial Provinces, and the Provinces of Cæsar—Octavian created "Augustus"—The Title of Emperor, and its Gradual Development.

ANTONY, in whom, at the commencement of his career, some noble qualities had redeemed his many faults, was now fast sinking into the degradation of an Oriental voluptuary. Flattery, and power, and the command of wealth, had debased his better genius, and fostered the vices which were always inherent in his disposition. But even those influences were as nothing in comparison with the fatal spell which Cleopatra threw around him. It is impossible at this distance of time to understand the exact nature of the charm exercised by that remarkable woman over more than one celebrated hero. Her beauty was not extraordinary, and her fascination of manner, though doubtless great, was probably not more than the sorcery of many others. Her power, perhaps, consisted in that mingling of intellectual strength with wit, vivacity, and sensuous passion, which to some men is irresistibly attractive. Octavia, the second wife of Antony, is said to have surpassed her rival in personal appearance, and to have possessed a nobility of soul which might have lifted Antony to its own level, had he not preferred the allurements of the Egyptian Queen. After the Treaty of Tarentum, in 37 B.C., Octavia was left with her brother as a kind of hostage; but in 35 B.C. she begged permission to rejoin her husband, in the hope of drawing him away from the evil association he had formed. The step was well meant, but really helped to bring about the very catastrophe it was designed to avert. At that time, Antony had returned to Syria, where he was making preparations for an expedition against the Armenians, to revenge himself for their treachery during the recent campaign in Parthia. Hearing that his wife had arrived at Athens, he sent word to her that she was to advance no farther. She had with her two thousand men for Antony's body-guard, together with stores of clothing, a large number of beasts of burden, and a quantity of money and valuables. To Cleopatra, her approach was an affliction and a possible danger. The Alexandrian enchantress affected a mood of despair, and so worked on the apprehensions of Antony that he at length consented to return to the Egyptian capital, and to postpone his contemplated enterprise.

Octavia made her way back to Rome, where she was received with the highest honour, and where the tenderness with which she took care, not only of her own children, but of Fulvia's also, moved the general admiration of the citizens. Relieved from the fear of an unwelcome intruder, Antony soon renewed his warlike projects, and in 34 B.C. invaded Armenia. The campaign was brief, and resulted in the capture of the king, Artavasdes, who was sent in chains to Alexandria, together with many nobles. A triumph was then celebrated in the streets of that city, much to the disgust of the Romans, who were still further outraged by the lofty way in which Antony disposed of king doms and provinces. He added Cœle-Syria, Cyprus, and Libya to the realm of Egypt, in the government of which he associated the boy Cæsarion (the reputed son of Julius) with his mother. His own twin sons, Alexander and Ptolemy, were proclaimed kings, the one of Parthia, Media, and Armenia, the other of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; while to his daughter, Cleopatra, was given Cyrene. Antony even required that these arrangements should be acknowledged and registered at Rome; but the

extravagance of his assumptions prepared the way for his overthrow. It was evident to all thoughtful politicians, and especially to so acute a mind as Octavian's, that the arrangement of the last few years could not last. The Empire was in fact divided into two separate kingdoms, of which Octavian and Antony were the sovereigns. The old unity of the Republic was at an end, and the Roman world seemed passing into the state of confused warfare which broke up the vast dominions of Alexander into a number of mutually-destructive monarchies. With a statesman at Rome itself less able and resolute than the future Augustus, the ruin of the Empire would doubtless have been completed; and the development of European civilisation must have suffered from the fact. This, however, was a result which Roman pride could not endure. The State must have one master, and the worn-out voluptuary of Egypt was not likely to prevail over his younger and more cautious rival.

Antony now seemed possessed by a spirit of infatuation. He gave himself up entirely to the intoxicating influence of Cleopatra, and spent his days in a ceaseless round of dissipations and frivolous enjoyments, which the Queen exercised her ingenuity in varying. An immense booty had been brought back from Armenia, and this furnished the means for extravagant indulgences. Flushed by his recent success—which, however, was not of a striking description—Antony assumed the robes and all the external insignia of an Eastern king. Cleopatra sat beside him as his royal spouse; and the two even ventured to appear in public as Isis and Osiris. This was a somewhat dangerous liberty to take in a country where those divinities were held in such profound veneration; yet the native Egyptians bent in awe before the sacred attributes. The ornate and pompous style in which the lovers passed their days was in accordance with the traditions of an ancient and splendid monarchy. While the Greeks of Alexandria were occasionally gratified by some degree of attention to literature, art, and science, to the libraries, the museums, and the lecture-rooms, the more ancient race was pleased with a gorgeous and overflowing exhibition of riches. Masques, fishing excursions on the Nile, public games and palace banquets, succeeded each other in reckless profusion; and at one of their feasts Cleopatra astonished her lord by drinking a rare and valuable pearl dissolved in vinegar, that she might gain a wager to consume the worth of ten million sesterces at a meal. The enervated mind of Antony was charmed by these follies. On the other hand, Cleopatra was satisfied by the devotion of her hero, and by the substantial advantages which such a connection brought. She considered that there was no longer anything to fear from Rome, now that she had gained the sword of a Roman. Her kingdom had been enlarged by an alliance which passion cemented, if it did not originate; and she even looked forward to the creation of a Roman Monarchy, of which herself should be the Empress.

While Antony was carrying on petty warfare in the East, or forgetting all serious matters in the lap of dalliance, Octavian was consolidating his power in the West by his moderation, his dignity, and his statesmanlike qualities. His moral character, indeed, was scarcely better than Antony's. He divorced Clodia, the daughter of Clodius and of Fulvia, when the latter conspired against him. He afterwards set aside Scribonia, the sister-in-law of Sextus Pompey, when an alliance with her family was felt to be politically undesirable; and he then took from her husband the famous Livia, wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, from whom subsequent Emperors derived their origin. But Octavian did not permit himself to sink into the lethargy of mere sensualism. Having reformed the state of Rome, re-established order in the Italian provinces, and secured his popularity by the suavity and gracefulness of his manners, he conducted a series of expeditions against the barbarians of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and the neighbouring regions. These campaigns took place in the years 35, 34, and 33 B.C. In one of his battles Octavian received a wound, which increased his reputation for valour in the field. The triumph granted him by the Senate he declined until some later period; yet he had really conferred great services on the State. The whole of Dalmatia was made a province of the Empire in 34 B.C., and in the following year Octavian was able to announce that the bounds of the Republic had been extended northwards to the banks of the Save, thus including a small portion of Pannonia.* The frontiers had been rendered more secure against attack, and people began to feel that the

* The coast-towns of Dalmatia had been subdued by the Romans in 155 B.C.; but the interior of the country still maintained its independence, and the numerous and deeply-indented bays along the shores of the Adriatic gave shelter to swarms of corsairs, who, about 117 B.C., were chastised by Cæcilius Metellus. It was not until the time of Octavian that the province was really subdued.—The early geography and history of this part of Europe are very obscure. Under the general name of Illyricum, however, the Romans appear to have comprised the countries of Pannonia, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, together with Lower Illyria, situated between Dalmatia on the north, and Epirus on the south, and afterwards included in Macedonia.

adopted son of Cæsar had something of the great Dictator's genius.

The knowledge of these facts must have been bitter to Antony, who saw that his own star was setting while that of the young soldier was rising. In 33 B.C. he began to make querulous objections to the recent acts of Octavian. He complained that his colleague had expelled Sextus Pompey from his mock Sicilian throne, and deprived Lepidus of his share in the Triumvirate, without making a division of the territories and armies thus acquired; also that the troops of Octavian had received lands in Italy, while his own were neglected. Octavian retorted by charging Antony with having caused the death of Sextus Pompey, and with behaving dishonourably towards the Armenian King, who, though the friend and ally of Rome, had been taken prisoner to Egypt. He also reproached him for his connection with the Egyptian Queen, and in particular condemned his recognition of Cæsarion as the son of Julius. He averred, not without reason, that Antony had enhanced the power of Cleopatra at the expense of the Roman Empire; and he appears to have suspected his rival of a design to subject that dominion to the overruling power of Alexandria. Antony was so much exasperated by these strictures and imputations that he at once entered the field at the head of his Syrian legions, and advanced as far as the river Araxes, in Armenia Major, apparently with a view to renewing his attack on Parthia, and thus defying, in the most palpable manner, the criticisms of Octavian. This intention, however, he soon afterwards abandoned, and assembled his forces at Ephesus, where Cleopatra was bidden to meet him. Here he made preparations for war on a large scale, and gradually brought together a host of fighting men from Greece and Macedonia, from Asia Minor and Syria, as well as from many barbarous regions where he was still recognised as a powerful general, and the friend of Cæsar. A numerous fleet was also collected, and the forces of Cleopatra were added to those of Antony. The Eastern Triumvir and his Egyptian favourite passed the winter at Samos, where valuable time and treasure were consumed in Dionysian festivals and voluptuous frivolities. Antony again presented himself to the people in the person of Bacchus, and enormous sums of money were spent on musicians, and dancers, and all the innumerable parasites of Oriental despotism.

CLEOPATRA. (*From a Greek coin.*)

At Rome itself, Antony had but few adherents, and their number was continually diminishing by desertions to the stronger side. Two of these persons betrayed to Octavian, in 32 B.C., the contents of a will which Antony had recently made, and which they had witnessed for him, and afterwards deposited in the custody of the Vestal Virgins. The provisions of this testament excited the highest indignation when they came to be generally known. It appeared that Antony had declared Cæsarion to be the heir of the late Dictator, and had directed his own body to be entombed with that of Cleopatra in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. It was even believed by many that Antony intended to remove the government of the western world to Alexandria, and to substitute the gods of Egypt for the gods of Rome. The wild outburst of rage caused by these revelations and surmises answered the purposes of Octavian extremely well. He came forward as the champion of the national honour and the national religion. The people hailed him in that capacity with unbounded enthusiasm, and would willingly have bestowed on him any powers he might have required for the vindication of so sacred a cause. But Octavian acted with his usual deliberation and coolness. He would not declare war on Antony, considering that the offender might even yet retract: he directed the thunders of the State against Egypt as a foreign power, and Cleopatra as a foreign sovereign. At the beginning of 31 B.C., the extended term of the Triumvirate

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

expired, and Octavian, instead of renewing it, procured his appointment to the Consulship, together with Messala, who had served with Brutus in the war that terminated at Philippi. Intelligence of these matters reached Antony in his retirement at Samos, and roused him to some degree of action. He crossed over to Athens, and there heard that war had been actually declared towards the latter end of the previous year. His Roman adherents besought him to dismiss Cleopatra from his camp, but he replied by divorcing Octavia. Again, for a brief space, he turned to his idle pleasures; then, repairing to Corcyra, he made preparations for carrying the war into Italy. His old spirit of martial energy seems now to have given place to habitual feebleness and irresolution. On learning that part of Octavian's fleet had arrived on the coast of Epirus, he at once drew back, and established his winter quarters at Patræ, on the Corinthian Gulf, while his troops were dispersed along the Ionian shores. As a last means of avoiding war, Octavian demanded a conference on the coast of Italy or Illyricum, at the same time requiring that both parties should pledge themselves to observe any decision which might result from the interview. Antony, however, asked who should be umpire between them, if either infringed the covenant; and the question did not admit of an answer.

The armies of the two antagonists were somewhat disproportioned. Antony had under his command 100,000 infantry, and 12,000 horse. Several kings and chieftains—from Thrace to Arabia, from Mauritania to Media—marched under his banner, or supplied him with auxiliaries. The forces of Octavian were 80,000 infantry, with a body of mounted troops the same in number as those of Antony. The fleet of the Eastern potentate was much larger than that of his rival; but the size of the galleys made them unmanageable, while the smaller vessels of Octavian conferred immense advantage in the way of rapid and unexpected movement. Antony's sailors, moreover, were suffering much from sickness; nor was their quality, at the best, at all equal to that of the mariners serving under Octavian. The consequence was, that during the early winter months of 31 B.C. the Ionian Sea was swept by the naval forces of Agrippa, who took possession of Methone, in Messenia, as a station for a flying squadron, and afterwards occupied Corcyra, which Antony had destined for the place of assembly of his own fleet. The communications of the latter, both with the east and west, were thus completely cut off, so far as the sea was concerned. His fleet was now established within the waters of the Ambracian Gulf, opening into the Ionian Sea, between Acarnania and Epirus; and his legions had by this time been concentrated on the *Acté*, or promontory, jutting out northwards from the southern side of the bay. The situation was unhealthy; the army suffered from various maladies, and defections speedily became numerous. Antony believed he was surrounded by traitors, and, in the fear and exasperation of his mind, committed acts of great cruelty on those whom he suspected. Even Cleopatra was regarded with distrust, and he insisted on her tasting all the food with which he was supplied, ere he would partake of it himself. But his cause gained nothing in strength by such arbitrary measures, and whole detachments began to desert before the adversaries had once come into collision.

In the meanwhile, the forces of Octavian were being steadily disembarked on the coast of Epirus, under cover of the fine naval squadron which Agrippa had sent to the islands of Corcyra and Paxos. By August, the armies were concentrated opposite one another on the two shores of the Ambracian Gulf. Between them was a narrow channel, forming an outlet from the Gulf into the Ionian Sea; and this channel was occupied by the fleets of Antony. Near the northern extremity of the southern or Acarnanian shore, stood a famous temple to Apollo, which was in fact the veritable Actium, though the name is frequently applied to the headland itself. It was here that the legions of Antony were drawn up previous to the momentous battle which decided the fate of the Roman Empire, while the straits were entirely commanded by the naval forces of the Eastern Triumvir, and by the towers which he had built on both sides. At its narrowest part, the intervening channel was less than half a mile wide: the position should therefore have been capable of easy defence. Octavian was in some respects less favourably situated; but he united his camp by a long entrenchment with the station of his fleet at Port Comarus, about ten miles north of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf. He was also much more confident of success than his opponent, and his fleet exhibited the utmost activity in various quarters. Patræ was occupied by Agrippa immediately after the departure of Antony, and his naval forces, having seized the island of Leucas, obtained a victory over a squadron of the enemy's vessels.

As the days wore on, the dejection of Antony gathered strength, until at length he despaired of success. He wished to retire to the plains of

Thessaly, and once more stake the fortunes of Rome on a contest at Pharsalia. But this was disallowed by Cleopatra, who feared to abandon the fleet. Antony then crossed the straits with part of his forces, and provoked a number of skirmishes, in all of which he was defeated. The prospect did not improve as August advanced towards its close, and the Eastern Triumvir determined to escape with the fleet, to seek refuge in Egypt, and to leave the army to shift for itself. This design he did his best to conceal from the soldiers; but it came to their knowledge, and excited murmurs which Antony had not the art to suppress. A strong feeling of jealousy existed on the part of his Roman troops towards their barbarian allies. Cleopatra was disliked as an Oriental despot, who was endeavouring to subject the Roman Empire to her capricious will; and Antony felt that the weapon he had constructed with so much labour was one on which he could not rely. Nevertheless, he went on with his preparations, destroyed the smaller vessels which he had not sailors enough to man, and placed 20,000 of his best legionaries, together with 2,000 bowmen, and all his treasure, on board the larger ships. The fleet then sailed from the inner basin into the narrow channel communicating with the Ionian Sea. The ships were ranged in order of battle; but the men on board knew that this was simply a device to conceal from the enemy the real design of flight. The Cæsarians perceived the movement without understanding the intention, and made ready for a marine encounter. For several days the sea was in too agitated a condition for naval operations; but, on the 2nd of September, 31 B.C., a dead calm ensued, and the Antonian galleys were detained until mid-day at the entrance of the straits. A light breeze then sprang up, and, as the immense fleet of the Eastern Triumvir issued forth into the open sea, the vessels of the enemy, under Octavian and Agrippa, bore down upon it in two divisions. It was evident that escape was impossible, and a battle not to be avoided. Antony's ships, heavy under the best of circumstances, were now rendered still more so by the framework of timber with which each was protected. Their decks, moreover, were burdened by citadels, from which massive stones were hurled forth by engines provided for the purpose. It is curious to note, in this species of armour, and in the use of artillery planted in towers reared upon the deck, a double anticipation of the latest developments of marine warfare.

Antony, seeing that he must fight, led the van in his Roman ships, while the rear was brought up by the Egyptian squadron. The pompous galley of Cleopatra shone forth with gilded bulwarks and with purple sails; but this was no time for repeating the splendid follies of the Cydnus. The conflict was destined to be fierce and bloody; and although the greater weight of Antony's vessels might have seemed to promise victory, this very quality was the cause of their defeat. The light Liburnian galleys which formed so important a part of Octavian's navy, and which were manned by the best sailors that the world could then produce, moved with baffling quickness round the great hulks of the enemy, and successfully evaded every endeavour to arrest them by the grappling-irons which were thrust out from the citadels of Antony's vessels. At the same time, they inflicted considerable injury on the opposing ships, but were nevertheless unable to destroy their ponderous antagonists, which still maintained a threatening position on the waters, though repeatedly stung by the agile little boats which swarmed about them like a flight of mosquitoes, now advancing with such swiftness and impetus as to sweep away the enemy's oars, now pouring in showers of arrows, and as rapidly receding before any attempt at retaliation could take effect. The unequal combat had proceeded for a considerable time when the wind shifted, and blew from the north. Cleopatra instantly took advantage of the change, spread her sails to the breeze, and was seen flying from the battle, together with the whole Egyptian squadron of sixty ships. Antony, who was waiting for this very signal, leaped into a light galley, and followed in the wake of Cleopatra. His forces were exasperated by so treacherous an abandonment of the conflict. Some tore down the turrets from their decks, to lighten their vessels for flight; others continued the struggle, though in the spirit rather of despair than of hope. Octavian and Agrippa now determined to attack the Antonian vessels with fire, short of which it was impossible to sink or disarm them. Rafts of combustible materials were sent flaming against their sides, and several burned slowly to the water's edge.

When night fell, the bay of Actium glared with a multitudinous conflagration, in which not merely were the ships destroyed, but many of the combatants found a miserable end. Three hundred galleys, however, fell into the hands of the Cæsarians, and the army on shore surrendered after seven days, when the departure of Antony's lieutenant for the head-quarters of Octavian showed that they had no longer any prospect of success. The soldiers received honourable terms, though a few of the leading officers were treated

with severity. Disgusted with their recent leader, the greater number of the men took the oath of fidelity to Octavian, and the heir of Cæsar now found himself in possession of the whole military force of Rome. In gratitude for his victory, he instituted a festival to be called the Actian Games, and to recur every fifth year. On the heights where his camp had stood, he dedicated the beaks of the captured vessels, and commenced a town named Nicopolis, the City of Victory. The little chapel on the promontory was replaced by a splendid temple, and the devout ascribed to the personal interference of Apollo himself the decisive victory by which the fleet of Antony was scattered, and the ambition of Cleopatra buried in irremediable ruin. Virgil, Horace, and Propertius sang in impassioned strains the majesty and importance of the triumph; and from the battle of Actium the writers of antiquity usually date the fall of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. The more apparent transformation was not effected until afterwards; but, in effect, the change commenced at the very moment when Antony fled after Cleopatra from the baffled squadrons of his navy. The Roman world had now one master, and no second. All that immense organisation of power had passed into the hands of a virtual sovereign, and the traditions of a past which had many noble features, but had outlived its strength and its reality, faded before the golden dawn of a wider, and in some respects a better, day. The triumph of Antony would have meant an indefinite prolongation of disorder, and the intrusion into Roman society of Oriental habits, and the manners of hereditary slaves. The success of Octavian was a guarantee that Europe should retain her distinctive character, and progress with uninterrupted energy through grades of political life suited to her peculiar genius and her ancient memories.

Octavian perceived that the victory at Actium rendered all further apprehension unnecessary. The blow which had fallen on Antony was so crushing that the conqueror disbanded a large part of his army, and sent Agrippa back to Rome, that he might assist Mæcenas in the conduct of affairs during the absence of their common master. He himself proceeded to Greece, where he gave compensation to the cities which had been nearly ruined by the exactions of Antony. His reception was of the most flattering kind, nor was his power disputed by the Asiatic communities which he afterwards visited, though many of these had given their support to his rival. His intention was to pass the winter in Samos; but in the early part of 30 B.C. he was recalled to Rome by troubles which had arisen with the disbanded soldiers. As he approached the city, he was met by deputations from all classes, who hailed him as the invincible hero, destined to restore the stability and grandeur of the Roman State. By judicious concession and a sympathetic demeanour, he quelled the disturbances, and at the beginning of spring again departed for the East, to complete the subjection of Antony and his Egyptian charmer.

On reaching Alexandria, Cleopatra had caused her galley to be decked with laurel, so that her people should suppose the victory had gone in favour of Antony. She knew, however, that the truth must ultimately be discovered, and accordingly took measures against possible sedition by slaying all whom she distrusted, and distributing their property amongst the soldiers. The self-reliance of Antony was completely broken down. During the voyage from Actium to Egypt, he had sat for a long while in moody silence, with his face buried in his hands. At the command of Cleopatra, he had been lifted from the deck of his own galley on to hers; but for three days he refused to see the woman who had been his ruin, and gave himself up to a lethargy of despair, from which he was momentarily roused by the close pursuit of some Liburnian ships, which took two of Cleopatra's vessels, and threatened the others. His abandonment of all further hope was evidenced by the fact that he dismissed his Roman friends with presents, and advised them to make peace with the victor. At Tænarus, a promontory of Laconia, the Egyptian fleet touched for a brief time, that Antony might send orders to his general, Canidius, to lead the army home. On reaching the Egyptian shores, he landed at Parætonium, a town to the west of Alexandria; but the Roman force stationed there shut the gates against him, and refused to obey his commands. He was so overwhelmed by this new blow that, but for the interposition of his attendants, who forcibly carried him to the Ptolemaic capital, he would have put an end to his life. Some gleam of hope still remained to him, in the belief that the army he had left at Actium was yet true to his cause, and in a position to maintain itself against the forces of the enemy. When at length he learned that the soldiers, on finding themselves deserted by their general, had placed their swords at the disposal of Octavian, the sense of his ruin and desolation was complete. The princes of Asia, who had marched with him to the field of battle, now renounced his cause. Only some poor gladiators, whom he had kept at Cyzicus, upheld his banner

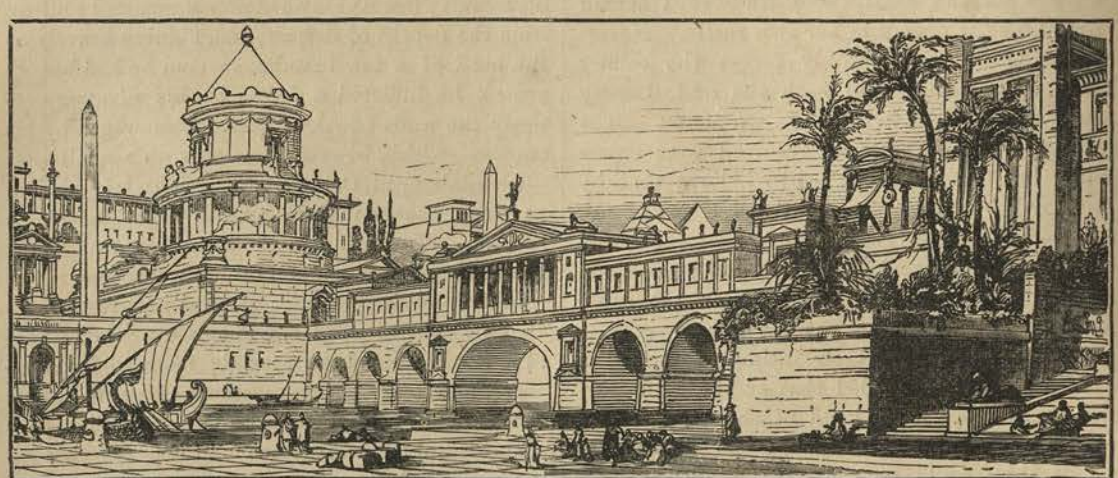
with dauntless resolution, traversed a large part of Asia to rejoin him in Egypt, and cut their way through all opposition, until a false rumour of his death persuaded them to surrender.

In this crisis of terror and misfortune, the spirit which had abandoned Antony descended upon Cleopatra. She proposed in the first instance to fly into the interior of Arabia, and even commenced transporting her galleys from the Nile to the Red Sea; but, owing to the destruction of some of the ships, the design was relinquished, and she formed a project of entering Spain, and raising that peninsula against the rule of Octavian. This plan also seemed, on reconsideration, to be impracticable, and, while Antony shut himself up in a tower on the coast, Cleopatra nerved herself to encounter the enemy in her own realm. Nevertheless, she did not entirely forget the calmer dictates of prudence, and both she and Antony opened negotiations with the conqueror. The advances of the latter were received with entire silence; but Cleopatra was led to believe that by sacrificing her admirer she might open a new future to herself in connection with his rival. Antony soon afterwards quitted his retreat, and again lived with the queenly woman who, though the cause of his overthrow, had not yet lost her power over his heart. They and their intimates formed a society which they entitled that of the "Inseparables in Death." The bond of their union was that they should live in reckless debauchery so long as they could preserve their independence, and that at the last moment they should perish together by their own hands. To facilitate the dread catastrophe when it could no longer be avoided, Cleopatra made experiments in various kinds of poison, which, with the indifference to life which is common to Oriental sovereigns, she tested on slaves and criminals. The result of these investigations was that the easiest death was to be obtained by the bite of an asp—a species of venomous serpent, to be found in Egypt as well as in other countries. The reptile appears to be analogous with the cobra capello, or spectacled snake of India; and owing to its practice of erecting itself when approached, and thus appearing to guard the places it inhabits, the Egyptians made it the emblem of that divinity to whom they especially attributed the protection of the world. It is represented on their temples, sculptured on each side of a globe; so that Cleopatra must have been familiar from her earliest years with the Nilotic serpent which is imperishably associated with her death.

The real design of Octavian was to appropriate the kingdom of Egypt, to take possession of its treasures, and to carry Cleopatra to Rome, as the supreme ornament of his triumph. In the meanwhile, that he might not drive her to despair, and to the execution of desperate resolutions, he entertained the Queen with false hopes of a renewed conquest in the field of love, which vanity persuaded her was not impossible, though the period of her youth had passed. For Antony there was no hope whatever; yet he continued to make urgent solicitations that he might be permitted to reside privately at Athens, and even sent his son Antyllus as a guarantee of good faith. His proposals met with no recognition, and Octavian arrived before Pelusium in the summer of 30 B.C. The city speedily fell before his assault; but Antony had now summoned courage from the depths of despair, and, fighting bravely at the head of a few battalions whom he had hastily armed, he inflicted a defeat on his adversary beneath the walls of Alexandria. Encouraged by his success—which, however, was only on a small scale—he challenged Octavian to decide the questions at issue between them by the ordeal of single combat. He had made the same proposal before the battle of Actium, and on both occasions it was contemptuously rejected. He was now reduced to the last extremity. His triumph over the cavalry of Octavian had been speedily followed by a reverse, and he made preparations either to attack the vessels of his opponent, or to take flight into some distant land, where he might hope to be beyond the power of his rival. Cleopatra, however, had been acting the traitress towards her lover, that she might the more readily make peace with the rising hero. She had bribed the sailors to carry over the ships of Antony to the enemy—a fact so entirely unsuspected by the fallen commander that it was not until he required his vessels to take action that he discovered the lamentable truth. His soldiers had been similarly corrupted, and now placed themselves under the orders of Octavian. But the troops of Cleopatra had exhibited an equal spirit of insubordination, and the Egyptian Queen found herself deserted at the same moment that she had contrived the ruin of Antony.

Fearing the vengeance of the Triumvir, should he discover her bad faith, Cleopatra shut herself up in a mausoleum where she had deposited her treasures. The Egyptian tombs were constructed with an upper chamber, where it was customary to hold banquets; so that this particular structure afforded accommodation for the living Cleopatra, though designed only for the repose of her body after death. To strengthen the deception, she spread a report of her suicide, and Antony, believing that

his enchantress had repented of her treason, and had found life insupportable under the consciousness of the wrong she had done him, determined that he too would die before an evil destiny should accumulate still further misfortunes on his head. He stabbed himself mortally, and fainted with the loss of blood. On recovering consciousness, he learned that Cleopatra was still living, and ordered that he should be carried to the mausoleum. The doors were barred on the inside; but, aided by the two women who accompanied her, Cleopatra drew up the dying man to the higher chamber, and leant over his couch with every protestation of grief and love, until, after he had drunk some wine, and uttered a few words of farewell, the



ANCIENT ALEXANDRIA.

spirit of the magnificent Antony passed away.* With his latest breath he congratulated himself that, although he had been overcome, it was the defeat of one Roman by another; but it were to be wished, for the sake of his credit with posterity, that his conduct during many years had shown more of the Roman spirit, and less of the Asiatic. Still, it is not to be denied that he was in some respects a man of great qualities, of strong and vivid personality, and of passions which (to say the least) were no worse than those of his contemporaries. Had Julius Cæsar lived, his fortunes might have been different, and his fame more pure and lofty.

In the absence of all opposition, Octavian quietly entered Alexandria on the 1st of August. He sent forward an officer named Proculeius to secure the Queen alive, and to prevent her consuming her treasures by fire. Proculeius at once repaired to the mausoleum, but Cleopatra denied him admission. Ultimately, he scaled the outer wall, and entered by the window through which the dying Antony had been drawn in. After some parleying, in which the Queen threatened to destroy herself, but was subdued by the menace that her children would be slain if she did not yield, she consented to be led back to the palace. Here she was visited by Octavian, whom she addressed with all the art of which she was a mistress, appealing to his compassion in the character of a fallen sovereign, and working on his pride as a Cæsar by references to her old admiration of the god-like Julius. Octavian, fearing the seductions of one who had already vanquished two mighty warriors, kept his eyes fixed on the ground as Cleopatra poured forth her tearful utterances. To these he replied very briefly; but he demanded the list of her treasures, bade her be of good courage, and departed as coldly as he had come. It was the first repulse of this nature which Cleopatra had ever received; but she still hoped to effect her purpose by prolonged and repeated efforts, though it is probable she had now entered her fortieth year. When, however, she learned from a young Roman, who counted himself among her admirers, that it was the intention of Octavian to take her a prisoner to Italy within three days, she determined to put an end to a life which had become hateful to her superb and dominant spirit, and thus baffle the design of the conqueror to exhibit her in chains before the shouting crowds of Rome. She therefore returned to the mausoleum, where she crowned the tomb of Antony with flowers, and addressed his shade in words of

* The age of Antony at his death was probably between fifty and sixty.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN OCTAVIAN AND CLEOPATRA.

tender memory. Then, after bathing, she sat down to a sumptuous repast, which was indeed the banquet of death, served in a palace of the dead. While still at table, a countryman brought her a basket of figs, which, it would seem, contained an asp concealed among the leaves. Before applying the snake to her bosom, she sent a communication to Octavian, requesting that he would allow her to be buried with Antony. The heir of Cæsar, fearing that his prey might escape, despatched one of his officers to anticipate her action, if that were possible; but the officer, on arriving, found Cleopatra lying dead upon a couch of gold, attired in her royal robes. She had two of her women with her—Iras and Charmian. The first was dead at her feet; the other, still alive, was trembling with the approaching change, but pathetically endeavouring to arrange the diadem upon the head of Cleopatra. "Is this well done, Charmian?" said one of the soldiers who had entered. "It *is* well done," replied the faithful attendant, "and worthy of a princess descended from so many noble kings;" and with these words she sank lifeless by the side of her mistress. The probability is that all the women had been destroyed by the asp, which, it is believed, afterwards escaped towards the sea-shore. But, although this is the account generally received, and familiarised to the eye through many pictorial representations, it is not absolutely certain. Octavian, however, believed it, or desired others to do so; for, at his triumph when he returned to Rome, the image of Cleopatra was carried on a bier, with serpents wreathed about the arms.

It is to the credit of Octavian that he granted the dying request of Cleopatra, and deposited her body with royal honours by the side of Antony. He also spared her children by that commander—a circumstance which tempted Cæsarion to reappear from his retreat in Ethiopia. In the view of Octavian, however, Cæsarion was a very different person from the offspring of Antony. He feared him as a rival, for there were many who believed—what, indeed, may have been true—that he was really the son of Julius. He was therefore put to death as an imposter, and at the same time Cassius of Parma, the last survivor of Cæsar's assassins, and Canidius, one of the chief of Antony's lieutenants, were slain by order of Octavian. Towards the Alexandrians, the conqueror behaved with great clemency. He told the people that he spared their city for the memory of its founder, for its own beauty, and for the sake of the native philosopher Areius, who was then living among them. The death of Cleopatra took place on the 30th of the month Sextilis, afterwards called August in honour of her illustrious enemy. The dynasty of the Ptolemies was now brought to a close, after having existed for nearly three hundred years. But it was not only the dynasty which passed away with the dying breath of the proud and passionate Cleopatra: the Egyptian monarchy itself ceased to exist with her—a monarchy which was probably the oldest in the world, and which even then could be traced back for a period of more than three thousand years. The mysterious land of the Nile, with its pyramids and its tombs, its ruins of a civilisation which makes Greece look modern, and its later culture which was due to Greece, now became a province in the vast Roman Empire of which Octavian was the undisputed head. That province had been won entirely by his own efforts, and he made it directly subject to himself, instead of to the Senate. The government was entrusted to Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil and of Ovid, who was instructed to administer the new dependency with strict regard to the feelings of the people, to the traditional customs of the Pharaohs, and to the religion which had survived so many changes. The country was not harassed by the extortionate demands of Roman tax-gatherers, and, that all irregular ambition might be excluded, Octavian afterwards obtained a decree of the Senate directing that the Governor should never be of higher than Equestrian rank, and that no Senator should visit the province without express permission. Three legions were stationed in the conquered territory, and the finances were managed by an officer who rendered his accounts to Octavian himself. Cornelius Gallus proved unworthy of the trust reposed in him, and, being deprived of his government on account of misconduct, threw himself on his sword in 26 B.C. He was succeeded by one Ælius Gallus, who in 24 B.C. conducted an expedition into Arabia, of which Strabo furnished an account.

In gratitude for his unbroken success, Octavian founded a second Nicopolis to the east of Alexandria, and then, having regulated the affairs of the new province, began his journey homewards before the end of 30 B.C. Everywhere he was received with honour and enthusiasm; but he delayed his re-entry into Rome, either to enjoy these manifestations of respect, or to allow the memory of his proscriptions to die out in the capital. The winter months were spent in Asia Minor, and it was not until the summer of 29 B.C. that Octavian returned to Italy. He had at that time been absent from

Rome nearly two years; but the able administration of Mæcenas had preserved tranquillity, and assured the adhesion of the people to the Cæsarian cause. A brief attempt at resistance had been made by Lepidus, the son of the deposed Triumvir; but he was seized, and sent in chains to Asia. The aristocratic party was thoroughly vanquished, and for Octavian there was nothing but public honours and general acclamation. As he drew near the Eternal City, the conqueror of Antony and of the renowned Egyptian Queen was met by the Senate, the people, and the Vestal Virgins, and escorted within the walls as the hero of a triple triumph—one for his Dalmatian victories, one for the battle of Actium, and one for the conquest of Egypt. These grand celebrations took place on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of Sextilis (August), and were followed by splendid games and solemn observances. By the vote of the Senate, Octavian was allowed the constant use of the triumphal dress; it was also decreed that a quinquennial festival should be kept in his name, that his birthday should be observed with religious rites, and that he should be associated with the Senate and the people of Rome in the public prayers for the State.

Octavian was thus placed almost on a level with Julius Cæsar himself, and the riches he had brought from the East enabled him to reward his followers with a liberality which guaranteed their continued friendship. It is said that this immense addition to the wealth of the community seriously enhanced the price of commodities at Rome, that estates were doubled in nominal value, and that at the same time the interest of money sank two-thirds. The Roman world was now at peace, with the exception of some comparatively trivial contests in Gaul and Spain, and the Temple of Janus in the Forum, which had been shut only twice before (during the reign of Numa, and again after the first Punic War), was once more closed. Octavian was endued with the very genius for ensuring a continuance of tranquillity, not merely external, but internal. His personal inclinations were averse from war, while his capacity as an administrator was supreme. He had now acquired a degree of power which, without the title of royalty, was equal to that of most sovereigns, and he had the temperance and wisdom to use it with discretion. Freedom was at an end; but it had died of its own excesses, and the new order promised to effect some of the best results of freedom without its peculiar dangers, though doubtless with dangers of its own which were not less serious. Still, it is surprising to find a people like the Romans, who for nearly five centuries had been accustomed to a representative form of government, quietly acquiescing in the extinction of their ancient liberties. Julius Cæsar, Antony, and Octavian, had all risen to power by the supreme strength of genius. The first and third of those Dictators had undoubtedly the tacit approval of the majority; but their success was the triumph of personal influence over long-established systems.

Nevertheless, the forms of the constitution still survived. Octavian, for the present, was simply Consul—a Consul, indeed, for the fifth time, but still not a King, nor even a Dictator. He was at the head of the army, however, and that gave him a position of command which it would not have been safe to dispute, even had there been many desirous of disputing it. His Imperium, in the military sense, became extinct after his threefold triumph; but the Senate conferred on him the title of Imperator for life, as they had previously done in the case of Julius Cæsar. He was also made perpetual Censor, with Agrippa for his colleague, and in this capacity ordered a revision of the list of Senators, ejecting from their body several whom he considered unfit for the position. Their number, which had been increased by Antony to a thousand members, was now reduced to six hundred, at which it had long stood. A property qualification was required, and, while seeming to consult the honour of the Senate, Octavian took care to purge its ranks of all members whom he suspected as inimical to himself. The Equestrian Order was likewise revised; the patrician class was enlarged by the ennobling of many plebeians; and a vast administrative system was commenced, which resulted in the creation of many offices, whose occupants were naturally devoted to their patron. In 28 B.C., Octavian was made Consul for the sixth time, and in this office, as in the Censorship, was associated with Agrippa. A census of the population, which was now taken, showed that the total number of Roman citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty was 4,164,000. This, however, must be understood as meaning not merely the inhabitants of Rome, but all those Italians possessing Roman rights.

Octavian was soon afterwards named Chief of the Senate, a title which had been in abeyance since the death of Catulus, in 60 B.C. This was regarded as the highest of all honorary distinctions, though it conferred no real power. The term Princeps (or First), applied to this position, gave to the authority of Octavian a certain appearance of regality, without offending the people by a distinctly royal appellation, such as their prejudices would not have endured. The writers of the

earliest period of the Empire generally use this term "Princeps," and not "Imperator," when speaking of the head of the State; but it was in truth an approach to some form of kingship, though an approach managed with consummate skill. A seventh Consulship followed on the 1st of January, 27 B.C., when Octavian made an oration to the Senate, offering to resign the Imperium. The Senators begged of him to retain that office; but he would not accept it for more than ten years, and at the same time insisted that his powers in this respect should be used only in those provinces which were still disturbed by wars, while the others were left to the government of the Senate. The arrangement became permanent, and there was consequently a distinction between the Senatorial Provinces and the Provinces of Cæsar. The distribution of these territorial possessions has been differently stated by various authors; but, according to Dion Cassius, the provinces of the Senate and people were Africa Proper, Numidia, Asia Proper, Hellas (or Achaia) with Epirus, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Sicily, Sardinia, Crete with Cyrenaica, Bithynia with Pontus, and Hispania Bætica; while those of Cæsar were Lusitania, Hispania Tarraconensis, Gallia, Cilicia, Syria, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. Judæa, though considered a part of Syria, was governed separately. Some alterations in this arrangement were subsequently introduced; but it is needless to detail them here.

It will thus be seen how near an approach to sovereign power was made by Octavian, while still preserving some of the most distinctive forms of the constitution. Before long, it appeared reasonable that a person holding so exalted a position should be distinguished by some appellation greater than that of Princeps, which he held in common with other chiefs of the Senate in previous times. To devise a title which should not be offensive to preconceived ideas was, however, no easy matter. Some proposed "Romulus," or "Quirinus," the two names by which the founder of the Roman State was known; but this was considered objectionable, as savouring of impiety towards a deified hero, and making too close an approximation to the hated name of king. Finally, it was determined that Octavian should receive the designation of Augustus, a title never before applied to any man, but associated with many venerable and sacred things. The word was derived from the "auguries" by which the will of the gods was revealed to men; it was connected with the authority of Jove himself; the rites of the divinities, and the temples of their worship, were alike called "august." * This lofty title was conferred on Octavian by the Senate about the middle of January, 27 B.C. It is usual, from this period, to describe the heir of Julius by the name of Augustus, though in truth it was not a name at all, but a term of honour. The family name, by adoption, was Cæsar; and Cæsar was the name by which all the earlier Roman Emperors were known. Diocletian, in the latter part of the third Christian century, created two subordinate Emperors, whom he called Cæsars, while he retained for himself, and for his colleague in the supreme government, the higher title of Augustus. But the name of Cæsar was always regarded as in some respects the noblest that a man could bear; and in a later age it was adopted by the Greek Emperors of the East, as the designation by which they claimed to represent in their own dominions the grandeur and continuity of Roman power.

The title of Emperor was, as we have seen, a purely military appellation in its first use. With Julius Cæsar it acquired a political meaning; but it was not until after the time of the Antonines that the word was understood as indicating a monarch placed above the State, and embodying its whole power in a tangible and splendid form. The Emperors of the modern world have always possessed very much of the military character; but this character does not necessarily attach to the office, except to the extent that the chief magistrate of every State is at the head of the armed force by which that State is maintained in its independence and its dignity. The nearest approach to the Cæsarism of the ancient world has been made twice within the present century by the family of the Bonapartes in France. The Cæsarism of the Napoleons, however, had a more democratic character than that which was established by Octavian. But in both there is to be found a considerable affinity with the Republican idea; for each recognises the State as the chief fact in a nation's life, and regards the monarch, not as a divinely-appointed being, possessed of territorial rights by hereditary descent, but as a supreme officer, into whose hands the commonwealth commits all its principal powers, and who has no other title to rule than in the necessities, real or supposed, of the body politic.

* Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic, chap. 17.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.

Illness of Augustus—Increased Powers on his Recovery—Gradual Assumption of all the Offices of State—Reforms of Augustus—Position of the Emperors towards the Laws—Functions of the Senate under the New Order—The Consular Power re-modelled—Duties of the Præfect of Rome—Administration of the Senatorial and Imperial Provinces—The Army, Police, and Navy—Sources of Revenue—Simple Habits of Augustus—Arrangements for securing the Succession—Extent of the Roman Empire shortly before the Christian Era—Civilising Mission of Rome—Union of Italy—Size, Population, and General Character of the Roman Metropolis—Grandeur of the Public Buildings—Method of Feeding the Poorer Classes—Wild Beast Shows and Gladiatorial Combats—Roads and Posting Stations—Exchange of Population amongst different Parts of the Empire—Religion and Morals—Renovation of the Empire under Augustus—Plots against his Life—His Campaign in Parthia, and Recovery of the Standards of Crassus—Augustus in Transalpine Gaul—Brilliant Campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus in Vindelicia and Rhætia—Death of Agrippa—Intrigues of Livia, the Wife of Augustus—Tiberius and Julia—Drusus on the Rhine—Character of the Ancient Germans—The Three Invasions of Germany by Drusus—Accidental Death of that Commander—War on the Lower Danube—The Rhine and the Danube connected by a Line of Forts—Renewal of War on the German Frontier—Retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes—Banishment of Julia—Augustus proclaimed "Father of his Country"—Outbreak of fresh Commotions in the East.

AFTER a brief but successful expedition against some wild tribes of North-western Spain, in 27-6 B.C.—an expedition which was interrupted by a severe illness, lasting nearly two years—Augustus returned to Rome in the early part of 24 B.C. For the second time during his rule, the Temple of Janus had been closed the previous year. It is a remarkable fact in connection with the heir of Julius, that his health continued to be extremely precarious up to fifty years of age, and that after that period he never had a day's sickness until the time of his death, more than a quarter of a century later. In the year following his return from Spain—that is to say, in 23 B.C.—he was again incapacitated by sickness, and lay for a time in daily expectation of death. It was believed that he would appoint a successor; but he restored his powers into the hands of the Senate, and gave his seal-ring to Agrippa, as if to indicate that he was the man best fitted to carry on the affairs of the commonwealth. This implied recognition that the Republic was a thing still existing—this acknowledgment that he himself was no king, with the right of nominating another to the same position, but simply the first officer of the State, selected by his fellow-citizens—added much to the popularity of Augustus. On his recovery, he resigned the Consulship, which at that time he had held nine years without intermission, as well as twice before; but this abnegation of power was accompanied or followed by an extension of his perpetual proconsular authority over all the provinces, which in effect gave him almost unlimited control over the armies, the laws, the revenues, and the foreign policy of the Empire. The military oath of obedience was now taken to Augustus alone, and the fidelity of the legionaries was thus secured, so far as such observances could secure it. But the assumption of sovereign power would not have been complete without some introduction of the popular element. To Augustus, therefore, were permanently confided (though with a pretence of yearly renewal) the privileges of the Plebeian Tribunes, so that he became the acknowledged chief of the people, and acquired the right to interpose his veto on any act of the Senate which he might disapprove. The democracy, in fact, merged its political existence in the supremacy of one man, who, as if to show his contempt of representative institutions, went far towards suppressing the time-sanctioned meetings of the people. The law of treason against the State was extended to the person of the Emperor, and the various attributes of kingship were gathered about a ruler who all the while professed to be neither a king nor a tyrant.

It was in the name of the Senate, and to a great extent by its agency, that Augustus governed the Roman world. In this way the ancient Republic was preserved in form, if not in essence, and a venerable institution remained as the buttress and grace of the new order. But it was equally the fixed determination of Augustus to accumulate in his own hands all the principal offices of government; and he did this so gradually, and with so careful a regard to constitutional forms, that the people were cajoled into a renunciation of the substance of power, by being suffered to retain its shadow. For a time, the right of electing two Consuls was left with the citizens; but when, during the absence of Augustus in the year 22 B.C., scenes of riot and bloodshed occurred in Rome, the Emperor on his return in 19 B.C. took to himself all the functions of the Consular office, which

thenceforward existed only in name. Finally, in 12 B.C., on the death of Lepidus, the Chief Pontificate was bestowed on Augustus, who then made a further reform in the calendar, appointed a new religious ritual, repaired the temples, and raised fresh monuments to the heroes. As regarded legislation, the Emperor, in virtue of his Consular and Tribunitian power, claimed the right of initiative; but a good deal still remained to the Senate, and each reign by a law duly passed; and, however much the despotic Emperors may have acted with arbitrary and passionate caprice, it was in defiance of the true conditions on which they held their power. Theoretically, and often practically, the head of the Roman State was a very different ruler from the kings of Asia, or even from many of the sovereigns of Europe in more recent times. He claimed no mysterious right of governing as the

A ROMAN BAKERY.

the people continued to have a voice in their Assembly, so far as that was tolerated. Thus, the laws were not the sole creation of the Emperor; but it belonged to him, in his magisterial capacity, to interpret them in authoritative Edicts, and in Rescripts, or written replies to cases submitted to him. Both kinds of decisions grew in time into a code known under the general appellation of the "Imperial Constitutions;" yet, although successive Emperors were released from the operation of particular laws, it is incorrect to say that either Augustus or any one of his successors was above the law. The Imperium and other prerogatives were conferred afresh at the commencement of representative of heaven, but was a species of Consul appointed for life. The Empire was in fact the Republic in a new shape.

In some respects, Augustus forsook the policy of the reforming party set on foot by the Gracchi, and afterwards carried on by Marius and by Julius Cæsar. He rather obstructed than favoured the elevation of provincials to the rights of citizenship, and imposed restrictions on the manumission of slaves. On the other hand, following the example of his great-uncle, he reduced by more than a third the recipients of the corn-bounty; but it would have been dangerous to abolish the grant altogether, and accordingly the Empire, like the later Republic,

provided "Bread and Games" for the support and delectation of the people. To the Senate, Augustus always showed peculiar honour. He attended its meetings, and voted with the other members; and he revived the former custom of allowing the sons of Senators to sit in the house. The Senate met three times a month, except during the period of vacation, which was in September and October; and the measures which came before it were matured in a committee chosen by lot previous to being passed by the whole body. Of discussion, except in the committee, there was hardly any; and a law proposed by the Emperor was pretty certain to be sanctioned. Should the Senate take any independent action, Augustus could at once set it aside by exercising the veto which belonged of old to the Tribunes, and which had now passed to the new Cæsar with his assumption of the Tribunitian privileges. As a matter of fact, therefore, no measures originated with the Senate, the members of which simply awaited the pleasure of their master, or of the Consuls, who were in truth his servants. Still, the venerable council of the Fathers enjoyed the right of passing—and therefore, by implication, of withholding—the Lex Regia, which at the end of every reign ratified the acts of the late Emperor, and conferred the Imperium on his successor. This right they some-

AUGUSTUS.

times asserted, though it was frequently taken out of their hands by the army; but, on the whole, the Emperors had little to fear from a body which they possessed so many ways of moulding to their own purposes. The Consuls were retained; but they now became the nominees of Cæsar, who conferred the office on his favourites for brief periods —sometimes even for less than a month. One of their duties was to preside over the Senate, with the Prince seated between them; and Augustus conducted the business of the Chamber through their agency. The people were gratified at the perpetuation of the old office, together with others scarcely less important, and did not stay to inquire whether their nature had not wholly changed beneath the wonder-working touch of Augustus.

To govern the capital under the Emperor, and particularly during his absence, an office formerly existing under the Kings was revived. To the Præfect of the city was confided the supervision of all matters of police, together with jurisdiction over individuals in particular cases. When the Emperor was away, the Præfect had command over Rome itself, and the surrounding country to the distance of one hundred miles. Purely municipal functions—such as the care of public buildings, roads, aqueducts, and sewers, the navigation of the Tiber, the distribution of corn, &c.—were managed by boards, the members of which were probably paid. The provinces were undoubtedly gainers by the change from Republican to Imperial forms. Even in the Senatorial dependencies, no slight improvement was speedily experienced. The rapacity of the Proconsuls, which under the Republic had often been unbounded, and was seldom punished by a due execution of the law, fell beneath a systematic check, while the large expenditure of these officials, which came out of the Imperial treasury, proved a source of riches to many an obscure country town. Cities which had the character of Roman colonies enjoyed their own local government; the others were under the direct authority of the Proconsul, who administered justice, and enforced the payment of the revenue. The Imperial provinces were even better managed than the Senatorial: the taxes were lighter, and the government was under a more perfect control. In the reign of Tiberius, Achaia and Macedon, which belonged to the Senate, petitioned, as a special favour, to be transferred to the rule of the Emperor. The Governors of the Imperial provinces, who were called Legati Cæsaris, were invested with very considerable powers, for which, however, they were accountable to the sovereign. It was part of their duty to defend the frontiers, and they had also to watch over any tributary princes whose territories were close at hand. Acts of injustice were of course committed by some of these functionaries; but they were less frequent than in previous times, while the punishment of wrong-doers was more assured. The fact of the Provincial deputies having a fixed salary, instead of being suffered to extort what they could from the people, was an effective guarantee of more equitable administration.

The army acquired a fixed and professional character after the establishment of the Empire. In all the provinces, the head of the State was the supreme commander of the forces, and both there and at Rome a standing army was appointed. The Emperor's person was surrounded by a picked body of warriors, called the Prætorian Guard, and formed after the model of the cohort which used in earlier times to keep watch before the Prætorium, or general's tent. They were recruited exclusively in Italy, received double pay, and were enlisted for only twelve years, instead of sixteen. Augustus also placed great reliance on a battalion of German infantry, and a squadron of Batavian cavalry, whom he always kept near him, together with a few picked and experienced soldiers from the legions. Another body of troops, entitled the Urban Cohorts, guarded the city from attack and from internal tumults; and police duties were undertaken by seven cohorts, who patrolled the streets at night, maintained a close watch over malefactors, and assisted in the extinguishing of fires, which were very frequent in old Rome. The total number of soldiers in the capital is thought not to have exceeded fifteen thousand—a remarkably small number when we consider the extent of the city; and they were distributed in various quarters, so as not to over-awe the civilians. This wise and considerate policy, however, was altered by the next Emperor, Tiberius, who concentrated the Prætorian Guard in a fortified camp. The strength of the Imperial army, exclusive of the forces in Rome itself, was 340,000 men, large numbers of whom were recruited from the provinces. A regular and permanent navy was added to the land forces, and numerous fleets, some of larger and some of smaller vessels, were stationed in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Euxine, while flotillas of boats paraded the waters of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. From this brief sketch it will be seen that the Roman Empire was organised by Augustus, both as to its civil and its military condition, with a completeness far surpassing that of the Republic.

Such results, however, could not be accomplished

without additional expenditure. The State domains had been exhausted by repeated division among the people, and it was now found necessary to resort to direct taxation. Augustus therefore imposed a capitation-tax, which included both a land-tax and a poll-tax; he likewise derived considerable revenue from the mines, quarries, forests, fisheries, and salt-works of the provinces, which had always been regarded as the property of the commonwealth, and which were either farmed by speculators, or let out at a fixed rent. Various rates, duties, tolls, and other imposts, added to the pecuniary resources of the Empire, and Augustus conscientiously applied these immense national riches to the service of the country, rather than to his own pleasure and glory. His mode of living was not more ostentatious than that of an ordinary patrician. Dwelling in a mansion of moderate dimensions, without any of the paraphernalia belonging to a court, Augustus maintained his power without offending his countrymen by the semblance of royalty. He always professed to consider his position as temporary, and to regard the Republic as superior to himself. For the same reason, he discouraged flattering forms of address, and servile demonstrations of respect; so that the people seemed to have all the advantages of monarchy, without those externals which would have shocked transmitted prejudices or national dignity. Nevertheless, the Emperor was not disregardful of the future, and took pains to provide for the continuance of the new order which he had established. Although married three times, he had no son, and but one daughter. His last wife was Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, and wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, who, in 38 B.C., was compelled to divorce her, that she might be married to the representative of the Cæsars. By her second husband she had no children; but to the first she bore a son, distinguished by the same name as his father; and shortly after her second marriage she gave birth to another son, whose paternity was not denied by Claudius Nero. The name of this second son was Nero Claudius Drusus; and through *his* son, Germanicus, he became the grandfather of the Emperor Caius Cæsar, more commonly known as Caligula. The immediate successor of Augustus, however, was the first son, Tiberius; but it was not until the fourth year of the Christian era that, in default of other heirs, he was adopted by Augustus.

The Roman Empire now embraced the greater part of what may be described as the Western World. Its eastern boundary, so far as Asia was concerned, was the Lower Euphrates. To the west it touched on the Atlantic; in the north it bordered on Germany and Sarmatia; and in the south it extended to the edge of the Libyan Desert. The area of these immense possessions has been estimated at about 4,000,000 square miles; the population was probably 100,000,000, and it is calculated that nearly half were slaves. We are apt to talk about Rome being mistress of the whole world; but this is a very great exaggeration, for there were vast regions of the globe—some barbarian, and others civilised—which never submitted to her sceptre. In making that statement, we have no need to take into the account those portions of the earth (such as America) of whose very existence the ancients were entirely ignorant. Even in the Eastern hemisphere, the Imperial City either failed to establish its power in various quarters, or never attempted to establish it. The Germans and Scythians—the Parthians, Indians, and other nations of the extreme East—the Ethiopians, and wandering tribes of Southern and Western Africa—maintained their independence even against the enormous resources of the Cæsars, or lay wholly beyond the bounds of their ambition. To the Romans themselves, however, in those days of imperfect geographical knowledge, it may have seemed that they held nearly everything that was worthy of a civilised man's regard. They had, undoubtedly, absorbed all those countries which presented the highest and noblest types of human activity and intellect. Their realm bordered the Mediterranean on every one of its four sides; and the Mediterranean must be taken as representing the very heart and centre of the ancient world. Everything beyond the majestic dominion of Rome may not unnaturally have appeared to a Roman as mere waste ground, inhabited by barbarians who were scarcely within the pale of humanity. We now know that in the East there were forms of civilisation, inferior, indeed, to those of Greece and Western Asia, yet still possessing an interest and grandeur of their own. We likewise know that the north of Europe had already developed germs of nationalities capable of acting a most important part in the future progress of mankind, and of originating new forms of civilisation, which in some respects surpass the old. But to Augustus and his fellow-countrymen these facts were unknown and inconceivable. They looked beyond the shores of Italy, and found themselves in every direction confronted by races whom their valour had subdued, and whom their policy kept in check. To the east they had inherited the dominion of Alexander the Great, and were the masters of those Greek populations which supplied them with the very elements of literary and artistic culture. In the west they

had subdued many nations, to whom they were now in turn handing on the knowledge they had themselves received. Their position was the grandest that has ever fallen to the lot of any human power; and, in spite of innumerable faults and many crimes, it must be admitted that their part in the world's history has been that of benefactors, to whom all succeeding times have been indebted in a larger degree than can be clearly stated or defined.

Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian waters, was now united as a single country, all the free-born natives of which were Roman citizens. The peninsula was divided into a number of districts bearing some similarity to our counties, and each of these seems to have been under the administration of a Præfect. Rome was parcelled out into fourteen regions or wards, each of which was presided over by a local magistrate. The size of this immense capital cannot be exactly ascertained. It was certainly at that time the largest city in the world, unless there were some larger in the extreme East. Whether it equalled the more ancient cities of Nineveh and Babylon may be doubtful; and it was certainly not so extensive as the London of our own times. But it is probable that the population was no less than two millions and a quarter: it may even have been more. The streets were so narrow, and the houses were built up to so great a height, that the superficial extent of the metropolis was not commensurate with the vast number of human beings it is believed to have accommodated. Each of the houses was separated from the others by narrow lanes or passages, on which account they were called *insulæ*, or islands. The basements were substantially built of stone, but the upper storeys were so slightly constructed of tiles and wood that they not unfrequently fell over into the roadway, and Augustus forbade any *insula* to be built higher than seventy feet. House-rent in Rome was high: it is calculated that about £18 of our money was paid for the third or fourth floor of an ordinary dwelling. These houses varied, of course, in proportion to the means of those who inhabited them; but the *domus* of the rich, which was often situated in the suburbs, and surrounded by delightful gardens, presented every refinement of luxury which a voluptuous age could furnish. The house of the demagogue Clodius cost 14,800 sestertia, or £131,000 sterling; and others were even more magnificent, and more expensive.

The grandeur of Rome received considerable additions during the reign of Augustus; indeed, he himself boasted that he found the city of brick, and left it of marble. Much of its primitive simplicity, however, had disappeared before his time. Pompey built a stone theatre near the Campus Martius, which was capable of holding 40,000 spectators. It was the first Roman edifice of the kind destined for permanence, for all the previous structures had been of wood. The Pompeian theatre was adorned with gold, marble, and precious stones, brought from those Oriental cities which the great soldier had reduced by his sword; and attached to it was a temple dedicated to Venus the Conqueror, to which the seats of the theatre served as a flight of stairs, conducting to the portico of the sacred edifice. The size of the theatre was such that five hundred lions were hunted and slaughtered within the compass of the arena, and eighteen elephants contended with bands of gladiators. Augustus did nothing to surpass this; but he added two smaller theatres to the attractions of his capital. He likewise improved the general character of the buildings, increased the number of aqueducts, erected many temples (into which, for the first time, he introduced Carrara marble), and constructed an immense Therma, or bathing establishment, surrounded by a park, and containing within its walls lecture-rooms, libraries, and galleries of pictures and sculpture. In later ages, these baths grew more numerous, and were adorned with constantly increasing splendour. Useful in the first instance as adjuncts to health, they afterwards became one of the most enervating attributes of luxury, and the scenes of licentious intrigue and systematic dissipation.

It has already been stated that Augustus reduced the recipients of the corn-bounty by more than a third: even then, however, some 200,000 of the free citizens of Rome were paupers, depending for their subsistence on the gratuitous distribution of food. For the sustenance of so immense a multitude, it was necessary to import into Rome every year 35,156 quarters of corn, and a permanent officer, called the Præfectus Annonæ, was appointed to take charge of this very important department of State. It was principally from Sicily, Egypt, and Africa Proper, that the corn was derived, and, having been conveyed in ships to the port of Ostia, it was thence carried in boats up the Tiber, and stored in three hundred granaries, or at once distributed. To persons whose qualification had first been duly ascertained by the proper authorities, a corn-ticket was issued, which on presentation entitled its owner to a monthly instalment of grain. Corn was also occasionally sold at a low price, and the provinces would sometimes offer gifts, by which they doubtless hoped to obtain

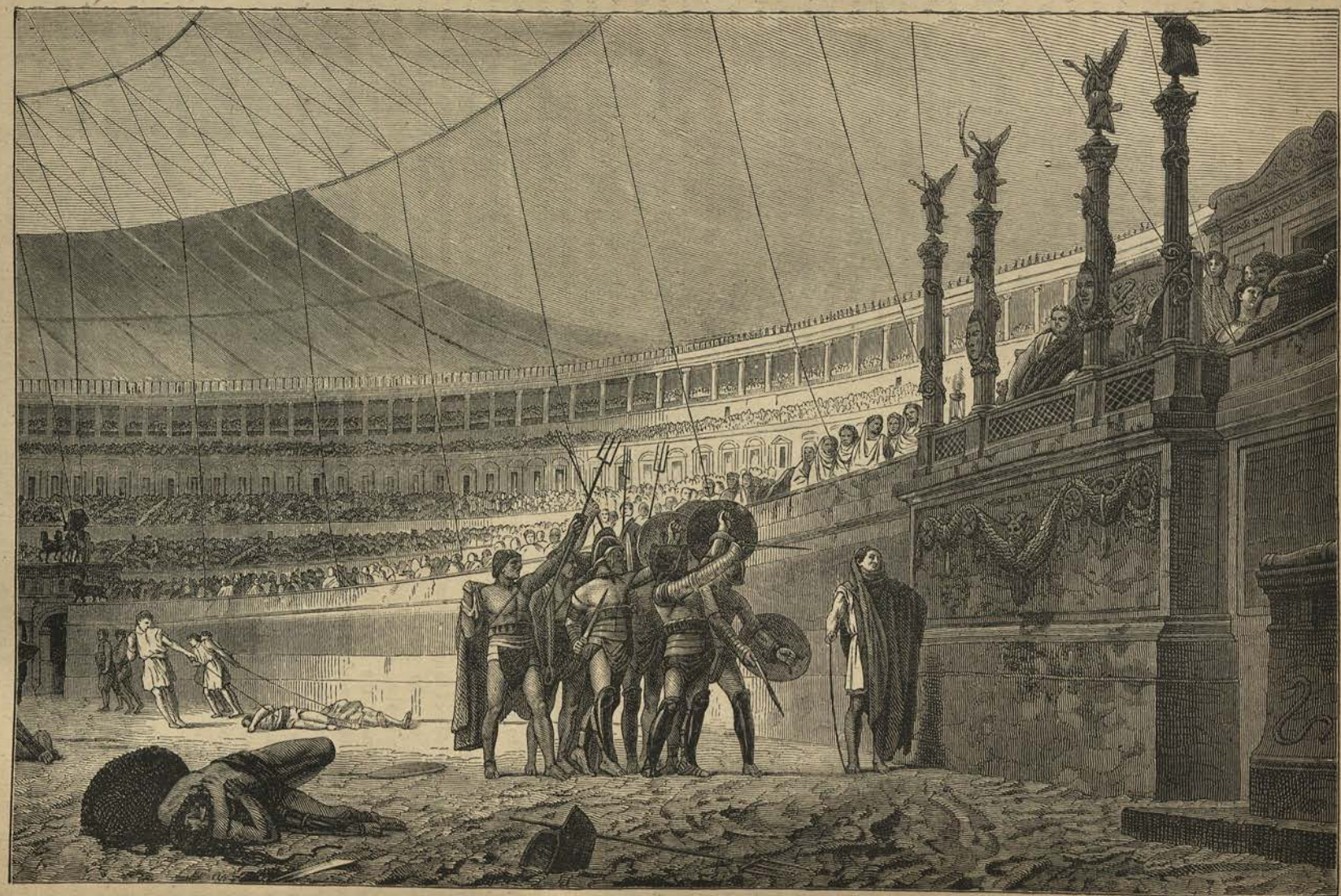
favours for themselves. There can be no question that the system was developed to a demoralising degree, and that it encouraged idleness and profligacy; yet some assistance to the poor was both just and politic, and the principle was not greatly different from that of our poor-laws. Rome was not an industrial or manufacturing city; its wealth was derived from the plunder of subjected provinces; and, although there were numerous rich persons who spent lavishly, a large class of poor dependents remained, for whom there was no sufficient occupation, and whom the State could not suffer to starve.

The entertainments provided in the public theatres were not merely dramatic performances, but to a much greater extent combats with wild beasts (when hundreds of animals would sometimes be slaughtered on one occasion), and gladiatorial fights, in which slaves, captives, criminals, and even freemen, encountered one another with swords and other deadly weapons. These atrocious exhibitions were first introduced at a very early period of the Republic; but they increased in frequency and cruelty in successive ages. We have seen that the professional combatants were so numerous in the early part of the first century B.C. that their leader, Spartacus, was able to maintain a prolonged and formidable war against the Roman authorities. The danger was too evident to be altogether neglected, and from time to time laws were proposed to limit the number of these swordsmen, as well as to confine the period of such entertainments to particular seasons of the year. Augustus himself sought to curb the abuse, but without any lasting effect. Under the Emperors, not only did professional gladiators engage one another in the arena, but Senators, Knights, and even women, stimulated the people with ferocious contests. Nero is said to have exhibited at one show no fewer than six hundred Knights and four hundred Senators. The most usual combats, however, and doubtless the most sanguinary, were those of trained slaves and captives, who engaged because they were compelled to do so by the cruelty of their masters. Many were farmed by speculators, who taught them how to fight with spirit and to die with grace; and it is recorded that they were fed in such a way as to cause the blood to flow slowly when they were wounded, and thus prolong the final agonies. Nothing gives a more appalling idea of the savage nature inherent in the Roman population than the transports of satisfaction and wild excitement with which the spectators greeted performances which often resulted in a lingering and painful death. The spectators had the right of determining when a wounded combatant should be either spared or slain outright; and the merciful view is not likely to have been the one most frequently adopted. The gladiatorial sports of Rome were abolished by Constantine the Great, revived under the reigns of Constantius and his two successors, and finally extinguished by Honorius.

ROMAN MILESTONE.

Intercommunication between the several parts of the Roman Empire was favoured by the magnificent roads constructed in every direction, and of which more than twelve, starting from Rome itself, ran throughout the length and breadth of Italy. Milestones were planted at regular intervals, showing the distance from the metropolis, or from other towns. Along these routes, Government despatches were conveyed at the rate of a hundred miles a day by the aid of frequent relays of horses, which were provided at the post-stations established at various points. The Persians, ages before, had a system of the like nature, and in both Empires the facility of intercourse did much towards maintaining and circulating the common vitality of the whole mass. In the Roman Empire, a considerable interchange of population amongst the component parts operated favourably for the creation of an Imperial nationality. Men of all countries subject to the Cæsars came to Rome; on the other hand, numerous Romans and Italians settled in outlying regions. The western provinces, such as Spain and Gaul, became almost completely Latinised by the Roman civilisation which they unconsciously absorbed. Their speech was the Latin speech, and the sentiment of nationality not seldom goes with language. The Grecian communities, as the inheritors of a more ancient and more refined civilisation, retained their own tongue, their own manners, and their own habits of thought; but Latin was the official language wherever the Empire extended.

The religion of the Romans had already undergone considerable modifications by contact with other races, and, as the Empire grew, and intercommunication became more facile, the character of the national faith declined still further from its original simplicity. Doubtless the ideas of Rome



GLADIATORS SALUTING THE EMPEROR BEFORE JOINING COMBAT.

re-acted on those of other communities; but it is probable that the Romans, except in the case of barbarous nations, received more than they imparted. In Polytheism, however, there was a common basis of agreement, which prevented any wide divergence or angry jealousy between one population and another. Toleration was assuredly the rule in the Pagan world, although there may have been instances where particular quarrels led to persecution. It was a general belief that each city or State had a special set of deities, who acted as its patrons and protectors. A man could therefore worship the gods of his nationality, and yet pay respect to those of another country, whom he might regard as having the same local value as his own. This was the sentiment which actuated Alexander the Great in his dealings with subject populations. This, too, was the feeling which induced Pompey to treat the Jewish priests and the Jewish Temple with a degree of forbearance which he would equally have extended to the religious systems of Syria, Babylon, or any other land. The Romans were so receptive in this respect that they were fond of visiting the Jewish synagogues and other foreign chapels, so that they might compare one form of worship with another. A great feeling of curiosity on the subject of religion seems to have pervaded the Roman mind a little before the advent of Christianity. The sentiment of toleration, however, was accompanied, as it frequently is, by a large amount of scepticism. Of the state of morals among the Imperial populations, it is impossible in this place to give any account. With the rich and idle the standard was undoubtedly very low; but we are probably doing an injustice to a large mass of human beings when we assume the truth, on anything like a general scale, of the dark pictures painted by the Roman satirists. Men of honesty and virtue were still to be found, and the mass of the people were

ROMAN GARDEN SCENE.
(Slaves carrying their Master on a Lectica, or Litter.)

probably no worse than the majority in all other times.

The Roman commonwealth, which had been almost ruined by a century of internal commotion, was restored to more than its pristine vigour by the firm yet liberal administration of Augustus, assisted by Agrippa and Mæcenas. There can be no question that the Emperor enjoyed a very general support; but there were some who envied his position, and resented the success with which he had quelled faction, and curbed the selfishness of a debauched and feeble aristocracy. In 22 B.C., a conspiracy against his life, headed by one Murena, was detected and punished. The offender was put to death, but Augustus was not entirely delivered from the fear of plots such as that which terminated the life of his great-uncle. Perhaps with a view to avoiding such dangers, or, more probably, in the hope of increasing his martial renown, he soon afterwards departed for the East, and conducted a campaign against Parthia. This was so far successful (though unattended by any warlike operations) that Phraates IV., the sovereign of the country, restored to him the standards taken from Crassus and Marc Antony, together with some captive soldiers, as the price of the restoration of his youngest son, who had been carried off to Augustus by Tiridates, a rival claimant to the throne. The king now gave up four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages, and this was considered by the Romans as a confession by the Parthian monarch that he regarded himself as a vassal prince. The Parthian achievement belongs to the year 20 B.C., and Augustus, leaving the East, passed the winter at Samos, where he received ambassadors from the Scythians and Indians, the latter of whom brought with them some tigers—animals with which the Romans were at that time wholly unacquainted. Returning to Rome in 19 B.C., the Emperor was welcomed with unbounded enthusiasm; but, desiring to avoid a public demonstration, to which he appears to have been always disinclined, he entered the city during the night. His army subsequently marched in with the ceremonial observances of an ovation, and Augustus suspended the recovered standards in the temple of Mars the Avenger. The return of the Emperor to Rome was thenceforward commemorated by the festival of the Augustalia, which was appointed for the 12th of October in every year. The ten years for which Augustus had accepted the Imperium expired in 19 B.C., and he required it to be renewed by the Senate for only five years, since it was always his policy to appear as an elected ruler, who aimed at no continuity of power, or the creation of dynastic rights. In 17 B.C. he again quitted the capital, committing the government of affairs entirely into the hands of Mæcenas, for Agrippa at the same time left for the East, to keep watch over Parthia, which was always a source of uneasiness to the Romans. The destination of Augustus himself was Transalpine Gaul, which was being devastated by the Germans, and treated with hardly less severity by the Roman procurator, Licinius, who had enriched himself by shameless exactions. Augustus was not above taking a bribe from this official, but in other respects acted with his usual fairness and sagacity. So numerous were the subjects demanding his attention that it was 14 B.C. before he quitted Gaul, where a large part of his time had been occupied with the details of a great scheme for connecting the Rhine and the Danube by a series of forts, which was to form the frontier of the Empire in that direction.

While Augustus was thus settling the affairs of the great North-western province, his step-sons, Tiberius and Drusus (the former in the twenty-seventh, the latter in the twenty-third year of his age), were operating against the barbarous populations of Vindelicia and Rhætia—countries corresponding with the Suabia, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Tyrol of modern times. Both lands were subdued with extraordinary rapidity, though the mountainous nature of the ground in Rhætia must have presented great obstacles to the Roman advance. Many of the Rhætians were sold into slavery, and the independence of these hardy mountaineers was subdued for several generations. In Vindelicia the conquerors founded the city of Augusta Vindelicorum, now Augsburg; and, in commemoration of the victories which his lieutenants had achieved, Augustus erected a monument at Rome, on which he engraved the names of forty-four conquered nations. Drusus was afterwards transferred to the command upon the Rhine, while Tiberius, having been appointed to the consulship for the year 13 B.C., returned to the capital at about the same time as Augustus himself, who, however, before re-entering Italy, had conducted an expedition against the Cantabri of Spain, a restless tribe temporarily subdued by Agrippa about seven years earlier. The great friend and military adviser of Augustus had himself returned to Rome in the same year, but was soon once more in arms, in consequence of some disturbances which had burst out in Pannonia. The malcontents were speedily reduced to order, and Agrippa had reached Campania on his way home, when he died towards

the end of March, 12 B.C., in the fifty-first year of his age. His body was deposited in the tomb which Augustus had designed for himself, and the Emperor pronounced his funeral oration. In losing Agrippa, Augustus lost a faithful servant and companion, who had contributed largely to his own success; and he was now exposed to the political intrigues of his wife Livia, who, finding that her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, were giving proof of great ability as soldiers, seems to have considered that she could advance their fortunes at the expense of her husband's. The Emperor soon afterwards gave his daughter Julia—who had previously been the wife of Claudius Marcellus, and subsequently of Agrippa—in marriage to Tiberius; and the latter, in order to receive her, was obliged to divorce Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, to whom he was much attached. Julia was celebrated for her beauty and wit; but the immorality of her life was regarded as scandalous, even in those lax and careless days. Tiberius was disgusted with the union into which he had been forced, and in 11 B.C. gladly departed for a campaign in Pannonia.

The position of Drusus on the Rhine brought him into contact with the warlike people dwelling to the east of the great river, and he determined to lead an expedition into the heart of Germany. That immense land, covered by primeval forests, and inhabited by a race of warriors, was almost entirely unknown to the Roman armies, although Julius Cæsar had entered it for a few days, and more recently Agrippa had chastised some of the border tribes who threatened the peace of Gaul. The Germans belonged, as we have already shown, to the great Teutonic race which has had so remarkable and widely-spread an influence over the nations of modern Europe. They were divided into many tribes, all of whom presented the same general characteristics. Strong, hardy, active, and courageous, simple, if coarse, in their manners, and addicted to war as much by natural taste as by the necessities of their position, they were the ancestors of those vast hordes of savage invaders who, a few centuries later, helped to shatter the enormous fabric of Roman power. Their religion included an elemental worship of the sun, moon, and stars, together with the earth itself, which was apparently regarded as the mother of the gods. Four of their principal deities—Tuisco, Woden, Thor, and Freya—have given names to four of our week-days; and in all essential respects the religion of those Germans was the religion of our English ancestors down to their conversion to Christianity by St. Augustine. The islands of the Baltic and the North Sea were regarded by them with peculiar reverence, as the seats of their most awful mysteries; and in one of these islands, according to Tacitus, the sacred car of the mother of the gods was supposed to be kept. As was natural to a primitive people constantly maintaining their independence at the sword's point, their religious ideas were strongly imbued with a martial spirit. The melancholy character of their dense forests and morasses was equally reflected in many of their theological practices; and the people were much addicted to the arts of divination, through which the secrets of futurity were darkly guessed by the flights of birds, the motions of animals, and a variety of circumstances which the less credulous would regard as purely accidental. The political government of the people was by clans, in which the aristocratical element prevailed, though a king with limited powers was chosen for the discharge of certain offices, and there were popular meetings of freemen for the discussion of public affairs. As in other nations, however, the love of freedom among the privileged classes did not prevent the denial of freedom to a large body of slaves.

Hoping to achieve a signal success over these fierce communities, Drusus crossed the Rhine in 12 B.C., and attacked the German tribes occupying the farther bank. He then prepared a flotilla for sailing down the stream towards the great maritime plain in the vicinity of its outfall, and, to facilitate his advance, cut a channel uniting the Rhine with the Vidrus, or Vecht, a stream flowing into Lake Flevo, which, in consequence of the augmentation of its waters, became in time the gulf we now know as the Zuyder-Zee. In conducting his maritime operations, Drusus received much assistance from the Frisians, the chief ancestors of the modern Dutch, and a people closely allied to the primitive English. Having reached the mouth of the Ems with considerable loss, the Roman commander found the season too far advanced for operations in the field, and retired to Gaul with some difficulty. The enterprise was renewed in the spring of 11 B.C., when Drusus penetrated as far as the Weser; but the Germans constantly retreated before him, until, as winter again approached, he found himself in a position of considerable peril. On commencing his retreat, the barbarians poured down upon his rear in vast and tumultuous crowds; but their ill-regulated attack was repulsed by the valour and discipline of the legions. Before recrossing the Rhine, Drusus built a fortress, called Alise, near the sources of the river Lippe. Some actions with frontier tribes succeeded in the year 10 B.C., and Drusus was then re-

called to Rome, to receive, together with his brother Tiberius, the honour of an ovation for previous successes. In 9 B.C. he was Consul, and, having obtained permission of Augustus, made another expedition into Germany. This time he reached the Elbe, but once more found himself under the necessity of retiring. It was afterwards related that a woman of prodigious stature appeared to him, and predicted his speedy death; and the believers in this vision pointed for its confirmation to the fact that, while still on the German side of the Rhine, Drusus fell from his horse, and received such injuries that he died about a month later, in the thirtieth year of his age. Tiberius arrived at the camp a little before his brother's decease, and, by the command of Augustus, conveyed the body to Rome, where it received a magnificent funeral. Although unsuccessful in his three attempts to subdue the Germans, Drusus was considered by his countrymen to have shown so lofty a valour, and so many admirable qualities, that they honoured his memory by the posthumous appellation of Germanicus, while the Senate decreed him a triumphal arch, the remains of which still exist. The Germans, however, were not subdued; but at any rate their incursions were checked.

About the same period, war was being prosecuted on the Lower Danube, where a Thracian priest attacked one of the petty kings in alliance with the Romans. In the three years from 13 to 11 B.C., Lucius Piso, the Proconsul of Pamphylia, who had crossed over from Asia to encounter the perils thus arising in the south-east of Europe, operated with such success as to conquer the whole country south of the Danube from Illyria to the Euxine. The line of forts from the Rhine to the Danube, which Augustus had contemplated a few years earlier, was then constructed, and some of these military stations grew into cities. Shortly afterwards, certain Gallic and Roman adventurers established themselves in the angle between the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Upper Danube; and they were ultimately defended by a rampart extending from the Danube to the Maine.

The Imperium of Augustus was once more renewed in 8 B.C., a year signalised by the death of Mæcenas, and the introduction to public life of Caius Cæsar, the eldest son of Agrippa and Julia. The Emperor then visited Gaul, and sent Tiberius to punish the Germans, who were again making irruptions into the Gallic territory. Temporary successes were followed by renewed disturbances; but in 7 B.C. Tiberius obtained a great victory over the Sicambri and Chatti, and on his return to Rome was associated with Augustus in the Tribunitian power. It was at this time, when a magnificent future seemed opening before him, that Tiberius requested permission to retire to Rhodes. His alleged reason was that he might study philosophy; but it is generally believed that the extreme profligacy of his wife Julia was the true motive. With great unwillingness, Augustus permitted him to depart, and for seven years he remained in the island, living in a very quiet and unobtrusive manner. The Emperor still retained his original affection for his daughter; but her incontinence at length wore out his patience, and in 3 B.C. he banished her to the island of Pantellaria, on the Campanian coast. Five years later, she was removed to Rhegium, and she died in great want a few months after her father, who had excluded her from any inheritance under his will. In 2 B.C. Augustus became Consul for the thirteenth and last time, and in the same year the title of *Pater Patriæ* (the Father of his Country) was conferred on him. The last year previous to the Christian era, as that is ordinarily computed, witnessed a fresh outbreak of commotions in the East, and Caius Cæsar was sent to command the forces of Rome, under the guidance of the experienced Lollius. The reign of Augustus (for such it really was) had now attained to considerable length; but fourteen years still remained, and they were years of great importance in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ROMAN LITERATURE, AND ITS DECLINE.

Later Republican Writers—Terentius Varro—Cicero: his Speeches, Treatises, and Letters—Cæsar's Military Memoirs—Sallust—Livy: his Character as an Historian—Lucilius—Lucretius: the Argument of his Poem, and its Philosophy—Catullus—Augustan Poets: their General Characteristics—Virgil's Life and Writings: the "Eclogues," "Georgics," and "Æneid"—Life and Writings of Horace—His Genius as a Moralist and Lyricist—The Elegiac Poets, Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius—Transition Period—Persius—Lucan's "Pharsalia"—Petronius Arbiter—Position of Seneca as a Philosopher—The Flavian Writers—Pliny the Elder, Quintilian, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial—Pliny the Younger—Tacitus and his Powers as an Historian—Juvenal.

At the period of Roman history we have now reached, it is desirable to glance once more across the intellectual field. The great Roman writers and their works are, however, so numerous—it is our good fortune to possess so many of them in their entirety, and they have been the subjects of so much accomplished scholarship—that to describe them with any minuteness would demand, not a chapter, but a volume. Besides, the names of the great authors of Republican and Imperial Rome are household words among cultivated Englishmen; next to their own literature, there is none with which they are more intimately acquainted; and it would be impossible, in most instances, to avoid retelling an old and perhaps hackneyed tale. All that will be attempted here, therefore, is to offer an outline sketch of these old worthies, giving importance to the less known among them, and leaving the reader to fill in the lights and shades and accessories of the portraits, either by consulting his own memory, or by reference to the works of those who have illustrated the subject with the touch of a master-hand.

The harbinger of the great army of men of letters who, from about the middle of the century before the commencement of the present era and onwards, were among the greatest of the many great men enrolled under the banner of Roman citizenship, and perhaps the worthiest of them all was Terentius Varro. He was born in the year 116 B.C., and devoted himself, in the first instance, to a military career, serving with valour and fidelity under Pompey, by whom he was made Legatus in Spain; but when the star of his superior grew pale before the rising genius of Cæsar, Varro threw up his command, and retired into private life. With a generosity which is highly honourable to him, Cæsar sought him out, and made him curator of the public library in Rome. There, one might think, he might have been suffered to end his days in peace; but Antony, with characteristic brutality, proscribed the harmless antiquarian, hunted him from villa to villa, plundered his house, and burned his library. The storm passed over, and Varro returned to Rome. His wealth was restored, but his books could not be replaced. He lingered on, well cared for by those who appreciated his sterling merit and pitied his calamities, until the year 28 of the Christian era, when death freed him for ever from the fortune whose buffets and rewards he seems to have taken with equal thanks. Varro was the literary child of Cato the Censor. He had all the latter's rigidity of morals, his caustic wit, and his contempt for the effeminacy and scepticism of the day. Like his model, he despised philosophy, not from ignorance, but because he thought it unsuited to the Roman genius. In his early years he wrote poetry, chiefly in a mock-heroic vein, and he was especially addicted to a species of satire called Menippean, from its originator, Menippus of Gadara—an admixture of prose and verse, in which the philosophical and social delinquencies of the age were handled with equal freedom and originality. His chief works were, however, of an antiquarian character; like Cato, he was an encyclopædist, and treated of law and religion, history, biography, and philology. Of his masterpiece, the "Divine and Human Antiquities," which was dedicated to Cæsar, only fragments remain. The work was badly arranged, and written in an uncouth style; but it was full of earnest piety and patriotism, and, being a monument of learning, was reverenced by later writers as an authority on the subject. The historical and biographical writings of Varro consisted of memoirs of his campaigns, a life of Pompey, and portraits of contemporary celebrities. The treatise on "the Latin Tongue," of which five out of the twenty-five books exist, was hastily compiled in his old age, and published by some incompetent literary executor. It is a valuable storehouse of facts, but worthless from its crude idea of the principles of etymology. Lastly comes the essay on Husbandry (*de re rustica*), which, though com-

posed in his eighty-first year, is distinguished by excellence of diction, as well as by varied knowledge. It is in that pleasant form of dialogue which is familiar to us in the writings of Izaak Walton.

Of the public life of Cicero, who entertained towards Varro feelings of the warmest esteem, sufficient details have already been given, and we may pass at once to a consideration of his merits as an orator, an author of works on rhetoric and philosophy, and a letter-writer—diverse fields, in which his unrivalled excellence combined to make his name the greatest in Roman prose literature. He also strove hard to become a poet, but in that capacity so distinctly failed that his efforts have been mercilessly ridiculed in all subsequent ages. Of the eighty orations that he is known to have composed, fifty-nine remain to us almost entire, and, though the publication of pleadings may be, as Mommsen says, the token of an unnatural and degenerate state of things, Cicero will be forgiven, because, by this habit of his, he created modern Latin prose. His speeches are, "some deliberative, others judicial, others descriptive, others personal; and, while in the two latter classes his talents are nobly conspicuous, the first is as ill-adapted as the second is pre-eminently suitable to his special gifts."* Cicero was at his best when speaking for the defence. His oration for Milo, which was never delivered, is a consummate model for lawyers of the way to deal with a hopeless case. In panegyric he has never been surpassed. His descriptions of character were also exceedingly happy, and displayed his ready wit with admirable effect. His feeble and colourless nature did not qualify him for invective. In one or two instances, as in the second Philippic against Antony, he rose to a great height of burning wrath and sustained denunciation; but, as a rule, his convictions were shallow, while his passion was so irregular, that in this respect he fell far behind the great Athenian, Demosthenes. His faults, indeed, were those of a weak man, and are ably summarised by the critic quoted above as, exaggeration, vanity, and an inordinate love of words. Cicero's rhetorical writings were chiefly in the form of dialogue. The best of them is the treatise "On Orators." In addition to a style of peculiar beauty, they possess much moral dignity, and show a high conception of the majesty of the art. In his dealings with philosophy, Cicero is, as might be expected, fairly open to the charge which Mommsen brings against him, of being a dabbler and a "journalist" in the worst sense of the terms. He sought to popularise the science, on which, in his leisure moments, he wrote voluminously, but with little real feeling, and no very clear perception, being dragged by his inclinations now towards Stoicism, now toward Epicureanism. Though voluble on the subject of religion, no one was ever less religious than Tully, as our grandfathers called him. However, with all his shortcomings, Cicero, of all the Romans, acquired most thoroughly the method of expressing the ideas of the great Greek thinkers. Lastly, as to his letters: these are invaluable for the side-lights they throw upon the history of the time, and are in themselves to be ranked very high—if judged from a literary point of view—among the collections of epistolary correspondence; some even prefer them to those of Madame de Sevigné. Of the letters that remain, the most important are those to his friend Atticus, which deal on multitudinous subjects. Hasty, shallow, and garrulous though they may be, they are throughout genuine, and disclose their author in the exceedingly pleasing light of an affectionate and honest comrade.

Cicero's great rival in the field of politics, Julius Cæsar, was, like him, a voluminous author. He wrote a closet-tragedy on the subject of Œdipus, a considerable quantity of poetry, a treatise on grammar, and works on the Auguries and Divination in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus. But those of his literary productions which possess the most enduring merit are his military memoirs, or Commentaries on the Gallic War and the Civil War. They are not history, but, like the despatches of Napoleon and Wellington, are admirable materials for history. The Commentaries suffer to a certain extent from hasty composition; they were thrown into narrative form in the author's brief moments of leisure, and gaps are not unfrequent. Partiality is almost inseparable from autobiography, especially when it treats of recent and almost contemporary events; besides, Cæsar's memoirs were published with the special purpose of justifying his conduct to the Roman Senate and people. Throughout, he is making out a case; facts are suppressed or distorted: nevertheless, there are numerous occasions on which he scorns concealment or evasion. To the military reader the Commentaries are delightful, and hardly less valuable to those who would know something about the ancient tribes of Gaul, Britain, and Germany; for Cæsar was no superficial observer, and possessed much descriptive power. His style was of the

* Crutwell: History of Roman Literature.

THE ENTRANCE OF A ROMAN THEATRE. *(After Alma Tadema, R.A.)*

purest Latinity: he scorned the meretricious adornments which are occasionally intolerable in Cicero, and went straight to the point, with that methodical conciseness which is characteristic of a soldier-author. The whole of his writings bear the impress of a firm and determined, yet serene and considerate, mind.

Sallust—or, to give him his proper title, Caius Sallustius Crispus—was Cæsar's friend and partisan, and perhaps, of all the Roman writers before Tacitus, approaches the nearest to the true historian. He was born in 86 B.C., and became Tribune of the Plebs, but was degraded from the Senate on the charge of adultery, and, though Cæsar restored him to office, retired early to a life of Sybaritic luxury, a cynical and disappointed man. Of his histories, which dealt with episodes in the story of Rome from the death of Sulla to the end of the Mithridatic war, only portions remain; but we have besides, separate works on Jugurtha and the conspiracy of Catiline. Sallust described himself as impartial, and, though his admiration for Cæsar is everywhere conspicuous, he is to some extent justified in his use of the word. Nevertheless, he manufactures speeches without compunction, and treats his authorities without any regard for veracity. His style is characterised by a conscious roughness and brevity, which he copied from Thucydides; and, though he lacks the latter's penetration, he has much of his manly strength. With Sallust may be associated the name of Cornelius Nepos—a hanger-on of the great, of the stamp of Boswell—who wrote biographies of illustrious Greeks and Romans in a pleasant, easy manner, but with little grasp of character, and a marked habit of inaccuracy.

MEDAL OF SALLUST.

Before turning to the poets of the last years of the Republic, it will be expedient to dwell briefly on the delightful Livy, the only great prose-author of the Augustan epoch. Titus Livius Patavinus was born at Padua (Patavium), about 58 B.C., of noble parents. He studied rhetoric and philosophy, and, after teaching the former science in his native town, came to Rome about 31 B.C. There he at once became popular, and was probably inspired by high patronage to write his history; after the composition of which work he returned to Padua, and died there in the year 17 of our era. The plan of the history was in fifteen decades, or a hundred and fifteen books. Of these, thirty remain entire, and we have the greater parts of five others. The merits of Livy as an historian are not easy to describe within the compass of a few lines. Until Niebuhr arose, he was believed implicitly, except where he narrated what was plainly fable; but he received merciless castigation at the hands of the great German critic and other writers of his school, and now suffers, perhaps, from undue depreciation. It is true that he falls far short of the ideal writer of history. He had little insight into cause and effect, and was content to tell a story where he should have drawn philosophical conclusions. With no idea of tracing the growth of institutions, he was careless as to fact; and, though he quoted his authorities with scrupulous accuracy, was often content to gain information at second-hand, when he might have derived it from the fountain-head. These charges, and many more, may with fairness be brought against him. It should be remembered, however, that no Roman before him, except Ennius, ever understood the truth that history is chiefly valuable in its continuity; and they were one and all deaf to those dead yet speaking records, such as the decrees of the Senate, which lay about and around them. On the other hand, Livy's merits are many and various. His style has all the beauties, and much of the purity, of his model, Cicero, with none of its extravagances. He was essentially a patriot, filled with admiration for the glories of the past, and of pity for the degeneracy of the present; and he was a matchless painter of great events, of national and personal individualities. His tales of the early Republic, though worthless as records of fact, are of infinite value from the lessons they give, illustrating the virtues of courage, honesty, and sobriety. In the imaginary speeches with which his chapters are adorned, he describes with a few strokes the policy of a statesman, or the temperament of a people. On the whole, much though we may regret that no philosophic historian arose to trace the rise and development of Rome, it is impossible to wish that Livy had been other than he was.

A long line of poets now passes under review—men who excelled in every branch of their art except the drama, which perished with Terence. Three of them alone flourished in the days of the Republic—Lucilius, Lucretius, and Catullus; but they were by no means the least illustrious, and the last two were very great men. Of Lucilius, the creator of poetical satire in its later sense, as contrasted with the medley of Ennius—that species of poetry which the Romans regarded as a national growth, and valued as an educator of great practical value—very little is known. The dates of his birth and death are uncertain. He was a soldier under Scipio, to whom, as also to Lælius, he was warmly attached; and his writings mirror with great fidelity the spirit of discontent and self-consciousness which was characteristic of the time. Of his Satires, in thirty books, only fragments have been accidentally preserved. They were written in several different metres, and in the most haphazard manner. His subjects were of all sorts and kinds, ranging from grammar, and descriptions of rustic fights, to literary criticism and religion. Sometimes he adopted an epistolary form, sometimes that of dialogue: in fact, in many points his writings resemble the old farrago of Ennius far more than the severely systematic essays of Juvenal. His extreme popularity in a later age is to be accounted for by the peculiarly Roman vein of humour in which he hit off the vices of his age—rapacity, unchastity, and vulgar ostentation—with a power of insight not often equalled. Lucilius was not a great poet; he is frequently commonplace and careless in his language; but he had the merits of honest simplicity, sincerity of intention, and fearlessness in speaking the truth.

The Titanic figure of Lucretius is wrapped in mysterious gloom. The date of his birth has been conjecturally fixed at 99 B.C. He was a friend of the profligate Memmius, to whom his work was dedicated, and lived the life of a recluse in commune with Nature, whom he loved with the wonderful love of our own Wordsworth. To Jerome is due the apocryphal information that Lucretius was driven mad by a love-potion; that he composed his poem in lucid intervals; and that it was revised by Cicero—statements which are probably exaggerated representations of the melancholy character of the great teacher, coloured by the dislike entertained for him in after times for his supposed impiety, though some warrant may be found for the last part in Cicero's good nature, and the strength of literary fellowship among the Romans. The plan of his great poem "On Nature" was in six books. This is fully developed, but probably lacked its author's last touches and adjustments. As a disciple of Epicurus, whose theory he maintained in opposition to other systems, he ascribed the origin of existing things to atoms, and the void. Atoms, he says, are infinite in number, and space is infinite in extent; and the existing order of things resulted, not from design, but from countless experiments. The second book opens with a description of the charms of a life of contemplation. The author then returns to atoms, and discusses their powers of combination in space, by which the birth, death, and decay of all things are carried on. His argument is summarised by Mr. Crutwell in the following words:—"All change is due to the primordial motion of atoms. This motion, originally in a straight line, is occasionally deflected; and this deflection accounts for the many variations from exact law. Moreover, atoms differ in form, some being rough, others smooth; some round, others square, &c. They are combined in infinite ways, which combinations give rise to the so-called secondary impressions of matter, colour, heat, smell, &c. Innumerable other worlds besides our own exist: this one will probably soon pass away; atoms and the void alone are eternal." In Book III., his great motive, to purify the mind from superstition, leads him to discuss the nature of the soul, which he decides to be material, and composed of the finest atoms. It is inseparable from the body, and united to it as perfume to incense: a life beyond the grave is therefore an impossibility. In the fourth book, Lucretius treats of the images cast off from bodies, and borne incessantly through space. Such are dreams and the apparitions of ghosts; and dependent on their action is love, which rises from natural causes, and cannot be yielded to without fatal consequences. In the fifth book he describes the origin and growth of the solar system (which he explains by a theory of development strangely like that perfected by modern inquiry), and accounts for the human race by a forecast of the Darwinian idea of the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest. In the last book he dispels the superstitions created by the terrors of physical phenomena, earthquakes, tempests, and the like, to which he assigns a natural origin; and the whole concludes with a description of the plague of Athens, which he derived from Thucydides.

Such was the plan of the greatest didactic poem ever written. The philosophic models of Lucretius were Epicurus, and, still more, his disciple, Empedocles of Agrigentum, who lived in the fifth century B.C., and wrote a didactic poem on Nature. As might be expected from a man of so original a

mind, he despised the bastard school of Alexandrian Hellenism, and worshipped the giants of the past, of whom he studied most minutely Homer and Euripides. Of his countrymen, Ennius was the only man for whom he entertained much admiration, and he imitated him in diction and in rhythm. Lucretius was the only true philosopher among the Romans. He travelled in thought far beyond the limits of the Empire; his range was world-wide, for he had a far deeper knowledge of human nature than any of his countrymen, and realised its majesty too acutely to indulge in scoffing or depreciation. The desire of elevating human life, and emancipating it from superstition, is the noblest that is given us; and if it led Lucretius into the excess of denying the immortality of the soul, we can afford to forgive him because of the lessons of purity, contentment, and truth which he teaches. As might be expected, his investigations were hasty, incorrect, and, though far in advance of his age, valueless compared with the discoveries of modern science. Nevertheless, he grasped the great facts of the universal order of the Creation, and its infinite change; of the individuality of things, and the power of combination in the elements. His conception of Nature, whom he typified as "Kindly Venus," distinctly implied a moral agent, not a capricious and remorseless power; though he rejected alike the idea of a divine providence and of a divine tyranny, and described the gods as living calm and unconcerned, utterly apart from men. Lucretius was not an Epicurean, as we understand the term. He adopted the doctrine that temperate pleasure is the true aim of existence, with its fatal corollary, political quiescence, and contempt for a life of useful activity. But his conclusions were widely different—not "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," but that life, "though given as a possession to none, was of use to all." He taught the worth of purity of heart and self-denial with all the sincerity of a Stoic, and in the same spirit denounced with earnestness the vices of ambition, luxury, and unchastity. He preached submission to the inevitable decrees of Nature with calm solemnity, and did not disregard the importance of religious sentiment. In his choice of verse as a vehicle for philosophic instruction, he doubtless made a mistake. The argumentative portions of his poem are necessarily prosaic; but the digressions and descriptions—such as those of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and of a cow bereft of her calf—are of matchless poetic beauty. His employment of analogy and symbolism is in exquisite taste. His metre, language, and rhythm were those of Ennius, rugged, and abounding in strange compounds and alliterations; his music has none of the variety of Virgil, but marches with the awe-inspiring monotone of a litany. Such are the main characteristics of the writings of that mysterious being who, to use Professor Sellar's expression, stands alone as the great contemplative poet of antiquity.

The last of the poets of the Republic, Catullus, the singer of love, the man of pleasure, has absolutely nothing in common with the teacher and recluse, Lucretius. He was born at Verona, in Northern Italy, about 84 B.C., and there acquired his extensive knowledge of the Greeks, among whom the erotic poetess, Sappho, touched him most keenly. With his reputation already made, he came to Rome, was at once admitted to the friendship of the literary kings of the age, and plunged recklessly into the wild debaucheries of the capital. There he met his fate, Lesbia, the theme of his finest verse, who has been identified beyond dispute with Clodia, the accomplished and abandoned wife of Metellus Celer, and sister of the worthless Clodius Pulcher. With "honour rooted in dishonour," he loved her passionately and tenderly; but she tired of him after a while, and cast him aside. To cure himself of his delirium, and to mend his broken fortunes, he went on the staff of the Proconsul Memmius to Bithynia, but succeeded in neither object, though his mind assumed a healthier tone. A few years afterwards he died, cut off prematurely in his thirtieth year, but in all probability not before his precocious genius had reached its maturity. His short lyrics, written with equal skill in several metres, unfold the varied phases of the passion of love, not a single note of the wild symphony being left untouched; while in other pieces he shows a deeply affectionate nature, and a tender love of home. His more ambitious efforts are elaborated with extreme care, but, on the whole, lack the perfection of his less studied compositions. The most successful among them is the bridal hymn to his friend Manlius Torquatus, which is a delightful description of the happiness of marriage, debased by little of the coarseness which defiles his other works. The nuptials of Peleus and Thetis is a heroic idyl, taken from some Alexandrian model, into which is woven the story of Theseus and Ariadne; but the work, though carefully contrived and skilfully executed, is artificial and inconsistent. Besides these poems we have the Atys, describing the effects of the worship of Cybele on a noble youth —a weird and unpleasant poem, written with great dramatic power. Last come the short poems and lampoons, which disclose the most painful

side of the poet's nature. Catullus hated intensely, and there was no charge too black, and no term of abuse too violent, to be used against his personal enemies, his rivals in love, or those literary quacks and poetasters who excited his contempt. The poet always expressed his feelings without the slightest reserve. His changeful moods are mirrored in his poems, like clouds on the bosom of a lake; and it was his perfect freedom from affectation that made him the great poet he was, and gave his verse its delicacy and simplicity. In his sudden changes from the most elevated sentiment to the grossest indecency, he reminds us of Byron; but what is pure animal passion in the one, is deliberate self-degradation in the other. Catullus has all the charm of youth: he loved ardently, was the warmest of friends, and did not know what treachery meant. For his brother, who died in the Troad, he entertained a holiness of memory, which he has embalmed in lines that will live for ever. In spite of his grossness, he was the first of Latin poets to surround the affections of home-life with a sanctity which ensures the permanence of our social system.

MÆCENAS.

We now come to the great poets of the Augustan age (for its one great prose writer has already been mentioned in association with his own peculiar predecessors in letters)—an age which for its individuality of character is unique in the history of the human mind. Of the many literary epochs which owe their name to the ruler for the time being, it most resembles that of Louis XIV. of France, in that it was a period of maturity, not of originality. It inherited what vigour it possessed from the past, and was conspicuous mainly for excellence of form and artistic perception, the inevitable forerunners of artificiality and insipidity. Moreover, the Augustan poets, like those who lived under the Grand Monarch, were dwellers in a great city, and not in the country. They gained, therefore, much colouring and movement from the intensity of life around them; at the same time, they were crystallised into a school, and lost much freshness and spontaneity which they might have acquired in the calmer atmosphere of their rural retreats. It was part of the far-seeing policy of Augustus to create a literature. He wished to bury in oblivion his questionable past, and to counterbalance the hatred of the reactionary party by substituting active admiration for the passive indifference with which he was received by many as the restorer of peace after years of miserable civil war. He therefore surrounded himself with a circle of authors, men of humble origin, whose minds he could mould as he pleased, and who repaid him in turn by a flattery, the sincerity of which is unquestionable, even in its extravagance, though it regarded him as divine rather than mortal. In his choice he was aided by Mæcenas, a minister who, though feeble in the extreme as a writer, possessed the critical faculty in its highest development. He was the patron who brought retiring poets forward, and gave them advice of unimpeachable sagacity, which they repaid by expressions of the warmest praise and affection. The policy was admirably successful. The new school of poets aided the Emperor in breathing life into the new constitution. They chanted in immortal verse the man who was to restore morality and religion to the faction-tossed commonwealth; they celebrated the return of the mythical Saturnian age of peace and plenty, and, even while sighing with half-unreal regret for the primitive virtues of ancient Rome, established an unsolid palace of hope by representing that the modern order had its roots in distant times, when the Roman was not only a great soldier, but an upright and virtuous citizen.

Virgil, who fell most directly under the Emperor's influence, was not only the greatest of the Augustan poets, but, until quite recently, held without dispute the proud position of supreme chief of the whole commonwealth of Roman men of letters, though in these latter days he has been supplanted to a considerable extent by Lucretius, whose spirit is far more in harmony with modern lines of thought. Publius Virgilius Maro had no claim by birth to the proud distinction of a Roman citizen. He was born at Andes, near Mantua, in 70 B.C., of parents whose social position was extremely humble, though they lived on their own little farm. After passing some years at school at Cremona, he went to Rome, and studied philosophy under Siro the Epicurean, through whose teaching, and that of Lucretius, whose poem exercised immense influence over him, he became strongly

imbued with the doctrines of Epicureanism; and though, in later life, he underwent a strong reaction, and espoused with ardour the cause of his national religion, he was always a philosopher in disposition, and inclined to look beneath the surface of affairs. In 41 B.C. he was ejected from his farm in favour of one of Octavian's veterans, and fled for his life with his father. He went to Rome, and there, in 37 B.C., published the "Eclogues." From that time all went well with him; and even before then Mæcenas had sought him out, and made him his friend. Virgil easily became intimate with the warm-hearted brotherhood of authors, for, though shy and awkward in society, his unassumed modesty, his genuine affection and wide sympathies, made him beloved by all. The Emperor knew and valued him; and he acquired several estates, at one of which, near Naples, he composed the "Georgics." The last years of his life were spent in the production of the "Æneid." It was not thoroughly complete at his death in 19 B.C., and, with unselfish conscientiousness, the dying poet wished that it might be destroyed; but the Emperor wisely intervened, and saved the world from an irreparable loss.

VIRGIL.

Of Virgil's earlier creations, the best of which is the "Moretum," an idyllic poem, it is unnecessary to offer a detailed criticism. They show considerable traces of the influence of Catullus, but are vastly inferior to the works of his maturer genius. The "Eclogues," his first studied attempt, are pastoral poems in imitation of Theocritus. Pastoral poetry was the noblest product of later Hellenism, and Virgil, keenly appreciative of its beauties, saw that it was highly suitable for introduction at Rome. In so doing, he committed what modern criticism regards as a flagrant error, though it did not strike his contemporaries so forcibly. Naturally diffident of his own talents, and living in an imitative age, Virgil copied his great model closely—in fact, almost slavishly. His subjects and ideas are borrowed from Theocritus, and line after line in the "Eclogues" is a mere translation from his Greek prototype. So great was the Roman poet's sense of the excellence of his master, that he did not dare to depart from his steps where departure would have been commendable and easy. Sicilian and Arcadian scenes are incongruously mixed with those of Mantua. Pastoral poetry is always unreal, and this fault is intensified by Virgil's fondness for allegory and personal allusion. His friends of the court and library are introduced in the guise of shepherds, and even the dialogue of genuine rustics is not that of the field, but of cultured society. It is not without some revulsion of feeling that we discover, when all Nature is represented as weeping for the shepherd Daphnis, that the death of Julius Cæsar is intended. Nevertheless, the positive beauties of the "Eclogues" far outweigh their negative defects. Fact is skilfully interwoven with metaphor; the language, in its artistic simplicity, is excellently suited to its humble theme; the purity of home-life, and the melancholy romance of love, are touched upon with tender reverence; and, above all, the sympathy between Nature and pastoral pursuits—as described, for instance, in the famous passage where the pines and springs call for the absent Tityrus—fill the poet's pages with an original music, far above the careful harmonies of the most accomplished plagiarist.

The "Georgics," a poem on agriculture, which is Virgil's masterpiece, was begun at the request of Mæcenas, who no doubt desired to revive the taste for rural pursuits, which was a thing of the past among the Romans of the Empire. The poet grasped the idea with zeal: he wished above all things to be a teacher, to do good in his generation; and, as this aim had been missed in the "Eclogues," he approached his new subject with the feelings of one who would preach repentance and reform to his countrymen. The "Georgics" is a learned work; its precepts were not only the result of Virgil's past experience, but were collected

A ROMAN BANQUET.

with great assiduity from many authors, of whom Cato and Varro were chief among the Romans. Virgil had an earnest desire to be practical, and he was considered by later writers a very good authority on the subject. As he had imitated Theocritus in the "Eclogues," he wished to imitate Hesiod in the "Georgics;" and in the first book the combination of agriculture and theology presents traces of a close imitation of the "Works and Days." The masterly arrangement of his plan, however, is totally unlike the garrulous moralities of the old Greek, and was due to the study of the Alexandrian writers, who had dealt with country life from a didactic standpoint, with weighty and symmetrical pedantry. But, of all his models, the Mantuan was under the greatest obligation to Lucretius, and that not only in method of treatment; for he, too, introduces episodes, such as the description of an outbreak of cattle-plague at the end of the third book, and the legend of Orpheus and Eurydice, taken from an Alexandrian source, at the end of the fourth, though the last was introduced in place of a eulogy on his unfortunate friend, the poet Gallus, which the enmity of Augustus compelled him to expunge. The idea of the hidden meaning of Nature is entirely taken from Lucretius; but Virgil conceived it, not with the gloomy intensity of a dying aristocracy, but with the joyous confidence of a new-born Empire. Nature is with him not a stern but a ministering power; hence he describes, not scenes of desolation and wild convulsions, but peaceful landscapes and fruitful gardens. He dwells on the dignity of labour with a strength of conviction that Lucretius would have scorned. Of the literary merits of the "Georgics," criticism, unaided by illustration, would give an inadequate and wholly deceptive idea. It is only by careful perusal that it is possible to appreciate its superlative excellencies of style, exposition, diction, and rhythm.

The idea that he had a mission upon earth did not desert Virgil in his latter years, and it was with that high design that he set himself to work upon his great epic, the "Æneid." It has been supposed that the task was undertaken at the command of Augustus; but there is nothing to show that it was not the result of the poet's own matured ambition, or that the Emperor did more than take an active interest in the work. The motives that inspired the author are not very easy to gauge. He wished to leave behind him a great national poem, which should celebrate worthily the foundation and historic career of a people who had become the greatest power in the world. It has been said by Professor Conington that the key-note of the "Æneid" is the line, "Happy are they, the walls of whose city are already rising up." Virgil also wished—and this was a more powerful inspiration—to teach the doctrine of the all-prevailing influence of divine law, and to restore the old reverence for the national religion in the Roman heart. Hence he typifies Jupiter as the Almighty Father, and introduces countless allusions to the ancient ceremonies of the pontiffs and augurs. With all its merits, the "Æneid" must be accounted an unreal production. It belongs, not to the primitive epos—which is, as in the case of the Norse ballads, the "Iliad," and the "Odyssey," the natural expression of primitive society—but to the class of literary imitation, the result of learning, selection, and contemporary political movements. Homer sang the siege of Troy because he could not help singing: Virgil deliberately chose from the national myths one of imported origin and late growth, because it was the most convenient, and pieced into it, with laborious care, other legends which sprang from the Italian soil. The narrative lacks the human interest excited by a tale of personal adventure. Its hero is in reality not Æneas, who is throughout tame and uninteresting, but the Empire: hence it teaches the doctrine that right is with the stronger, and fails to touch the heart, or inspire the conscience. The battle-scenes are feebly executed; the chiefs of the "Æneid" do not "drink delight of battle with their peers," as do Ajax and Hector. In order to produce a work which should be a monument of his country's glory, Virgil also included in the "Æneid" whole lines from Nævius and Ennius, the great men of her historic past, and in a different spirit appropriated countless expressions and ideas from the Greeks. He would be Homer's rival, however, not his imitator, and often designedly differs from the latter's conception of individuals and events. To the Greek tragedians he owed the prominence given to female characters. Dido, for instance, though taken from the Medea in the "Tales of the Argonauts" of Apollonius Rhodius, is quite in the manner of Sophocles, and the story of the heartless desertion by Æneas is told with great dramatic power. Virgil had much love of fair-play. He does not hesitate to place his hero in unflattering situations: in the last book, we feel more for Turnus than for Æneas, for the slain than for the slayer. In spite of these blemishes, the antiquarian charm of the "Æneid," its admirable mixture of description with personal impressions taken from the hero's own lips, above all its tone of reverence, patriotism, and civilised restraint, combine with its perfection in the graces of poetic

form to make it the most popular companion of scholars of all ages and countries.

Horace, the genial and unreserved friend of the shy and gentle Virgil, has left us an account of his life scattered over the pages of his works, and it is an easy matter to summarise it with tolerable certainty. He was born on the borders of Apulia and Campania, in 65 B.C., and throughout his life entertained the highest admiration for the hardy Sabellian race. His father was a freedman who became a collector of taxes, and afterwards brought his son to Rome, where he gave him a good education. Throughout his life, Horace spoke of the worthy man in terms of love and respect, and ascribed the greatest value to his moral teaching. After a visit to Athens, Horace enlisted in the army of Brutus; but, as a member of the losing side, the poet fared badly. In the early days of the Empire, he lost his farm, and was decidedly out at elbows when he was introduced by Virgil to Mæcenas, who soon became warmly attached to him. He gradually shook off his Republicanism, though throughout he was no parasite, and it was only late in life that he ceased to hold aloof from Augustus. About 31 B.C., Mæcenas gave him, to his great delight, a Sabine farm, where he wrote his finest poems—the first three books of the Odes, and the first book of the Epistles. The Satires and the Epodes had for the most part appeared previously. The death of Virgil left Horace without a rival, and it was as the poet-laureate of the time that he composed the fine hymn to Apolla and Diana on the occasion of the revival of the secular games, known as the Carmen Seculare. Always an invalid, Horace died comparatively early. His last works—the second book of the Epistles, and the "Poetic Art"—showed a sudden decline of power. He followed Mæcenas to the grave in 8 B.C.

This most original of Roman poets had two sides to his genius: he was a moralist and a lyricist. In the first capacity, he is the most popular writer of all ages. A perfect man of the world, who knew society and liked it, the confidant of his reader, thoroughly enjoying a laugh against himself for his luxuriousness and indolence, he appeals to the universal sense of good-fellowship, and never appeals in vain. His maxims have this advantage, that, though wide, they are not deep, are applicable to each turn of every-day life, and touch the busy citizen rather than the student. For Horace was essentially a shallow man. He was incapable of very deep emotions: one might fancy him a fairweather friend, and he was certainly never very deeply in love; in fact, his tone towards women is almost revolting. Throughout, he is a refined Epicurean, a man of consistent independence of character, who valued temperance as long as it did not interfere with good living, but laughed at enthusiasm, and, though he talked of the virtues in a somewhat bombastic spirit, and saw that life had a serious side, was always somewhat of a banterer. No great convictions are to be found in his Satires. They are based on those of Lucilius, whom he imitated in subject and in form, attacking the same vices, and sometimes writing in dialogue, but with the polished irony of Terence. At all times he is coldly indifferent to wickedness, not actively hostile: he could not say with Juvenal "'Tis indignation that makes my verse." The Epistles, written later in life, breathe a higher spirit: there is much gentle resignation in them, and they contrast the superiority of country pleasures to the noise and bustle of town. Horace was distinctly right when he based his future same on his lyrical pieces. Of these, the Epodes are the least worthy. They were written in the days of his poverty, and the personal attacks are full of much bitterness and captiousness. In the Odes, however, he is at his very best. The matter is borrowed from the immortal Greeks, Pindar, Alcæus, and Sappho; but Horace improved on the originals, and combined their subtlety of diction with a stateliness which is purely Roman.

With an account of the Elegiac poets of the time, this review of the Augustan age must be brought to a close. Gratius, who wrote a didactic poem on the chase, and Manilius, who composed a turgid book on astronomy, which has a few flashes of eloquence, were quite second-rate men, and need be mentioned only to be dismissed. Of the great writers of elegy, the works of Gallus and Marsus have perished; but we know of the first that Virgil loved him, that he incurred the enmity of Augustus, and that in the loneliness of exile he sought death by his own hand. The second was a friend of Mæcenas, and a skilled writer of epic verse. The details of the life of Ovid are familiar to most readers; but they serve as a warning, not as an example. The member of a noble family, he threw away every chance, and was throughout a hopelessly desultory man. The bar, rhetoric, and travel, attracted him by turns; but he was disinclined to a life of industry, and, after a short spell of magistrate's work, became a professional poet. Ovid was at first a great favourite. His poems in celebration of his mistress Corinna were quite the rage, and the "Heroides," which followed them, were an equally great success. But he had ventured on a very slippery path. His next production, "The Art of Love," was too openly

indecent for an age in which vice was studiously veiled. The Romans had one of those periodical fits of morality which are not, *pace* Macaulay, an entirely English characteristic; and the Emperor was understood to be very angry. The spoilt darling of society saw his mistake, and, after publishing one more trifling composition, "The Remedy of Love," turned to more serious themes—a tragedy called "Medea," the "Fasti," and the "Metamorphoses." Suddenly, Augustus's long-delayed vengeance was fulfilled; and in the seventh year of the Christian era, ten years after the publication of "The Art of Love," which was the ostensible cause of his punishment, Ovid was banished to Tomi, some miles from the mouth of the Danube. The real cause of his punishment has ever been a favourite subject of speculation. Ovid spoke of it as if he were himself to blame, and, in the banishment of the Emperor's granddaughter Julia in the same year, a reason has been found for imagining that the two suffered for a common sin. Like all Romans when in exile, Ovid showed a want of resignation which was little better than contemptible. He bemoaned his case unceasingly in verses that were but as the lees of his poetic wine. He did not cease to implore his wife and his friends to try and soften the heart of the Emperor—but in vain. His misery was only to be quenched by death, and in the year 17 of our era the unfortunate poet perished on the barren shores of the Euxine, amongst the wild Sarmatians, who soothed his dying hours with much kindness.

Of all Ovid's works—and he was an inexhaustible writer—we have probably lost the best, the "Medea," in which alone he seems to have kept his genius under control. No man's pen ran more easily. He is always graceful and always polished; he had, as in the "Heroides" and the "Metamorphoses," accumulated vast stores of mythological lore, while the "Fasti" proved that he was a very fair antiquarian. A brief description of these three works will show where his weakness lay. The "Heroides" are love-letters from the heroines of Greek fable to their faithless husbands. The characters are quite Roman in conception; they masquerade in the dress of Augustan courtiers, and the stories are told with much indelicacy. The "Fasti" is a sort of rhymed calendar, old customs and legends being grouped round the various festivals—a somewhat trivial setting for such a subject. The "Metamorphoses," again, treat of the loves of the gods, and the transformations which their hatred made mortals undergo. The poem is written with great skill, but with no seriousness of aim, and much incidental indecency. Ovid is throughout a versatile, passionate Italian, at his best (as in the "Loves") in moments of strong emotion, though even then the feeling is too fleeting to be sincere. In spite of his moral laxity, he was probably a happy and good-tempered man. His verse may be said to exhibit that easy facility which is the forerunner of an age of decline. It is, moreover, exceedingly artificial, written as it was for a polite society of affected manners. The man seems throughout to be wearing a mask, and even in his earliest verses there is a tone of mocking insincerity which makes the reader feel that, though the poet has left much that is exceedingly beautiful, he wilfully declined to put forth his full strength.

Tibullus and Propertius were smaller men than Ovid, though Roman critics do not appear to have seen their inferiority. The first of these was born about 65 B.C., and inherited a large fortune, which he lost in the civil wars, though it was probably restored to him later on, owing to the exertions of Messala, who retained his Republican principles, and established a literary circle in rivalry to that of Mæcenas. The poet was of a retiring, melancholy nature, much attached to his patron; and he devoted his time to composing elegies on his mistresses Delia and Nemesis, in verses of great beauty, the weakness of which is amply redeemed by their charming naturalness. He also wrote idyllic poems on the joys of country life. Propertius, who was an Umbrian by birth, was a humble member of the Mæcenas train. He, too, sang of love with genuine sentiment and unstudied art; but he copied the Alexandrian writers with too much fidelity, and in consequence loaded his lines with allegory and obscure mythical allusions. He was perhaps the feeblest of the elegiac writers.

Two prose authors of inferior merit—Annæus Seneca, the father of the philosopher, who wrote a laborious and dull work on the rhetoricians of his time, and Vitruvius, who compiled an elaborate treatise on architecture, which was studied in abridged form with great devotion by the mighty builders of the Renaissance—form connecting links which carry on the succession of Roman writers into the age of the decline. There was nevertheless a great break in the continuity of literature, as concerned both the excellence and the numbers of those who attained celebrity. The gloomy Tiberius was an enemy to letters, and of the third-rate men who flourished under his ungenerous despotism it is necessary to mention only Cornelius Celsus, whose learned treatise on medicine we still possess, and Phædrus, a Greek, who wrote fables after the manner of Æsop, but without in any way

approaching the delightful inventiveness of his model. The age of Nero, and his predecessors, Caligula and Claudius, was fruitful of better things. They were none of them destitute of culture, and under them lived three great writers, the leaders of a distinct reaction—Persius, Lucan, and Seneca; and another who can hardly in any sense be ranked with them—Petronius Arbiter.

Persius was one of the most illustrious of those heathen martyrs who, amidst all the fearful debauchery of Imperial Rome, kept unsullied the whiteness of their souls. Much of his moral purity was due, no doubt, to the example of his mother Fulvia, much to the precepts of his many teachers (chief among whom was the Stoic philosopher, Cornutus), and much to the friendship of Thraxa, the most upright man of his time, all working on a disposition unusually open to noble influences. After a few years of happy marriage, he died in his twenty-eighth year. All that the young poet left behind him was a short book of six Satires, which were published by his friends. The ancients praised them extravagantly; but, for us, the personalities, owing to a natural dread of Nero's vengeance, are veiled in such extremely obscure allusions that to read Persius is a task of some irksomeness. Moreover, he had not the gifts of a satirist. Thoughts came slowly with him; he was entirely wrapped up in Stoicism, to the exposition of which he devotes half of his so-called Satires, and only occasionally emerges from his abstraction to attack contemporary vices and failings. He had such an admiration for Horace that he continually borrows whole lines from him, with incongruous effect. Much, therefore, as we may admire the man, it is difficult to agree with the high estimate entertained of him as a poet by Martial and Quintilian.

Lucan, the friend of Persius, was a grandson of Annæus Seneca, the rhetorician, and a nephew of the philosopher; nor was he the least illustrious of his noble race. Born in 39 of our era, he became attached, under his uncle's guidance, to the court party, but, being naturally worthy of a nobler life, was intimate as well with the eclectic circle to which Persius and Cornutus belonged. At first the intimate friend of young Nero, he became his rival in the rhetorical and poetic arts; and as soon as jealousy was aroused in the Emperor's evil heart, he determined to rid himself of his comrade. Lucan was forbidden to recite in public, and betook himself to the composition of an heroic poem, the "Pharsalia," the only one of his works which has been preserved. Conscious, perhaps, of his impending fate, he joined in an abortive conspiracy against the tyrant, and thus gave him a pretext for revenge. Lucan, in spite of much unworthy entreaty, was condemned to death, and, when all hope had faded, looked his doom in the face with the fortitude of a true Roman. He opened a vein, and died with his friends around him, reciting with his last breath some verses of his on the end of a brave centurion. At the time of this tragedy he was in his twenty-seventh year.

The "Pharsalia" is an epic in ten books on the war between Cæsar and Pompey, beginning with the passage of the Rubicon, and terminating abruptly in the middle of the Alexandrian war. With more glaring faults than almost any other great poem, it is unquestionably the work of a mighty genius. Lucan had considerable insight into the tremendous interests at stake in the civil wars; and his portraits, though highly exaggerated, are in the main faithful. The degeneracy of the present, compared with the glory of the past, is mourned with heartfelt sincerity, inspired by the bitterness of despair; for he wrote in praise of liberty in days when to praise liberty was fatal. Though his subject was unsuited to poetic treatment, it becomes great from its rush of brilliant imagination, and the terrific vigour of its epigrammatic rhetoric. His faults throughout are those of exuberance. He scoffs at the divine powers (as, for instance, in the famous line—"The victorious cause seemed good to the gods, but the vanquished to Cato"); and, though he shows much insight into the great doctrines of the Stoics, he has nothing to substitute for the old mythology but capricious Fate. He has an insatiable appetite for the revolting and nauseous, a morbid delight in dwelling upon the gloomy side of life; and shows off his learning in abstruse discussions which are little to the point. Virgil he imitates constantly, but never without adding the most extravagant details. The defects of Lucan, however, were incidental to youth. Time might have mellowed and corrected his abilities, and taught him to give variety to the swift monotony of his verse; but maturity was denied him. As in a tropical sunset, there were only a few moments of splendour before the darkness fell.

Who Petronius was, cannot be decided with certainty. Tacitus tells us of a voluptuary of that name who lived under Nero, and made the pursuit of pleasure the laborious study of his life. He was surpassed in the Emperor's affections by a rival favourite, Tigellinus, and died as he had lived, chatting on frivolous subjects, and listening to pleasant songs while the blood flowed slowly from his veins. In all probability, this contemptible self-destroyer was the Petronius Arbiter who wrote

an extraordinary Satire, partly in prose and partly in verse, of which a considerable portion remains. It recounts the adventures of one Eucolpius and his dissolute companions in southern Italy. The chief incident is a supper with a rich freedman, Trimalchio. The whole is indescribably offensive; but the conversations are written with wit and vigour, and the subject of the work makes it of value to those who wish to form a conception of the social customs of Italy under the Emperors.

OVID.

Seneca, the uncle of Lucan, and the brother of the Gallio who is mentioned in the Acts of the

Apostles, is perhaps the most interesting man of all the later Romans. His was a many-sided character, and he played several parts in his time, as an author, as the preceptor of young Nero, and as a statesman. Hence his life may be divided into two fairly distinct parts. Its political side will be dealt with in another Chapter; in this place we are concerned simply with his literary achievements. We know Seneca best as a philosopher; but it should not be forgotten that he wrote several tragedies as well, all on subjects taken from the Greek dramatists, and most of them tolerably close imitations of Euripides. Formerly it was the custom to praise them highly; they have now found their proper level. Some merits these works undoubtedly possess. They embody much brilliant philosophy (chiefly to be found in the choruses), and were written, not for the stage, but for rhetorical declamation—a profanation of artistic poetry. They abound in all the defects incidental to modern melodrama; still, though bad copies of a great original, they are the best that Rome ever produced. It is no easy task to sit in judgment upon Seneca the philosopher. Could the weaknesses of his political life be put out of sight—the slavish vacillation which permitted him to sanction and even instigate Nero's blackest crimes

INTERIOR OF A ROMAN HOUSE.

—he would, no doubt, hold a high place amongst the illuminators of human life. But it is impossible to do so: one feels the justice of Niebuhr's caustic remark, that "he acted on the principle that he might dispense with the laws of morality which he laid down for others;" and his Imperial pupil certainly accepted them with large reservations. Seneca was throughout a consciously inconsistent man. His views of life changed with his fortunes. During his banishment, he preached the doctrine of quietism; after his recall, in the "Leisure of the Wise Man," he was all for a life of useful activity; in one place he denies the

immortality of the soul, in another he accepts it with enthusiasm. On the other hand, it may be said that he did not aim at consistency. Metaphysics did not attract him; he strove rather to show the practical bearings upon every-day life of the so-called Stoical doctrines of the suppression of the passions and the pleasures. Hence he drew no hard and fast lines, but conveyed his teaching in maxim, anecdote, and cultured conversation. Few men have attained a wider knowledge of mankind; and, though he is occasionally a dabbler—a fault which appears strongly in his essays on physical science, such as the treatise "On the Motion of the Earth"—he rises in his nobler moods to a level which does not fall far short of that attained by the great writers of Christianity. Such is his consciousness of the truth of religion, of the beauty of holiness, of the virtues of charity, humanity, and long-suffering, to be found in the "Consolation" (addressed to his mother Helvia during the days of his exile), and in the Letters to Lucilius, together with the "Natural Questions," composed shortly before his death, that it has been imagined he was intimately acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity—an assumption, however, which, in spite of many extraordinary coincidences, cannot be maintained. It has also been thought that, as Gallio's brother, he was a friend of St. Paul—a belief which an unknown romancer thought it necessary to confirm by forging a correspondence between him and the Apostle. But critical investigation has destroyed all these plausible theories, and we must be content to regard Seneca as a Pagan philosopher merely. The style of this writer is characterised by what Quintilian calls "beautiful defects." Like that of Macaulay, it is full of life and glitter. The short antithetical sentence is employed with the same brilliant effect: both writers seem constantly to be aiming at pungency rather than accuracy of thought; and both created a school of prose which had all their faults, and but few of their merits. The extravagances of the poet Lucan find a parallel in the artifices of Seneca the philosopher.

After Seneca, the decay of letters grew apace; imitation became more and more fatally universal; even great and vigorous men like Juvenal and Tacitus could not arrest the silliness and pedantry of the time. The writers who lived under the Flavian Emperors may be briefly dismissed. Pliny the Elder was a man of vast learning: his "Natural History," in thirty-seven books, is a fine monument of a life of incessant study, though his want of method, and his marvellous credulity, cause him to be perfectly valueless as an authority. Quintilian, who, as was inevitable, has been quoted several times in this Chapter, composed a treatise on oratory, so thorough that, if training alone could make a good speaker, the result would certainly be effected by taking his precepts to heart. By moderns, however, the work is read chiefly on account of the criticisms on Roman authors, from the orator's point of view, to be found in the tenth book. Several vapid and tasteless writers of verse were their contemporaries. Silius Italicus composed a dull and learned epic on the well-worn theme of the Argonauts. Statius, who had more of the true poet's fibre, wrote elegant trifles for recitation and two ambitious epics: the "Thebaid," of which the subject was the undying story of Œdipus; and the "Achilleis," which he left unfinished. Like Silius, he imitated Virgil closely, and caught some of his fire in pictures of rapid movement; but he was artificial to an intolerable degree, and depended for effect on rhetorical tricks and fantastic artifices. In startling contrast to the petty insipidities of these degenerate epicists, but equally the child of his age, was Martial, the creator of the epigram as we understand the word—a condensed satire, very different from the light trifles of the older writers. His wonderful power of compressing whole volumes of the most bitter sarcasm into a short poem of a few lines, raises him above rivalry in this unpleasant species of poetry; even the salt of Pope lacks much of this Spaniard's savour. Of the personal character of Martial it is impossible to speak otherwise than in terms of the severest censure. He was a base sycophant, who praised Domitian in terms of extravagant flattery; a man of low breeding and filthy tastes, who nevertheless obtained the friendship of good men, like Quintilian and Pliny the Younger.

The nephew of the elder Pliny had the good fortune to flourish under Trajan, when the cruel policy of repressing the freedom of the pen had passed away. The younger Pliny was the most successful pleader of his time, and the only specimen of his oratory that has survived—a panegyric on Trajan—proves that his fame, which Tacitus alone attempted to rival, was not undeserved. His letters can still be read with pleasure and instruction. They are throughout the product of a polished and cultured mind, of one who winked at the vices of the age, though he did not partake of them. The description of the eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Pompeii is written with a power of graphic delineation capable of qualifying its author for higher things than any he accomplished.

Cornelius Tacitus, the friend and fellow-orator of the younger Pliny, was born about 57 of the Christian era. He was the son of a noble race, and married the daughter of Agricola, the fine soldier who curbed the savages of Britain, and taught them to perceive the greatness of Roman civilisation. Tacitus held several official appointments under Vespasian, and a military command, probably in Germany; he was also a member of Domitian's servile Senate, and shared in its misdeeds. At the bar, he held a position second only to Pliny the Younger, with whom he was associated in a case of some importance. When better times came, on the accession of Nerva, Tacitus was made Consul, but soon retired into private life, to carry out the great historic plan which his busy brain had conceived. Of the early writings of Tacitus, we have a "Dialogue on the Causes of the Decay of Eloquence" (which was long supposed to be spurious, but is now generally accepted as the work of the historian), and the "Agricola," a biography of his father-in-law, one of Domitian's noblest victims—a somewhat highly-coloured and poetical memoir, characterised by depth of feeling, and much mournful rhetoric. The "Germania," an account of the tribes of Germany, was probably written to warn Rome of the changes that were hanging over her from the north; and, in spite of its inevitable weakness in authentic information, it contains an invaluable account of the manners and barbaric virtues of our remote ancestors. The "Histories," beginning at the death of Nerva, and terminating with that of Domitian, and the "Annals," treating of the history of the Empire to the death of Nero, were the fruits of Tacitus's later years, when his genius had been slowly and painfully matured, and he had learned, as Gibbon says, how "to apply the science of philosophy to the study of facts." Of the first, only four books, and a fragment of a fifth, remain out of the original fourteen. They differ from the "Annals" because in them regard is had rather to unity of subject than to chronology. Tacitus had all the merits of an historian. He was accurate, painstaking, and had himself played no unimportant part in many of the events which it befell him to narrate. At the same time, he was distinctly a partisan. He recalls, as he says, "the memory of the old oppression" which had destroyed the social fabric utterly and for ever, and made the milder rule of the later Emperors impotent to redeem the desolation which some of their predecessors had created. Tacitus was an aristocrat by birth and disposition. He used all his impassioned eloquence, all his unrivalled power of dramatic treatment, to gibbet the men who had destroyed his party, and made a restoration of the past an impossibility. His brooding nature naturally induced him to look on the darker side of the picture, while his opinions impelled him to curse the order of things which he could not alter. The reader is often carried away by the imaginative poetry and profound sense of the tragedy of life which inform his terse and condensed style; but there can hardly be a doubt that he represented his cause honestly, while it is certain that he foresaw the evil to come with that prophetic instinct which a thoughtful investigation of the past will sometimes give to those who have kept themselves unspotted from the world.

The individuality of Juvenal is almost as hard to grasp as that of Lucretius. The facts known about him are extremely scanty. He was born about 46 of our era, and is said to have practised declamation, and to have been banished, in the reign of Hadrian, for some verses composed on an orator who was a favourite of the Emperor. He went, according to one supposition, to Egypt, and there died; according to another account, he came back to Rome. Of his sixteen Satires, the earlier ones were chiefly composed under the stimulus of the relentless tyranny of Domitian, but were not published until the reign of Trajan, when the terror was relaxed. The last two, which show less power, and are written in a milder spirit, were probably composed under Hadrian, about 128, the probable year of his death. The picture given us of Imperial society by Juvenal is a companion painting to that of Tacitus. The latter represents the hatred entertained towards the Empire by the old noble families; the former, that of the middle-class. Juvenal's sorrow is not so much for the nation's loss of liberty as for its loss of manliness and honesty. In him Cato lives again, and he visits with the severest scorn the luxurious habits of his contemporaries, and their fondness for foreign manners and Greek favourites. No man could have more seriousness of purpose than Juvenal. A fierce indignation burned within him, which would not suffer him to keep silence: it is the intensity of his wrath that nerves his invective with its terrible strength. At the same time, his was an unpleasant nature; his impulses were purely destructive. That he was justified in hating Domitian, and in holding up to the scorn of all ages the immorality and extravagance of the great ladies of Rome, is perfectly true; but his judgment was often prejudiced, and he was unable to make allowances for the failings of human nature. Nor is his moral teach-

ing consistent. In his most popular Satire, which Dr. Johnson has imitated in his "Vanity of Human Wishes," he ridicules the ambition of great generals, like Hannibal and Alexander, and the labours of great orators, like Demosthenes and Cicero. He looked on the world from a narrow, Roman point of view, and did not see that cosmopolitanism was inevitable in an Empire which extended over a large part of the civilised globe.

Juvenal can hardly be called a poet; he is rather a rhetorician of very great excellence, and as such chooses his words with a keen sense of their weight and value, and maintains his long arguments with masterly skill. But he has little imaginative genius, and indulges in a realism which is quite alien to poetic inspiration. His chief strength lies in his power of depicting the grotesque. No one ever hit off with more dramatic power the great incongruities of life,—the vile guests who sit round a banquet loaded with the fairest products of nature and art, the sharp contrasts of wealth and poverty, the swift transition from the powerful minister of yesterday to the criminal of to-day. His power of probing the human heart is almost modern in its many-sidedness and depth. Again and again he reminds us of Rabelais and Swift. He has all their misanthropy, and much of their humour. Apart from his greatness, too, there is a mournful attractiveness about this sardonic man, who so persistently evades all attempts on the part of his readers to place themselves on the footing of familiar intercourse. "He closes," as Professor Sellar remarks, "the roll of the great writers of Rome, and is the last vital representative of her national spirit and genius."

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE DAWN OF A NEW EPOCH.

Commencement of the Christian Era—Error in the Popular Chronology—Events in Judæa—Rise of Herod—Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, conducted to Jerusalem by a Parthian Army—Herod made King of Judæa by the Romans—Siege and Capture of Jerusalem—Close of the Dynasty of the Maccabees—Position of Herod towards the Roman State—Execution of his Wife, Mariamne—Rebuilding of the Temple—Romanising Tendencies of Herod—Grand Public Buildings: the City of Cæsarea—Flattery of Augustus and of Rome—Herod's Munificence and Royal Splendour—Discontent of the Jews on Religious Grounds—Good Qualities of Herod as a Temporal Sovereign—Dissensions in his Family—Charges against the Sons of Mariamne—Their Condemnation and Death—Last Illness and Despairing Ferocity of Herod—Execution of his Son Antipater—Death of the Jewish King—Brief and Tyrannical Reign of Archelaus—Affairs at Rome—Deaths of Caius and Lucius Cæsar—Association of Tiberius with Augustus in the Tribunitian Power—Plot against the Emperor—Great Campaign of Tiberius in Germany—Contest with Maroboduus North of the Danube—Pacification of Illyricum—Troubles of Augustus, and Deterioration of his Character—Insurrectionary Movements in Germany—Terrible Defeat of Varus by Arminius (Hermann)—Effect of the News on the Emperor—His Approaching End—Record of his Actions by himself—His Death at Nola, in Campania—Succession of Tiberius—Character of the New Ruler—Tiberius in the Senate—His first Measures as Emperor—Military Revolts in Pannonia and on the Rhine—Admirable Conduct of Germanicus—Expedition into Germany—Deference of Tiberius to the Senate—His Besetting Fears and Arbitrary Actions—Contest of his Better with his Worse Nature.

We have now arrived at that period in the history of the world when a new set of dates is necessitated by the great event which occurred in Judæa. The first year of the Christian era has been reached, and we can henceforward (with the exception of a brief retrospect of Jewish affairs) abandon that awkward, but in some respects convenient, system of chronology, where the numbers diminish as we advance. It is not proposed to reproduce in these pages the circumstances related in the four Gospels. With the spread of the new faith throughout various parts of the Roman Empire, Christianity comes upon the distinctly historic stage; but until then it belongs rather to the sphere of theology. Yet it is necessary that the historian should take note of the profound change then about to pass over the Western world, and natural that he should for a moment pause, as it were, between the departing and the coming epoch. It should here be noted that the birth of Jesus Christ is, by an error of computation, generally placed four years later than the true date, which is now believed to have been what is still, though incorrectly, called 4 B.C. This was the year of Rome 750, and the event was preceded, the year before, by the closing of the Temple of Janus for the third time during the reign of Augustus—a fact indicative of general peace within the Roman Empire. The Nativity appears not to have taken place at the season which we now understand as Christmas, but

some few weeks before the Passover, which was in March or April. The popular chronology was constructed in the sixth century by the monk Dionysius Exiguus, or Denys le Petit, who seems to have been misled by certain statements of Josephus with reference to the events of Herod's reign. Some centuries elapsed before the Dionysian era was generally adopted; but it is now firmly established, notwithstanding critical objections.

At the time in question, Judæa was under the rule of Herod I., surnamed the Great, and that not entirely without reason, in spite of his many crimes. He was the son of Antipater, the Idumæan noble who persuaded Hyrcanus II. (one of the Jewish kings of the house of Maccabæus) to make war against his brother Aristobulus, under circumstances already related.* After the return of Pompey to Rome in 63 B.C., and the reduction of Judæa—at least nominally—to the condition of a Roman province attached to Syria, Antipater remained at the head of affairs, as the agent of the Republic. The hold of the Imperial city over Judæa was, however, very slight, and during the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey the Jews sided sometimes with the one party, sometimes with the other, according as either faction gained the upper hand. Aristobulus, having been set free by Cæsar, was waylaid and murdered by the Pompeians, and his son Alexander was soon afterwards beheaded at Antioch. The claims of the other son, Antigonus, were speedily overshadowed by the services of Antipater during the troublesome Egyptian campaign of Julius Cæsar. Under the title of Ethnarch—the ruler of a province—Hyrcanus was restored to the authority of which he had been deprived by Gabinius, while Antipater was made a Roman citizen, and Procurator of Judæa. Both Hyrcanus and Antipater were simply the nominees of the all-conquering Julius; but the people had no cause to complain of the way in which they were governed. Very different was their fate under the iron rule of Cassius, who, acting as Proconsul of Syria after the assassination of Cæsar, extorted from the Jews a sum of seven hundred talents, the collection of which led to serious commotions. Antipater was now poisoned by Malichus, the head of the old Jewish party; but his death was avenged by his son Herod, who, though only a youth at the time, had already shown great energy in the government of Galilee. His actual power dates from this period, though the feeble Hyrcanus still retained a position of nominal superiority.

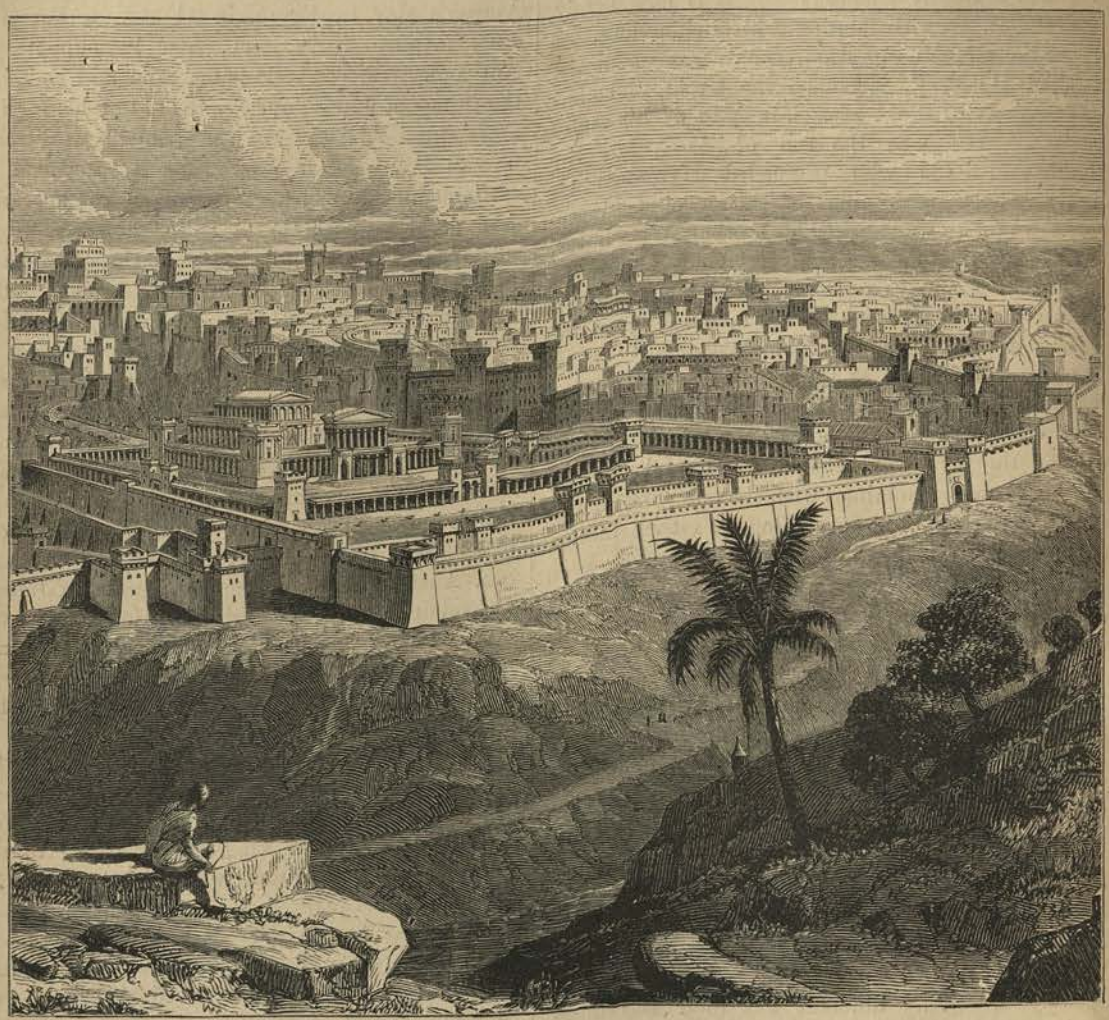
Shortly after the battles of Philippi, Herod proposed to marry the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, Mariamne, a name allied to Miriam and Mary; but the union did not take place until 37 B.C. From Marc Antony the young prince had obtained the title of Tetrarch, a position which he shared with his elder brother, Phasaël. During Antony's stay in Egypt, in 41 B.C., a Parthian army invaded Syria, and gave its support to Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, who laid claim to the throne of Judæa, and, by the aid of his foreign allies, entered Jerusalem. The struggle can scarcely be called a war; it was rather a succession of faction-fights, in which the streets of the holy city were drenched with blood. Herod, however, might ultimately have prevailed against the enemy, had he been suffered to follow his own plans. But Hyrcanus and Phasaël, acting against his advice, submitted the rival claims to the arbitration of the Parthian general, Barzaphernes, who, after a pretence of friendship and honour, threw both into fetters. Phasaël committed suicide, and Hyrcanus was made incapable of holding the High Priesthood by having his ears cut off. Herod had previously fled to Rome, first securing his mother, sister, and betrothed in the fortress of Massada, on the Dead Sea. Antigonus now became the sovereign of Judæa, and retained his power during the three years from 40 to 37 B.C.; but he had to defend himself, not merely against the attempts of Herod to recover his supremacy, but also against the jealousy of his late friends, the Parthians.

The visit of Herod to Rome was attended by favourable results, though it lasted only a week. The Republic conferred on him the title and dignity of a Jewish king, chiefly owing to the representations of Antony, whose good opinion he had won by his qualities as a boon companion when both were at Alexandria. Armed with these new powers, Herod returned to Judæa three months after he had left it, and relieved the fortress of Massada, which Antigonus was besieging. He then took up a fortified position in Samaria (which had been re-united to Judæa by Hyrcanus I.), and Antony soon after sent a force to his assistance. The Parthians had by this time retired from the country, and Antigonus was the one enemy to be encountered. Owing to a variety of causes, however, it was not until the spring of 37 B.C. that Herod and his Roman auxiliaries attacked Jerusalem; but, after a six months' siege, the city was reduced, and handed over by the Roman general Sosius to the rage of his soldiery. So great was the slaughter that Herod at length interposed, and expostulated warmly with his ally on the indignity

* See p. 265 of this volume.

of leaving him king over nothing but a desert. He also restrained the heathen troops from entering the holy places, and in several ways conciliated the feelings of his countrymen. Antigonus was sent in chains to Antony, who, rejecting his prayers for mercy, put him to death at the request of Herod.

Thus, in 37 B.C., the dynasty of the Maccabees—sometimes called the Asmonæan dynasty, after a remote ancestor of the house—reached its termination. Herod was established on the throne less by his own ability than by the force of Roman arms, and Judæa received a prince who was descended from that mixed Idumæan or Edomite race which was at one time among the most implacable enemies of the Hebrews, but which, after various revolutions, had been recovered by Hyrcanus I. in the second century B.C. By his marriage with Mariamne, however, Herod had established a link between his own house and that of the Maccabees. Aristobulus, a grandson of him who bore the same name, obtained the High Priesthood; but the jealousy of Herod being roused by the popularity he enjoyed, the unfortunate prince was treacherously drowned, while bathing, in 35 B.C. Hyrcanus survived until the year 30, when he was put to death at the age of eighty. The reign of Herod was stained throughout by many acts of cruelty. The king knew he was hated by the people as an alien, and as one whose power was due solely to Roman support; and the consciousness of this truth excited the darker passions of his nature. The later Maccabees were to a considerable extent Hellenised Jews, as may be seen in the Greek names of many; but they asserted the independence of the nation, and were regarded with affection and esteem as a race of soldiers who had delivered



JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST, SHOWING THE TEMPLE AS RESTORED BY HEROD THE GREAT.

Judæa from a foreign yoke. Herod, although a king in name, was little more than a Roman Governor in fact, and Antony, while in Egypt, claimed the right of calling him to account for any wrongful deeds. In the civil war between Antony and Octavian, Herod joined the former, and at his command undertook a campaign against the Arabians, whom he defeated. But after the battle of Actium he made no scruple of submitting to the conqueror, who allowed him to retain his kingdom. Between himself and his wife Mariamne, a feeling of enmity had for some time been growing up, and this was now increased by the artifices of his sister, Salome. The result was that Herod accused the former of adultery, and caused her to be executed. He appears, however, to have been afterwards seized with profound remorse, and a sickness with which he was visited in Samaria nearly proved fatal. On his recovery, he exasperated the Jewish people still further by an open disregard of their sacred law, and by the introduction of Roman customs. A conspiracy against his life was suppressed with extreme cruelty, and Herod then fortified the city of Samaria (which he re-named Sebaste), built Cæsarea, and strengthened his power by the erection of other towns and fortresses.

Finding it necessary to conciliate his Jewish subjects, he began to restore the Temple at Jerusalem in 17 B.C. The work was completed in eight years, but the decorations were not finished until much later. The new Temple was constructed of white marble, and was both larger and more splendid than its predecessors. The people, however,

RUINS OF CÆSAREA.

could not forget that the same monarch who thus renewed the work of Solomon had shown equal zeal in rearing structures of a very different nature. Within the walls of Jerusalem itself he had built a theatre, and without the walls an amphitheatre, where quinquennial games were held in honour of the Emperor Augustus, and where the athletic sports of the Greeks, and the gladiatorial combats of the Romans, shocked the feelings of an austere and gloomy race, who found nothing tolerable beyond the limit of their national customs. When the city of Samaria was rebuilt, it was made to look in all respects like a Roman town, and the new city of Cæsarea became the rival of Alexandria in the splendour and variety of its buildings. It

was situated on the coast of Palestine, on the great road from Tyre to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora. Previous to its foundation by Herod, a small town called Strabo's Tower had occupied the site; but this was a place of no importance, whereas Cæsarea grew in time to be the capital of Roman Palestine. Josephus has given a striking picture of the magnificence of this city, as laid out by Herod.* The harbour was equal in size to the Piræus at Athens, and consisted of a vast curving breakwater, composed of stones fifty feet long, so arranged as to afford protection from the south-westerly winds, but having a commodious place of entry on the north. Spacious landing-wharves surrounded the harbour, and close at hand was a temple dedicated to Cæsar and to Rome, and containing colossal statues of the Emperor and the Imperial city. A rock-hewn theatre and a circus were provided for the entertainment of the people, and the whole place was surrounded by walls and towers for defence against attack. The temple to Augustus at Cæsarea Palæstinæ was not the only one erected by Herod to the honour of that sovereign. He built another at what was afterwards called Cæsarea Philippi, a town situated at one of the principal sources of the Jordan, and previously called Panium, from a sanctuary of the god Pan which had once existed in a deep cavern of the neighbouring mountains. Herod, could have had no very distinctive religious views. He wished to stand well at once with the Romans, his masters, and with the Jews, his subjects.

It is easy to understand how cordially the Hebrews detested one whom they must have regarded as a renegade from the true faith; but, as a temporal sovereign, Herod was not without considerable merits. Immediately after his appointment to the kingship, but before he could establish his power, he had, by a series of vigorous operations, extinguished the banditti who infested the mountainous district of Upper Galilee. The Solomon of a later epoch, he developed the resources of his country, and added to its prosperity. He understood the difficult art of administration, and was equal to those emergencies which can never be entirely prevented. During his reign, a long-continued drought led to famine and pestilence in Judæa and the adjacent countries; but Herod met the calamity in a manner which soon reduced its threatening proportions. By a liberal use of his own treasures, he imported corn from Egypt, fed fifty thousand persons, and supplied seed-corn to the people of Syria. His munificence was seen on other occasions also, and he lost no opportunity of increasing his territorial possessions. The great secret of his policy was entire submission to the will of Rome. His sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, received their education in the Imperial city; and Agrippa was courted almost as much as Augustus. When the great general and minister of the Emperor was conducting a campaign on the Bosphorus in 16 B.C., Herod aided him with a large fleet, and was rewarded by an increase of territory east of the Galilæan Lake, together with the relief of the Jews in Asia Proper from the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers. Agrippa subsequently visited Herod at Jerusalem, on which occasion the Jewish monarch offered a hundred oxen in the Temple, and feasted the whole people. But the stubborn spirit of the Jews was proof against all these flatteries. They knew their sovereign to be at heart a pagan, and the servant of a pagan Emperor. They remembered that he had signalised his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter, and that in many ways he had honoured the gods of Greece and Rome. They saw him surrounded by foreign mercenaries, some of whom had formerly been in the service of Cleopatra; and when they examined the coins which issued from his mint, they perceived that they bore only Greek inscriptions. Holding the religious views they did, it was natural that they should desire to be rid of such a master, and secret societies were constantly being formed to effect that purpose. Yet it may be that modern times have formed too black an opinion of the character of Herod. We receive our impressions from Jewish sources, and all patriotic Jews did their utmost to deepen the shadows in the portrait. Herod was unquestionably a tyrant, a man of vehement passions and tumultuous impulses; but he was also a sagacious ruler, not wholly devoid of generous feelings, and gifted with abilities which assured the peace and welfare of his kingdom during many years. His cosmopolitan and eclectic sentiments may not have been without their use in correcting the narrow exclusiveness of his people, and in letting in upon the saturnine strongholds of Semitic tradition something of the light, and warmth, and cheerfulness of Hellenic and Roman culture. But these very virtues (if they are to be so accounted) gave intensity to the bitter antagonism of his own subjects.

In the latter part of his reign, the distrust of Herod was especially directed against the Pharisees and Essenes. He endeavoured to exact an oath of allegiance from both sects, but was compelled to

* Antiquities of the Jews, Book XV., chap. 9, sect. 6; Wars of the Jews, Book I., chap. 21, sects. 5—8.

relinquish his design from inability to enforce it. Furious dissensions broke out in his family, and the infirmities of age increased the natural violence of his temper. Alexander and Aristobulus, on their return from Rome, were regarded with fear and hatred by Salome, and by others who had conspired against the life of their mother, Mariamne. The mind of Herod was influenced against them, and he brought forward Antipater, his son by an earlier marriage, as a rival to the Asmonæan princes. Whether his suspicions against the latter had any justification, it is impossible to say; but Herod was so persuaded of their enmity to himself that he carried them before the tribunal of Augustus at Aquileia, and accused them of a plot against his life. Augustus took a favourable view of their case, and effected an apparent reconciliation. Dissensions, however, were soon renewed, and Augustus directed that the young princes should be tried by a council of one hundred and fifty persons, to assemble at Berytus under the presidency of the Syrian Governor. The inquiry ended in their condemnation, and both were strangled at Sebaste in 6 B.C. A plot to poison the king was shortly afterwards formed by his son Antipater, and his brother Pheroras; but Pheroras himself died of poison, and Antipater, on returning from Rome to Cæsarea in 5 B.C., found the plot discovered. He was tried, condemned, and thrown into prison, until Augustus should decide upon his fate.

Herod was now suffering from a complication of fearful maladies, which rapidly increased during the brief remainder of his life. His physical torments were equalled by his mental sufferings, and the growing insubordination of the people exasperated him to fresh acts of barbarity. Five days before his decease, he ordered the immediate execution of his son Antipater, whose death had been sanctioned by Augustus, though a sentence of exile was suggested as preferable. Josephus gives a terrible account of another order which Herod issued about the same time, and which was to the effect that several of the principal men of the Jewish nation should be shut up in the Hippodrome, and slain immediately after he had breathed his last, so that the city might be filled with mourners at his funeral.* The command, if ever given, was not executed, for Salome released the miserable captives on the death of Herod. That event took place in what is still erroneously described as the year 4 B.C., shortly after the true period of the birth of Jesus, and just before the Passover. The story of the Massacre of the Innocents has in modern times been subjected to much critical questioning. It is not mentioned by Josephus; nor is it recorded by any of the Evangelists but Matthew; nor does it appear in any other author until some centuries after the Christian era. Herod was succeeded in the kingdom of Judæa, together with Samaria and Idumæa, by his son Archelaus, while the Tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa Proper was left to Herod Antipas, another of the late king's sons, by Malthace, a Samaritan woman. Archelaus at once found himself in the midst of difficulties. He was confronted by a tumult which he was unable to suppress until he had slain three thousand of his new subjects; and on his setting out for Rome, to obtain the Emperor's confirmation of his title, Sabinus, the Procurator of Syria, entered Jerusalem with intent to seize the treasures of Herod. A battle was fought between the Jews and Romans in the courts of the Temple, and Sabinus was besieged in the royal palace. Archelaus had some trouble in supporting his cause at Rome; but in 3 B.C. he returned to Jerusalem with the modified title of Ethnarch. The cruelties of this ruler were, however, so excessive, that, in the year 7 of the Christian era, Augustus banished him to Vienna, in Gaul; and, from that date to the death of Caligula, Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa were placed under the government of Roman Procurators.

In the latter portion of the reign of Herod, the Jews were greatly agitated by the expected arrival of the Messiah for whom they had so long been looking, and who, according to their belief, would restore the line of David, renew their national greatness, establish the worship of Jehovah, and inaugurate a reign of peace and happiness. Herod was disliked, not merely because he was a tyrant, but much more because he was an Idumæan, and a favourer of heathens, whose servant he had consented to become. The whole national mind was in a ferment. The religious unity of ancient days had been broken up, and the Jews of the last century B.C., as well as of the Christian era itself, were divided into various sects, of which the chief were the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Sadducees. The Pharisees were formalists of the most extreme order, who professed to regulate all their actions by the written law of Moses, or by the oral law which they believed to have been transmitted from generation to generation through the Elders, Prophets, and members of the Great Synagogue. The Essenes were professors of a mystic asceticism, who lived a recluse and communistical life, aspired

* Antiquities of the Jews, Book XVII., chap. 6, sect. 5.

to a profound internal purity, and sought the union of the soul with God; while the Sadducees denied the oral law asserted by the Pharisees, repudiated the doctrine of man's resurrection after death, emphatically upheld the opinion that the will is free, and in their general view of life presented some points of resemblance to the better class of Epicureans among the Greeks and Romans. But in the time of Herod the character of the Jews had undergone considerable modifications, owing to their intercommunication with other races, and the fact of their no longer speaking and writing the original Hebrew tongue, but the Aramaic, a branch of the Semitic family of languages, prevailing in Syria and Mesopotamia.

While some of the events just related were proceeding in the East, the fortunes of the Augustan House underwent an eclipse in the loss of the Emperor's two grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the latter of whom died at Marseilles in the second year of the Christian era, while the former was treacherously slain two years later by the governor of an Armenian city which he was besieging. The hopes of the Imperial family were centred in Tiberius, whom the Emperor had shortly before recalled from Rhodes, with the understanding, however, that he should abstain from meddling with public affairs. Seeing the necessity for his advancement, now that Caius and Lucius were no more, Augustus associated Tiberius with himself in the Tribunitian power, which they were to exercise in common for five years. He also adopted him into the Julian house, and required that he should in turn adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus. In the previous year (3 of our era), Augustus had accepted the Imperium for a fourth decennial period; so that the fortunes of the Empire were effectually secured, so far as any present arrangement could guarantee their safety. Yet the position of the Emperor was by no means devoid of perils. His life was threatened by a conspiracy originating with one Cinna, a son of Faustus Sulla, and a grandson of Pompey the Great. The plot was detected, and Augustus treated the offender with conspicuous generosity, causing him to be made Consul, and admitting him to a friendship which was never broken.

On returning to Rome, Tiberius soon renewed the life of action which his retirement had broken off. War with the Germans had recommenced in the first year of the new epoch, and Domitius Ahenobarbus had crossed the Elbe, and erected on the farther shore an altar to Augustus. To him must be attributed the honour of creating for the first time a Roman province on the German side of the Rhine; but in 4 A.D. he was superseded by Tiberius, who subdued all the country between the Lower Rhine and the Weser. In the following year he conducted a campaign on the Elbe, which is regarded as a masterpiece of boldness and strategy. An old chieftain of the Germans proclaimed that Tiberius was a god, and that it was madness on the part of his countrymen to contend against the deities, instead of humbly seeking their presence, and making submission to their benign authority. The greater number of the Germans, however, were not of this opinion, and regarded the god as an intruder, whom it would be as well to thrust out on the earliest opportunity. Tiberius thought it prudent to retire at the approach of winter; but he left stationary camps behind him, between the Rhine and the Weser. One of the native leaders, a chieftain called by the Romans Maroboduus, was the head of the Marcomanni, the men of the Marches, or frontiers. At an early age he was taken as a hostage to Rome; and, having there acquired some idea of Imperial dominion, established, on his return to Germany, a powerful and despotic kingdom in the country now called Bohemia. His authority was gradually extended over many of the neighbouring tribes, until, having reached the northern shores of the Danube, he threatened the Roman conquests in Vindelicia and Noricum. To meet this danger, Tiberius was transferred to the Danube, where the chief military station of the Romans was fixed at Carnuntum. Thence he advanced at the head of six legions, while Saturninus, with another army, started from the Rhine, and penetrated the dense obscurity of the Hercynian Forest. The movement would doubtless have been attended by the most brilliant success, had not a revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians threatened Italy itself. Tiberius therefore offered terms of peace to Maroboduus in 6 A.D., and, these being gladly accepted, the Roman general was enabled to turn his attention to the vast region between the Adriatic and the Danube, which was for the present in the hands of the insurgents. The re-conquest of the revolted territory occupied him during the years 7, 8, and 9, and his operations were materially assisted by his nephew Germanicus, who, though only in the dawn of manhood, showed powers worthy of his father. It was he who finally effected the pacification of Illyricum, a geographical term which, as already explained, included the various countries on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. These events throw a flood of glory over the latter years of the Emperor Augustus; but, on the other hand, he was troubled by continual plots, and by

the misconduct of the elder of Agrippa's daughters, who inherited the vices, as well as the name, of her mother Julia, and who encountered a similar fate in being banished to an island. Augustus now suffered from the burden of age, and was less able to bear anxieties and afflictions than he had been at a more vigorous time of life. The equability of his temper gave way to suspiciousness; he neglected public business to an extent which surprised and displeased his subjects; and his acts acquired an arbitrary character, from which they had previously been free.

It was not long before fresh troubles arose in the North. The prospects of the Romans between the Rhine and the Weser were excellent, and with wise management the boundaries of the province might have been extended over the neighbouring regions. Military roads had been carried from fort to fort; Roman colonies had been formed; the Batavians furnished cavalry to the Imperial armies, and the important tribes of the Frisii and Chauci exhibited the most friendly spirit. But all was compromised by the despotic conduct of Quintilius Varus, who, in the year 6 A.D., succeeded Saturninus as the Roman Legate in those parts. This officer had previously held the province of Syria, where he was doubtless initiated in habits of Oriental despotism ill suited to the free and robust communities of Germany. He endeavoured to rule by the rods and axes of his lictors, and soon excited so general a feeling of detestation that a movement was commenced for throwing off the Roman yoke. The head of the movement was a young chieftain of the Cherusci, a people of Germany situated between the Weser and the Elbe, south-east of the Chauci. The true German name of this chieftain was apparently Hermann (*i.e.*, a general); but he is commonly known under the Latinised designation of Arminius. Together with his brother, who took the name of Flavius, he had received the Roman citizenship, with Equestrian rank; but he had never forgotten his feelings as a German, and the oppressions of Varus determined him to risk all on a revolt. Though young and inexperienced, his noble qualities soon established an authority over the other members of his tribe, and he organised a general conspiracy against the Roman power, which he afterwards carried to a successful issue.

While the plot was being matured, Varus was traversing the province with three legions and a number of auxiliaries, in company with several German chiefs on whose fidelity he relied, but who were in truth concerned in the secret movement. Reports of armed risings in different directions reached the Roman commander after a time, and detached bodies of troops were cut off in detail. Segestes, the uncle of Varus, who had a quarrel with Arminius, arrived at a knowledge of the plot, and warned the Legate of the danger in which he stood. Varus, however, appears to have been confident of his ability to crush any revolt that might be attempted, and in 9 A.D. marched with his whole force into the south of the province, to suppress an outbreak which he was given to understand was acquiring strength in that locality. The scene of the great reverse which followed was the forest of Teutoberg, near the sources of the Ems and Lippe. The ground was intersected by deep and narrow valleys, overhung by steep mountains, and approached by narrow defiles. The whole of this broken space was covered by vast woods, chiefly of oak, and the paths were rendered difficult by frequent gullies and by fallen trees. The season was now autumn; the ground was wet and heavy, and the channels of the small streams were full of water. Into this perilous desert, under the most adverse circumstances of weather, Varus rashly penetrated. Arminius, who had not yet declared himself in his true character, accompanied the Roman general as a guide through the forests. In this capacity, he took care to lead him into the most difficult and dangerous parts; and the thickness of the woods was such that the Roman soldiers had to cut their way through the crowded trunks.

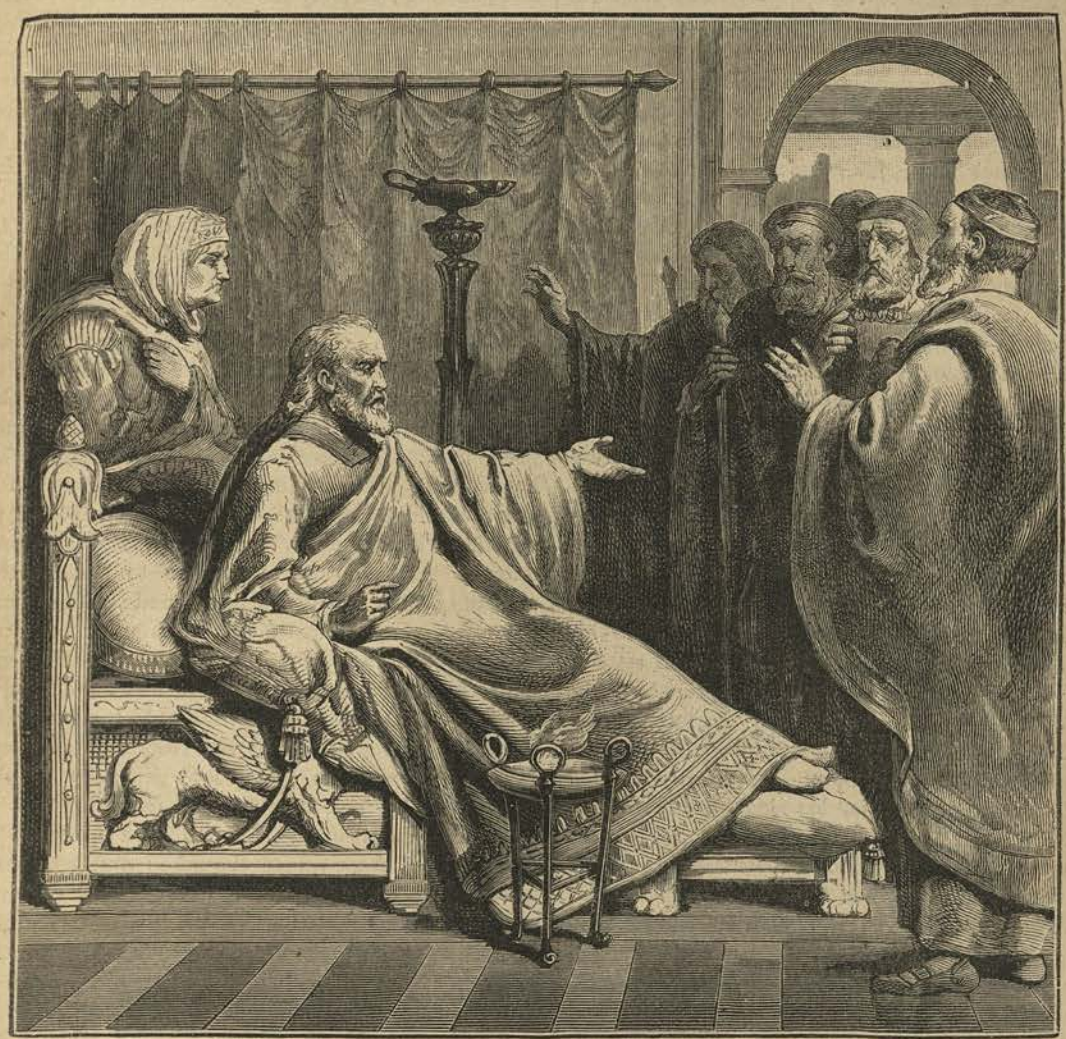
On perceiving that the German insurgents were near at hand, Arminius and his chief confederates asked permission to leave the camp, that they might bring up reinforcements. This was granted, and the barbarians shortly afterwards began to close round the legions. The native auxiliaries deserted to the enemy, and a series of attacks followed which the Romans had difficulty in resisting. At nightfall they entrenched their camp, and the march was resumed next morning. Arminius was now in command of his countrymen, and wisely forbore from anything like a general attack, for which, indeed, neither the ground nor his army was at all fitted. He confined himself to rapid and desultory assaults, which wore out the Roman troops without giving them the opportunity of concerted action. Owing to the density of the forest, the legionaries were unable to form their ranks, and for two days remained exposed to the missiles of the Germans, and to the depressing effect of constant rain, which soaked through the leathern armour of the common soldiers, and made the earth so slippery that they could scarcely stand. The cavalry endeavoured to gain the

fortress of Aliso, lying a few days' march to the right, but, losing their way in the intricacies of the forest, were cut off, almost one by one. The legionaries followed with the admirable steadiness of Roman discipline; but on the third day they were nearly exhausted, and by the time they had emerged on to the open plain were incapable of withstanding the renewed attacks of the Germans. Varus, being wounded, at length threw himself on his sword, and the chief officers followed his example. A small body of veterans stood at bay upon a little hill, and maintained a desperate resistance until nightfall. In the morning they were unable to resist a fresh attack, and all were massacred on the spot, with the exception of a few, who were sacrificed on the altars of Teutonic gods. The scene of this terrible consummation is shown to the present day on the road between Paderborn and Pyrmont, in a wild gorge overhung by rocks of sandstone, and shadowed by ancient trees. The little garrison of Aliso was saved by a stratagem which diverted the attention of the enemy, and the men succeeded in recrossing the Rhine, which, from that time forth, the Romans were glad to recognise as the north-eastern frontier of their dominions.

Had the Germans followed up their success by passing the great river, they would certainly have raised the colonies of their countrymen which had been planted on the western bank, and might possibly have excited a desire for independence in the Gauls themselves. But they made no such attempt, and Asprenas, the Imperial Legate in Gaul, had time to organise measures of defence. When the disastrous intelligence reached the Emperor, he was divided for a time between rage and apprehension. All the German and Gallic auxiliaries in the Prætorian and Urban Guards were dismissed as a measure of precaution, and the

AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA. (*From a Gem.*)

city was guarded by increased patrols, lest a popular insurrection should burst out. The apathy of the citizens, however, was only too great, and Augustus was obliged to make examples by fines, and even by sentences of death, to induce the people to take some interest in the national calamity. New



DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

levies were hastily despatched to the Gallic side of the Rhine, and in the spring of 10 A.D. Tiberius, together with Germanicus, joined the army. It was not until the following year, however, that Tiberius crossed into Germany, nor did any action take place even then, for each combatant seemed fearful of the other. The two Roman commanders returned to Italy towards the close of 11, and at the beginning of 12 Tiberius celebrated a triumph for his victories in Pannonia, while Germanicus was invested with the Consulship. All danger to the Empire from the reverse in Germany was at an end; but Augustus could not forget the terrible blow which his credit had sustained. He would frequently dash his head against the wall, and exclaim, "Vare, Vare! redde legiones!" ("Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!") He now withdrew almost entirely from public life, but in the year 13 accepted the Imperium for a fifth period. It was well known that Tiberius would succeed to the Empire on the death of Augustus; but the latter had still several months of life before him, and he employed them in various acts which he conceived might tend to the advantage or the glory of the State. Much of his time was given to compiling a record of his career, which

extended over a space of fifty-eight years. This chronicle was engraved on bronze tablets, and laid up in the Roman archives. A copy of the document, engraved on marble in parallel columns, has been preserved at Ancyra (now Angora), in Galatia, where it was set up in the porch of a temple dedicated to Augustus and Rome. The Emperor here sums up, in a tone of self-complacency which was undoubtedly warranted by the facts, the various triumphs, both pacific and warlike, which had distinguished his reign. He vaunts the unanimity of all good citizens in his favour, and asserts that under his auspices the Empire had reached to the Elbe, and a Roman fleet had navigated the Northern Ocean. The Pannonians and Illyrians had been reduced, the Cimbric Chersonese had sought his friendship, and he had added Egypt to the dominions of Rome. One very remarkable passage is that in which he alleges that no nation had been attacked by him without provocation. Even if this be not in all cases the truth, the desire to attain credit on such grounds is in itself favourable to Augustus. It is an appeal to something higher than mere force, or the insolent assumption that a ruler with sufficient legions at his command is entitled to attack any nation he pleases, for the indulgence of his avarice or his glory.

In the year 14, Germanicus returned to his command upon the Rhine, and Tiberius set out for Illyricum, where troubles appeared to be arising. Augustus accompanied the latter as far as Beneventum; but he was already ill with an attack of dysentery, and, on subsequently arriving at Nola, in Campania, his sickness acquired so grave a character that Tiberius, who had by this time set sail from Brundusium, was brought back; though whether in time to find the Emperor still alive is doubtful. The dying man had always been famous for his personal comeliness, and a curious exhibition of vanity marked his end. Calling for a mirror, he adjusted his grey hair and beard, and composed his features so as to give the appearance of tranquillity. He then desired his friends to be summoned, and asked if he had acted his part well in the comedy of life. When they assured him that he had, he replied, in the words commonly used by Roman actors at the close of a drama, "Valete, et plaudite!" ("Farewell, and clap your hands!") Next he made inquiry concerning a sick grandchild of Tiberius, and soon afterwards fell back into the arms of Livia, expending his last breath in words of affection for his wife. It was afterwards asserted that that wife had poisoned him, to hasten the succession of her son; but for this horrible suspicion there appears to be no just foundation. Augustus died on the 19th of August, in the year 14 of the Christian era, wanting only thirty-five days of the completion of his seventy-seventh year. His reign had lasted fifty-six years from the Triumvirate, if that be a proper method of reckoning; or forty-four years from the battle of Actium, which is certainly the more correct starting-point.

Tiberius was fifty-six years of age when he succeeded to the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. The people were justified in expecting much of him, for, although his character was marked by an extreme gravity, which sometimes passed into gloom, he had shown many noble qualities, both in action and repose. His affection for Vipsania, the wife whom Augustus had compelled him to divorce, in order to marry one who was quite unworthy of any honest man's companionship, was so great that, whenever he saw her, he would follow her with tears, and it was found necessary to decree that she should never appear in his sight. Notwithstanding his natural indignation at the conduct of Julia, he behaved towards that faithless partner with great consideration when at length compelled to withdraw himself from her society, and even requested Augustus to allow her to retain the presents which he had formerly made. These are comparatively trifling facts, belonging, perhaps, rather to biography than to history; but they are valuable and important when considered with relation to the fearful change which afterwards came over the character of Tiberius. He was favourably known to the people generally by the active part he took in obtaining relief for the inhabitants of Laodicea, Thyatira, and Chios, who had suffered from an earthquake; and was still more famous for those brilliant exploits in arms which are expected in the princes of a martial State. Yet he had no sooner succeeded to the power of Augustus than his character appeared greatly altered. The enigma is startling, but not wholly incapable of solution. The melancholy taint in the blood of Tiberius made him distrustful of his subjects the moment he stepped into that position which concentrated on himself all the fury of political hate. The enforced division from a wife whom he loved, the enforced companionship with one whom he loathed, embittered the very fountains of his being, and inspired him with a moody despair of life. The cruelties and excesses of his reign were apparently the results of madness, caused by the responsibilities of absolute power, acting upon a nature not sufficiently buoyant to uphold its weight.

The insignia of the Imperium were assumed by Tiberius beside the death-bed of Augustus. At the same time, he issued orders to the troops; but Livia had already guarded the house, and stationed soldiers along the road from Nola to Rome. On arriving at the capital, Tiberius summoned the Senate in virtue of his Tribunitian privileges, and the oath of obedience to the new Emperor was taken by all the great bodies of the State, by the army, and by the people. The Senators then devoted their attention to the will of Augustus, who had bequeathed the greater part of his property to Tiberius and Livia. The late Emperor left to his successor the injunction to be content with the existing boundaries of the Empire; and certainly Tiberius was not likely to seek any extension in the direction of Germany, where the forces of Varus had recently sustained so disastrous an overthrow. The remains of Augustus were burned in the midst of splendid ceremonies, and it was declared that his soul had been received into the company of the gods. Although Tiberius had taken the outward symbols of the Imperium immediately after the death of his predecessor, he could not exercise actual power until it had been conferred on him by the Senate. This followed as a matter of course, and Tiberius, after a little pretence of being unequal to so great an office, accepted the position which he knew was his beforehand. A singular and unpropitious scene took place on this occasion. Asinius Gallus, son of the celebrated Asinius Pollio to whom Virgil addressed his Fourth Eclogue, had the boldness to ask Tiberius which part of the public affairs he wished to be committed to him—thus plainly hinting that he was not expected to engross all. A glance of anger revealed what was passing in the mind of the new Emperor; but, after a moment's hesitation, he replied that it was not for him to choose a part when he preferred to be exempt from all. Gallus perceived that he had gone too far, and adroitly turned the matter aside by alleging that what he had desired was to elicit a confession that the whole power of the State should be concentrated in one man. But Tiberius never forgave him the offence; and he had another reason for disliking him, as being the husband of his divorced wife, Vipsania. His fate, however, did not overtake him until thirteen years later, when he was thrown into prison, where, after languishing three years, he died in 30 A.D.

In the end, it was settled that Tiberius should assume the Imperial functions. He created a favourable impression by soliciting the Proconsular Imperium for Germanicus, instead of for Drusus Junior, his own son by Vipsania. The latter was Consul elect for the ensuing year; and for the Prætorship Tiberius himself named twelve candidates. The two Tribunes of the Plebs were now elected by the Senate out of four candidates nominated by the Emperor. The popular election of these officials was thus swept away; but the innovation excited only a few unavailing murmurs. Notwithstanding his assertion of almost absolute power, Tiberius began his reign with every appearance of moderation. Like Augustus, he rejected the language and the forms of adulation, and was accustomed to say of himself that he was the master of his slaves, the general of his soldiers, and the father of the citizens of Rome. The Senators were permitted to make motions of their own, and to discuss those of the Emperor; but when the latter himself spoke, it was with a studied ambiguity of which we are not without instances in modern times, and which is always to be suspected, as covering a dishonest intention. As yet, Tiberius had not developed the bad passions of his nature; but there can be little doubt that the change commenced with his succession to the Imperial dignity. The Empire was for the present at peace; but rumours soon reached Italy that three legions stationed in Pannonia had mutinied for increase of pay, and for a limit to their term of service. Drusus was despatched to the camp with a few Prætorian cohorts, but was unable to produce much effect on the rebellious soldiers, until an eclipse of the moon operated on their superstition, and they gave up their ringleaders to punishment.

The affair might have been serious; yet, in the event, it proved of far less importance than a similar movement on the Rhine, where eight legions broke out into revolt, and demanded of Germanicus that he should lead them to Rome. The young prince, whose loyalty was not to be overcome even by the solicitations of his own soldiers, did his utmost to satisfy the pecuniary demands of the legions, but failed to reduce their spirit of insubordination. His reputation with the army was great; and had he adopted their suggestion of marching upon Rome, he might perhaps have attained to the supreme power, or at any rate have inaugurated a new civil war, the issue of which would have been doubtful. His popularity, however, was compromised by his opposition to the demands of the men, and he was compelled to abandon the eagles to their keeping. At length, after he had sent away his wife and infant son, a last appeal to the rebellious soldiers took effect upon their better natures, and the mutiny was at

an end. The whole affair had been so threatening that Germanicus thought it advisable to find employment for his legionaries as soon as order had been restored to their ranks. He therefore led them across the Rhine, on the pretext of avenging the defeat of Varus. The barbarians retired before him; but the season was late, and, after a military demonstration of no real importance, Germanicus retreated with some difficulty to his own side of the river, in the latter part of the year 14.

These two mutinies appealed powerfully to the feelings of apprehension with which Tiberius had taken upon himself the burden of empire. Doubtless he would have been seriously offended had the Senate refused to confirm him in the Imperial office; yet there may have been some truth in his protestations that he was obliged to undergo a wretched, insupportable slavery. He had even gone the length of telling the Senate that he accepted the position only provisionally, and looked forward to the time when that honourable assembly should, in pity to his age and infirmities, think fit to grant him a quietus.* Yet he was frequently heard to say that he held a wolf by the ears; by which he meant that it would be as dangerous for him to relinquish power as to retain it. Notwithstanding his politic conduct, and his pretence of extreme deference to the Senate, he had already created a number of enemies, whose antagonism he secretly feared. It is alleged, both by Suetonius and Tacitus, that, immediately after his accession, and even before the demise of Augustus was publicly announced, he ordered the death of Agrippa, the posthumous son of the great minister, by his wife Julia, the daughter of the late Emperor, and the second wife of Tiberius. The accusation has never been proved, and Tiberius himself denied it, though he took no measures to bring the person concerned before the Senate. Nevertheless, many believed the statement, and it was a source of trouble to the Emperor through a large part of his career.

The existence of conspiracies increased the natural austerity and distrust of the ruler. He surrounded himself by a vast number of delators, or paid denouncers of crime, and established a secret police, which was so well organised that a watch was kept upon the actions and words of all persons occupying positions of importance in the State. The result was that many unjust accusations were brought against Senators and others, and that a general feeling of terror was created, such as Rome had never experienced during the long and prosperous reign of Augustus. Still, at the very time that these advances were being made towards a tyranny equal to that of Oriental monarchs, Tiberius professed to consider himself simply the humble agent of the Senate. The lampoons that were frequently circulated against himself he disregarded with an appearance of magnanimity which was probably not unmixed with contempt; and it was a constant saying of his, that in a free city men's thoughts and tongues should be free. He is reported to have observed to the Senate on one occasion, that a good prince, who designed the welfare of his country, should study to be serviceable, not only to the body of the community, but even to every private person, as his interest might require. Yet he introduced a law by which all those who were suspected of having impugned the dignity of the Emperor, either by deeds or words, were prosecuted with great severity. The probability seems to be that the nobler disposition of Tiberius was struggling with his fears, and that, as he gathered more and more experience of the insecurity of power, his terrors acquired predominance, and converted him into the madman that he ultimately became.

* Suetonius's Lives: Tiberius, 24.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

Renewed Invasion of Germany by Germanicus—Indecisive Action—Defeat of Arminius by Cæcina—Expedition of 16 A.D.—The Eve of a great Battle—Serious Discomfiture of Arminius—Withdrawal of Germanicus from the Eastern Bank of the Rhine—Abandonment by Tiberius of Further Attempts on Germany—War between the Cherusci and the German Tribes in Bohemia—Assassination of Arminius—Effects on Germany of his Resistance to the Roman Invasion—The Hero worshipped with Divine Honours—Germanicus in Asia—His Tour in Egypt—Quarrel with Cneius Piso in Syria—Last Illness and Death of Germanicus—Suspicions of Poison—Inquiry into the Acts of Piso—The Trial abruptly terminated by his Suicide—Imputations against the Emperor—Events in Africa, Gaul, Thrace, and Frisia—The Conspiracies of Clemens and Libo Drusus—Gloomy Fears of Tiberius—His Liberal Administration—Influence of his Mother, Livia—Rise of Sejanus—Poisoning of the Emperor's Son, Drusus—Conduct of Tiberius towards the Sons of Germanicus—Increase of Tyranny—Mutual Suspicions of the Emperor and Sejanus—Quarrels of the Former with Agrippina—Tiberius quits Rome—His Retirement to the Island of Capreæ—Statements as to his Conduct in that Retreat—Death of Livia—Banishment of Agrippina and Nero—Mutual Relations of Tiberius and Sejanus—Conspiracy of Sejanus against the Life of the Emperor—Extraordinary Scene in the Senate—Detection and Execution of Sejanus—Address of the Emperor to the Senate—Acts of Sanguinary Vengeance—Deaths of Agrippina and Drusus (Son of Germanicus) by Deprivation of Food—The End of Tiberius.

GERMANY had hitherto been the one European nation which had successfully defied the Roman arms. The defeat of Varus was as terrible a disaster as any great military Power had ever endured, and Tiberius, as a soldier of distinguished abilities, and one of experience in that part of the world, was naturally disinclined to endure such a reverse without seeking to avenge it. He may also have desired to employ the legions recently in revolt, and to provide opportunities of gain for men who had shown their willingness, and to some extent their power, to injure the State. Orders were therefore given to Germanicus to cross the Rhine again, and the Chatti were speedily worsted. The Cherusci were split into two factions, at violent war with one another. Arminius was at that time besieging his uncle Segestes, who had been a partisan of Varus, and who now requested the aid of Germanicus. This was granted, and an invasion in three distinct divisions took place in 15 A.D. Germanicus himself descended the Rhine, and made his way up the Ems to the forest of Teutoberg, the scene of the great Roman discomfiture of six years before. Here the three bodies of the army were reunited, and the bones of the slain (including, doubtless, many of the Germans) were interred beneath a huge barrow. All this while Arminius was preparing another ambuscade, and a sudden onslaught which he made soon afterwards nearly proved fatal to the invaders. The Roman commander fought an indecisive battle; checked, without entirely repelling, the assault of his fiery antagonist; and retreated on the approach of winter. But, on the way back, Cæcina, who had command of one of the detachments, was attacked by the Germans, and placed in a position of great peril. By a display of signal ability, however, he rescued his men from their difficulties, and Arminius was so completely beaten that he fled in all haste from the scene of his reverse. The four legions of Cæcina then succeeded in recrossing the Rhine, though the Germans on the western bank threatened to destroy the bridge. Germanicus did not reappear in the camp—which was situated at the modern town of Xanten, opposite Wesel—until considerably later. Part of his route had been by sea, and he had suffered from storms on the Frisian coast.

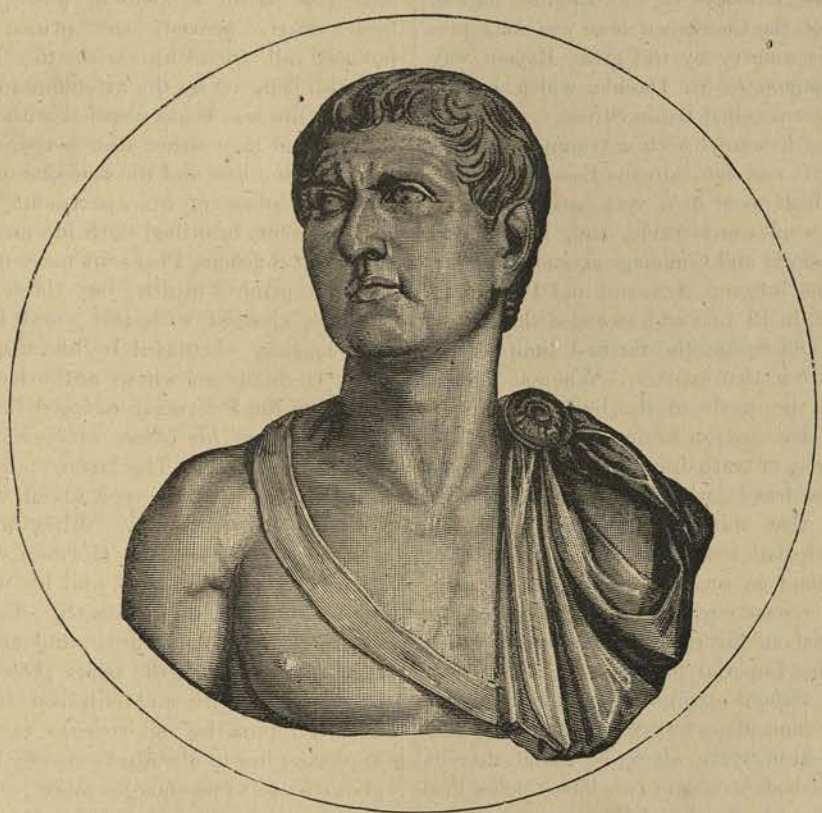
It was evident that the conquest of Germany was a hopeless task. Tiberius himself was willing to give it up at once and for ever; but public opinion required that, before the attempt was finally abandoned, the pride of the barbarians should be humbled by a severe lesson. The expedition of 16 A.D. was under the leadership of Germanicus, like that of the previous years, for Rome possessed no other general so fit for such an undertaking. He transported his men in a flotilla of a thousand vessels, and, sailing through the canal of Drusus, passed round to the mouth of the Ems. There he left his ships at their anchorage, together with a protecting force, and, striking inland in a south-easterly direction, soon arrived at the banks of the Weser, on the opposite side of which a large force of Germans had assembled. This force consisted chiefly of Cherusci, under the command of Arminius; and in the ranks of the invaders was the Romanised brother of that chieftain, proud of his services to the Empire, and of the rewards and distinctions they had procured him. It is related by Tacitus—but the story seems improbable—that the two brothers held a conference, or rather a discussion, on the banks of the river which flowed between them, and that

Arminius endeavoured to persuade Flavius to forsake what he regarded as a degrading connection. The parley after awhile became fierce and passionate; but neither disputant had any influence on the views and intentions of the other. The devotion of Arminius to his country was not, however, surpassed by that of the Roman soldiers to their commander. They ascribed to him every virtue and perfection; and when an emissary of Arminius, riding by night up to the outskirts of the Roman camp, and speaking in Latin, made liberal offers to all who would desert, he was answered with scorn, and with asseverations of what should be accomplished on the morrow. The battle on the following day was a success for the Romans. After fighting bravely at the head of his people, Arminius was wounded and driven back. Notwithstanding the protection of a wood, the Germans were outflanked and dislodged, and it was not long before they were in terror-stricken flight. Vast numbers were slain in the pursuit, and Arminius, together with another chieftain, escaped (as it was afterwards believed), owing to the patriotic treachery of some German auxiliaries, who opened their ranks, and let them through.

Notwithstanding this serious defeat, the barbarians still presented so formidable a resistance to the enemy in their natural strongholds, that Germanicus saw the necessity of withdrawing. He retreated in his vessels along the Frisian coast, and again suffered considerable losses from a storm. After returning to his camp on the western side of the Rhine, he engaged in another expedition, to check some renewed incursions on the part of the Marsi and Chatti, and not only accomplished his object, but obtained the third of the lost eagles of Varus, of which the other two had already been recovered. But the Roman achievements in that part of the world had now reached their limit, and Germanicus was soon afterwards recalled by the Emperor, on the pretence that his services were required in the East, but really in order that he might be withdrawn from a sphere of operations which Tiberius, not unreasonably, regarded as more fertile in disaster than in profit or honour. So far as he proposed to adopt any further policy with respect to Germany, it was to be a policy of craft rather than of force. He determined to foment divisions among the several tribes, and thus to render the conquest of the country, at some future

THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS.

day, an easier task than he and his contemporaries had found it. The dissensions existing between one German community and another were extremely favourable to this design; and, shortly after the departure of Germanicus, a war broke out between the Cherusci, commanded by Arminius, and assisted by various Suevic tribes, and the subjects of Maroboduus in Bohemia. The latter were defeated in a hotly-contested action, and Maroboduus was deserted by many of the tribes which he had formerly subdued. In his extremity, he requested the arbitration of Tiberius, who sent his son Drusus, with secret instructions to sow distrust and antagonism between the two sets of belligerents. Maroboduus was expelled from his kingdom by Catualda, a chief of the Goths, in 19 A.D., and, flying into Italy, found an asylum at Ravenna, where he died in 35.



GERMANICUS.

The expulsion of this warrior from his Bohemian territory was soon followed by the assassination of Arminius by some of his own followers, who were offended at his assumption of despotic power. He was only in his thirty-seventh year when he died; yet he left behind him a name which is justly cherished by his countrymen. Assuredly it would be absurd to count him as a great general. In his operations against the Romans, he was materially assisted by natural conditions; and the leader who could annihilate an army by a well-planned ambuscade in the depths of a primeval forest, was unequal to encounter the legions of Rome on open ground. But he had courage, self-devotion, and energy, and he effected the purpose for which he fought. Whether Germany and the civilized world were the better for his success may be a question. That success shut out the light of culture from the centre of Northern Europe for some four centuries, and seems to have delayed for a much longer period the full development of German intellect. Yet to those of his own race he was for ages the supreme hero, to whom honours were paid as to a god. The great shrine of this belief was the Irmin-Sul, or Column of Hermann (if the monument were not rather expressive of the abstract idea of universal power), which was erected near Eresburg, in Westphalia, and was ultimately destroyed by the Christian Charlemagne, not, however,

without a desperate resistance on the part of the worshippers. The Cherusci, the tribe to which Arminius belonged, are thought to have been the ancestors of the Saxons who subsequently colonised England. They belonged to the Low German division of the great Teutonic race, which division, after the death of Arminius, almost entirely disappeared from history until it again issued forth into the light in connection with the invasion of Britain by the founders of the English nation. The memory of the Cheruscan hero was long preserved in this country by the great Roman way from Southampton to St. Davids, which by the Anglo-Saxons was called Irmin Street.

After being honoured with a triumph, in May, 17, Germanicus was sent into the East, to regulate its affairs, which were in a very unsettled state. His powers were considerable, and, having conquered Cappadocia and Commagene, and composed a disagreement between Armenia and Parthia, he visited Egypt, in 19 A.D., and ascended the Nile to Elephantine and Syene, the farthest limits of the Roman Empire in that quarter. When at Thebes, he consulted the oracle of the bull Apis, and is said to have received an ominous response. His brief career was in truth drawing to a close, and the instinct of the people, who loved Germanicus with an affection that was mingled with pride, had already anticipated some evil fate. In exploring Egypt, Germanicus seems to have been merely gratifying his own curiosity. But the Emperor was displeased at his entering a country which, as one of the Imperial provinces, was forbidden to Senators without express permission; and he required his immediate return to Rome. On the way, he paused in Syria, where he found that his appointments had been over-ruled by Cneius Piso, grandson of one of the fellow-conspirators of Catiline, and son of Cæsar's opponent in Africa. This person had acquired a bad name in Spain, where he formerly acted as the legate of Augustus; and he had more recently been sent out as Proconsul to Syria. His enmity to Germanicus was well known, and it has been supposed that Tiberius, being jealous of the brilliant qualities and great popularity of his nephew, purposely set an adversary in his way to thwart him. On the arrival of Germanicus at Daphne by Antioch, in Syria, a quarrel took place between him and Piso. They had once before come into collision at Cyrrhus, in the same country, and Germanicus had abundant reason to believe that the Proconsul was doing the utmost to oppose his authority. The insolence of Piso now became so unbearable, and was so grossly exhibited even on public occasions, that the prince was obliged to take some notice of the fact; on which the offender retired to Seleucia.

Germanicus had been ill, even before the departure of Piso; and, although there was a partial recovery, the sickness returned at no great distance of time. The spirits of the sufferer were depressed by the suspicion that Piso had given him poison; and under the influence of this idea (the truth of which, however, has never been clearly proved) the prince solemnly renounced all friendship with the Proconsul. It was also believed by the attendants on Germanicus that his life was being assailed with magical incantations, and they either discovered, or professed to discover, amulets, and the remains of human bones, under the floor of his apartment, together with leaden tablets inscribed with his name. From his retreat at Seleucia, Piso sent messengers to inquire after the prince's health; but these were regarded as spies, charged with the worst instructions by their master. Actuated by his suspicions and his fears, Germanicus, whose authority was superior to that of the Proconsul, ordered Piso to surrender the ensigns of his office, and even, it is said, to quit the province. The latter embarked on board a vessel, but still lingered about the coast, while Germanicus grew worse. When his end was near at hand, the hero of the German wars adjured his friends to prosecute Piso, and his wife Plancina, as the real authors of his death. They promised to discharge that solemn duty, and afterwards proved themselves equal to the task. Germanicus dreaded more for his wife and children than for himself. To Agrippina he addressed words of caution, imploring her to abstain from any act which might give offence to personages more powerful than she; and it was supposed by the Roman people that this warning had reference to Tiberius. It was also believed by many that Piso had contrived the murder of their hero to satisfy the jealous hatred of the Emperor.

Both at the capital and in the provinces, the death of Germanicus was productive of the utmost grief. Without awaiting any order from the magistrates, the people of Rome forsook the Forum, shut up their houses, and dressed themselves in mourning. The body was consumed at Antioch, and some who examined it declared that the marks of poison were unquestionable, while others were unable to perceive any such indications. The friends of the deceased prince arrested a woman named Martina, who was known to be an intimate friend of Plancina, and who was commonly regarded as a professed poisoner. This person was

sent to Rome for examination, and steps were taken for substantiating the charges to be brought against Piso and Plancina. In the meanwhile, the affairs of Syria were conducted by Cneius Sentius, who was provisionally appointed to the office by the lieutenants of Germanicus. Piso, however, was by no means disposed to accept his dismissal, which was, indeed, characterised by great irregularity. He received the news of his rival's death while staying in the island of Cos, and at once returned to Syria, where for a time he assumed, at the head of his legions, a position little short of rebellion against the authority of the Emperor. Sentius, however, opposed his pretensions with so much vigour that he was glad to abandon his designs, and take ship for Rome. On arriving there, in 20 A.D., he referred his cause to the Emperor, but encountered a state of public opinion deeply adverse to himself. The woman Martina had died suddenly on her passage to Rome, and it was rumoured that she had been put out of the way by Piso, in dread of what she might disclose. The trial took place before the Senate, when the proceedings were opened by a speech from Tiberius, characterised by much fairness and moderation. Piso, on being called on for his defence, was unable to rebut the charge of political insubordination, but the accusation of murder he vehemently denied. The evidence in its support appears to have been extremely weak; yet the Senators, for the most part, took an unfavourable view of the case, and the people surrounded the tribunal with cries of vengeance, and with threats that, if the accused were acquitted, they would themselves tear him limb from limb. In this hour of darkness and peril, Piso was abandoned by his wife Plancina, who, being intimate with the Emperor's mother, Livia, solicited the interest of that important personage for herself alone. The wretched man now felt that he had little to hope, and that little was destroyed when, on the second day of the trial, he observed the hostile demeanour of the Senators, and the cold and reserved looks of Tiberius. On again retiring to his own dwelling, he called for his tablets, wrote a few lines which he delivered under seal to a freedman, bathed and supped as usual, and retired to his couch. His wife left the bedchamber during the night; and when the room was entered at daybreak next morning, Piso was found stretched upon the floor with his throat cut, and his sword lying beside him.

Tacitus, who always writes with a strong bias against the Emperor, insinuates, on the faith of what he had heard old people mention, that Piso possessed certain papers which his friends used to affirm contained the instructions addressed to him by Tiberius concerning Germanicus. These, it is added, he had resolved to lay before the Senators, so as to reveal the guilt of the Emperor; but Sejanus, the confidant of Tiberius, dissuaded him from his purpose by holding out false hopes. According to the same information, Piso did not kill himself, but was really assassinated.* Tacitus does not actually vouch for the truth of these assertions, but he evidently desires them to be believed. It is now, however, generally acknowledged that there is no proof of the complicity of Tiberius in any of the designs of Piso, nor even that Germanicus was assassinated at all. Whether sincerely or not, the Emperor expressed his mortification at the death of the accused, and allowed the son of Piso to read before the Senate the last words of his father. In that document, the deceased appealed to Tiberius to show favour to his sons, who, he said, had taken no part in those acts of treason which it was impossible to deny so far as himself was concerned. His wife Plancina was not mentioned; from which we may infer that Piso had been informed of her treacherous conduct. The Senate treated the sons with considerable severity; but the sentences were afterwards modified by Tiberius, who appears to have acted with justice. At the instigation of Livia, Plancina was screened from prosecution, and the Emperor's principal wish seems to have been that the whole tragedy should, as soon as possible, be buried in oblivion. Whether this solicitude proceeded from a guilty conscience, or from a strong sense of the disgrace and horror of the whole transaction, is one of those problems of history which are beyond solution. But the acts of Tiberius, so far as they are positively known, do not tend to his discredit. Upon the accusers of Piso he bestowed places in the priesthood; indeed, he was nervously anxious to stand well with all parties in this dark and mysterious case.

It is now necessary to go back a few years, that we may take note of certain events which happened in the northern parts of Africa. In 17 A.D., a leader of Numidian auxiliaries, named Tacfarinas, placed himself at the head of a number of banditti infesting the mountains of the Atlas range, and commenced an insurrection against the authority of Rome. His previous service with the legions of the Empire enabled him to give these savage warriors a degree of discipline which rendered their valour formidable; and the rebellion rapidly spread. The whole province was defended

* Annals, Book III., chap. 16.

by a single legion, with its auxiliary cohorts; but this small force was ultimately found sufficient to overcome the enemy. Tacfarinas was severely defeated by the Proconsul Furius Camillus—a name once illustrious in the history of the Republic, but very slightly conspicuous since the days of the Gallic invasion. The danger, however, was only escaped for a time, and during a period of seven years Tacfarinas frequently renewed his rebellion, which did not finally cease until, in 24, he was killed in battle by Dolabella. Among the other events of Tiberius's reign, external to Italy itself, should be mentioned an insurrection in Gaul, in 21 A.D., an unimportant war in Thrace, and a successful revolt of the Frisians, by which, in 28, when Tiberius was living at Capreæ, a large territory east of the Rhine was delivered from the dominion of Rome. These events, however, were of less importance to the Emperor personally than the seditious movements nearer home which were directed against himself. A slave of Agrippa Postumus, named Clemens, pretended to represent his master, and in that character raised a rebellion in the year 16. When the younger Agrippa was slain, immediately after the accession of Tiberius, Clemens dispersed the ashes of the deceased, so as to destroy all evidence of his death, and, two years later, when his plans were complete, spread a report that Agrippa still lived. He then went about from town to town, persuading the people that he himself was Agrippa Postumus, but taking care that he should be seen only in the twilight, and for a few minutes at a time. At length he ventured to enter Rome itself, but was seized, and conveyed to the palace. There he was secretly put to death, and the affair was hushed up, though people whispered that some of the Emperor's own family, together with several Knights and Senators, had favoured the imposture. A still more serious conspiracy was detected the same year, when a young noble, named Libo Drusus, conceived the hope of supplanting Tiberius in the sovereignty. His designs were ultimately betrayed to the Emperor by one who had at first encouraged them. Tiberius regarded him with the utmost apprehension, considering that at any moment he might be the agent of his assassination; but he continued to temporise with the traitor until, after more than a year, he had obtained distinct proof of his contemplated guilt. He then convened the Senate, to deliberate, as he expressed it, on "a dreadful and monstrous crime." Libo found himself deserted by all, and, after the first day's investigation, put an end to his life.

These continual menaces intensified the original fears of Tiberius, and deepened the acerbity with which he entered on his Imperial functions. He listened more and more to the tales of the informers whom his policy had called into being, and charges against individuals were repeatedly brought before the Senate. At the same time, Tiberius, with either real or affected generosity, often interposed to ward off from the accused the full severity of the Senate. In several instances, the Emperor's conduct was distinguished by remarkable clemency, and it is not unlikely that he was really desirous of defending himself with the least exercise of absolute power that the circumstances of the time permitted. He restrained the undue license of comic actors who made free with the reputations of eminent men, and banished large numbers of persons addicted to the Egyptian and Jewish rites, which, in the estimation of most Romans, were peculiarly dark and gloomy superstitions. But, on the whole, he left a good deal of liberty to the people, and his administration was in many respects fair and wise. He endeavoured, though without success, to regulate the head-waters of the Tiber, so as to protect Rome from the disastrous inundations by which it was frequently devastated. The taxation he imposed was moderate in amount; his own habits were remarkable for simplicity, frugality, and a steady devotion to affairs of State; even his enemies did not accuse him of pecuniary extortion; the provinces were governed with firmness and consideration; and the Emperor forbade the slavish habits of those who would have approached him after the manner of suitors in an Oriental court. When the Governors of some of the provinces would have persuaded him to load the people with new imposts, he replied that a good shepherd ought to shear, not flay, his sheep; and could he have been delivered from the terrors which perpetually beset him, it is possible that he might have continued to the end of his reign a just and law-abiding ruler, though his saturnine disposition would always have stood in the way of popularity. The sumptuary laws which he enacted were at least well meant, if they had no better success than such laws usually obtain; and his attempts to regulate morals, in a city where they were apt to be shamefully disregarded, were not necessarily insincere, because the life of the Emperor himself suffers from a close examination. The irritable impatience of Tiberius, which grew upon him with the unhappy experiences of his position, may perhaps be partly attributable to the influence of his aged mother, whose intriguing nature was never satisfied unless some fresh occasion for its exercise could be discovered. The

Emperor was often at issue with her, and did not always prevail in the struggle; doubtless, was not always in the right. The protection afforded to Plancina, the wife of Piso, gave him peculiar annoyance, since it placed his own motives under injurious suspicion. But some of the worst parts of the Emperor's character were fostered and developed by his minister, Lucius Ælius Sejanus, an Etruscan of Equestrian rank, whose father, Seius Strabo, had been Prefect of the Prætorian Guard under Augustus. The abilities of this man were of no slight order. In person he was active and hardy; his mental and physical energies were always at command; and, though his objects were bad, he had the art of disguising them by an agreeable manner.

In the year 21, Tiberius for the second time associated his son Drusus with himself in the Consulship, and in the following year gave him a share in the Tribunitian power, thus indicating that he designed him for his successor. The Emperor then withdrew into Campania, and the young prince became popular, owing to his affection for the memory of Germanicus, and to the genial temper which palliated his lax and profligate habits. But towards the Senate he demeaned himself with a degree of haughtiness which gave the deepest offence. The feeling of dissatisfaction was encouraged by Sejanus, who had succeeded to the Prefecture of the city, and to the sole command of the Prætorian Guards, now concentrated in one great camp at the north-eastern angle of the walls. Gradually, Sejanus got the appointment of the officers into his own hands, while the favour of the men was purchased by frequent indulgences. Drusus complained that this intriguing soldier encroached upon the powers which rightfully belonged to himself; and Sejanus, being informed of the fact, commenced a plot against the young man, which his subtle and unscrupulous nature enabled him to carry out to a successful issue. He entered into an intrigue with the wife of Drusus, which, it is reasonable to believe, was prompted as much by policy as by passion, and, having obtained her devoted assistance, employed her, together with a physician and a slave, to administer poison to their common victim. This was given in a succession of small doses, so that the prince's death, which occurred in 23 A.D., had all the appearance of resulting from a natural malady. The general belief was that Sejanus contemplated succeeding to the Imperial power himself, and that Livilla, the wife of Drusus, hoped to share the position as his consort. But, as she would equally have attained that distinction as the wife of Drusus, the motive in her case must have been rather an illicit attachment than an irregular ambition.

No inquiry was made into the cause of the young Cæsar's death, which Tiberius himself attributed to intemperance. With the customary reserve of his nature, the Emperor exhibited but little emotion at a calamity which deprived him of his last surviving son, but, on his first appearance in the Senate after the mournful event, declared that he should find his consolation in a still more strict performance of his public duties. He then recommended to the care of the Senators the youthful children of Germanicus—Nero and Drusus—who were now the direct representatives of the Imperial House. They were shortly afterwards introduced into the Senate by the Consuls, and Tiberius, addressing the youths, bade them behold their parents in the members of that august assembly. "In the station to which you have been born," he continued, "your good and evil are the good and evil of the State." Notwithstanding this fair-sounding speech, it soon became evident that the Emperor regarded with jealousy the children of the deceased hero. He behaved towards them with morose indifference, and the antagonism between him and their mother, Agrippina, became every day more marked and extreme. The better qualities of Tiberius were now rapidly giving place to the worse features of his character. The ascendency of Sejanus was most unfortunate, and to his evil promptings are attributed most of the cruelties with which the Roman sovereign disgraced his rule. The informers became more active than ever; fresh victims were perpetually denounced and led to execution, except where they anticipated the action of the law by a voluntary death. Among the persons thus hurried out of life were Silius, the subduer of the Gauls in their last revolt, and the historian, Cremutius Cordus, who, during the reign of Augustus, had written an account of the Civil Wars, in which he eulogised the patriotism of Brutus, and entitled Cassius "the last of the Romans." The first of these prosecutions occurred in 24 A.D.; the second in 25. During the latter year, Sejanus sought to be received into the Imperial family by asking for the hand of Livilla, the widow of the deceased Drusus. This request was rejected; but Sejanus continued to enjoy the Emperor's confidence. Nevertheless, he regarded the refusal as evidence of a design for disgracing him. The Emperor had alleged, as one of his principal reasons for disallowing the marriage, that Agrippina would in such a case act with increased bitterness towards himself; and the argument pointed to one of the most perplexing

circumstances in the life of Tiberius. Scenes of a painful character frequently took place between him and the widow of Germanicus. Agrippina sometimes reviled the Emperor, sometimes humiliated herself by tears and prayers; but in these undignified contests she seems to have been at least as much to blame as her exalted antagonist. Sejanus fomented their disagreements by hinting to Agrippina, through the agency of some of his creatures, that the Emperor was seeking to poison her; and on one occasion she deeply offended Tiberius, with whom she was supping, by refusing to take any of the viands that he offered.

AGRIPPINA THE ELDER, WIFE OF GERMANICUS.

Tiberius had been long meditating retirement from Rome, that he might enjoy comparative repose in some country retreat. The painful rumours about himself and Agrippina, which had now obtained general circulation, hastened his departure, and in 26 A.D. he retired to Campania, under pretext of dedicating two temples which had been recently erected—the one to Jupiter at Capua, the other to Augustus at Nola. He was attended by only one Senator, and only two Knights, including Sejanus. His abandonment of Rome was considered at once disgraceful and ominous. The astrologers whispered that he was destined never to return, and the people pointed to a great conflagration on the Cælian Mount, as a sign that the divine powers were displeased. In the following year, the Emperor withdrew still farther from the capital, and took up his abode in the island of Capreæ, the Capri of the moderns, so called after the wild goats which inhabit it. This chosen spot of earth, enjoying a climate of brilliant and exquisite purity, and presenting scenes of wild yet luxuriant beauty, is situated off the promontory which divides the Bay of Naples from the Bay of Pæstum. It is surrounded by steep rocks, which render approach very dangerous; but, in the centre of the island, the mountains, receding from one another, form a valley of the highest fertility and the most lovely features. In this enchanting paradise, Tiberius built twelve villas, erected on the finest sites, and doubtless commanding every variety of prospect. During the many years he lived in Capreæ, the Emperor crossed but seldom to the continent, though the distance is only six miles; and not more than twice did he even give

TIBERIUS AT CAPREÆ.

any sign of an intention to return to Rome. The voluptuous beauty of his retreat, the sense of isolation from the dreary cares and anxieties of the capital, and the greater freedom he enjoyed, seem to have entranced his mind, and held him in a sort of syren bondage. It is not, however, to be assumed that in thus quitting Rome he abandoned the duties of his office. He appears to have still conducted the affairs of the commonwealth; but he conducted them from a distance, which relieved him from the fret and irritation of petty conflicts. Had this been all, it would be difficult to blame him in any serious degree. But Tacitus and Suetonius allege that he took advantage of his retirement to indulge in extravagant debaucheries and cruelties. How far these stories are true it is impossible to say. They bear upon them the marks of great exaggeration; but it is not unlikely that the Emperor, delivered from the vexations that attended his life at Rome, permitted himself a degree of license which he may have considered imprudent when the eyes of the world were upon him.

Livia, the mother of Tiberius, died in 29 A.D., at the age of eighty-six. Her funeral oration was pronounced by Caius, the youngest of the sons of Germanicus, then in his seventeenth year. Tiberius excused himself from attending, and indeed took no special notice of his parent's death. He even forbade the Senate to decree divine honours to the deceased, alleging that such was her own wish; and for a long time the will of Livia remained unexecuted. Tiberius had always chafed against the influence of his mother, who doubtless embarrassed him by her friendships and her hatreds. His cold and melancholy nature was unsusceptible of ordinary attachments, and he lacked either the art or the disposition to make a formal pretence of what he did not feel. Livia was a woman of great ability, and, whatever the faults of her temper, of singular kindness to those by whom she was surrounded. She often checked the persecutions of the Emperor, and her charities to a multitude of persons deserve mention, even in the pages of a general history.

Shortly after the death of the Empress-mother, Sejanus communicated to her son an account, probably magnified, of some popular demonstrations in favour of Agrippina and Nero. Tiberius accordingly transmitted to the Senate a letter of accusation against the widow and the child of Germanicus, and both were banished to islands. The younger son, Drusus, next fell beneath the jealous contrivances of Sejanus, who, having seduced his wife Lepida, used her influence against the prince. The latter was imprisoned, by order of Sejanus, in a vault of the Imperial palace, and the successful minister now obtained the consent of Tiberius to his marriage with Livilla. This long-desired concession was made in 30 A.D., and in the following year Sejanus was associated with the Emperor in the Consulship. Tiberius, however, had by this time awakened to a suspicion of his intriguing servant, and the granting of these honours was simply to conceal the projects which had been really formed against him. He requested Sejanus to discharge the functions of the joint Consulship; but when the Senate proposed that the arrangement should be continued for five years, the Emperor refused, and, laying down his office after a few months, compelled the simultaneous resignation of Sejanus. The priesthood was shortly afterwards conferred on Caius Cæsar, and it was evident to Sejanus that the succession was intended to devolve on him. Tiberius now announced that he would return to Rome, and in the course of 31 A.D. Sejanus (whose position in the capital had long been that of an independent sovereign) entered into a conspiracy against his life. The plot reached the ears of Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, who communicated the fact to Tiberius in his island-retreat. Sertorius Macro, an officer of the body-guard, was appointed to succeed Sejanus as head of the Prætorian troops; but it was no easy matter to act against one who was already in the position of command. Nevertheless, Macro contrived that the Senate should be summoned for the morrow, and in the meanwhile concerted measures with Græcinus Laco, the captain of the urban watch. With him he made arrangements for stationing an armed force in the avenues of the Temple of Apollo, where the Senate was to meet, and which was removed from the more crowded thoroughfares of the city: at the same time, he himself was, by a variety of plausible reasons, to keep the Prætorians in their distant quarters. On the following day, he crossed the path of Sejanus, as, surrounded by an armed retinue, he was making his way to the Senate, filled with apprehension as to what was intended by the unexpected assembly. He assured him that the occasion of the meeting was to raise him to the Tribunitian power, as a preliminary to his being designated to the succession. Entirely deceived by this representation, Sejanus dismissed his soldiers, and entered the building, while Macro informed the Prætorians that he was now their commander, and would bestow on them an ample largess in the event of their loyalty.

Within the temple where the Senators had met,

the scene was of a very striking description. The letter of the Emperor was purposely expressed in diffuse phraseology, in order that its real intent might be kept back as long as possible, so as to give Macro time to work upon the temper of the Prætorian Guards, and secure their full submission to the new arrangements. The greater number of the Senators were the friends of Sejanus, because Sejanus was the most powerful man in Rome; and they now gathered about the minister, in expectation of some new honour which the Emperor intended to confer on him. Sejanus himself sat smiling and at ease; wondering, perhaps, at the long preamble of the Imperial missive, but expecting no evil. Gradually, however, a different meaning seemed to evolve itself from the letter. Some well-known adherents of Sejanus were denounced as deserving punishment; and, as the Consul Regulus continued to read on, the tone of the epistle became still less favourable to the minister. His friends shuffled away from his side; the assembly was visibly agitated; Sejanus himself began first to doubt, and then to fear. At length, the missive, reaching its termination, denounced Sejanus as a traitor, and commanded his arrest. His enemies had now drawn closely round him, so that he was unable to leave the edifice. Regulus called on him to surrender; but he appeared confused, and scarcely able to understand the situation. The summons having been twice repeated, he rose, as if with some desperate idea of breaking forth, when Laco suddenly stood before him with a drawn sword in his hand. The Senators started up, and heaped reproaches on his head, while Regulus bade the lictors drag him out under an escort of guards. In this way he was carried to the Mamertine prison; and as he was being led across the Forum, he saw the people, in the wild excitement of their satisfaction, tearing down and shattering the statues which had been erected in his honour.

Macro had had to execute a task of no slight difficulty in overcoming the scruples of the Prætorian Guards. At first the troops had been disposed to mutiny; but, by largely increasing his promises of money gifts, he at length obtained the promise of their allegiance. The Senators met again the same day in the Temple of Concord, where they decreed the death of Sejanus, and the wretched man was immediately strangled in the jail whither he had been conveyed. His remains were exposed to the brutal outrages of the people, and large numbers of his friends and relatives were arrested. Several acts of popular vengeance followed in the ensuing days, while, on the other hand, the Prætorian Guards, still dissatisfied with the change that had been effected, indulged in riotous demonstrations and acts of plunder. The Senate heaped indignities on the memory of the man whom they had recently flattered, and, giving their servility a new direction, besought Tiberius to accept the title of Father of his Country. This, however, he declined, as he had always done; and he likewise rejected the proposal that the Senate should swear to all his acts. "Steadfast as I feel myself," he said, "in good and patriotic principles, yet all things human are liable to change; and never (so may the gods help me!) will I bind the Fathers to respect all the future acts of one who, even by falling from his right senses, may at any time fall from virtue." He was now safe once more; but he had gone through a time of terrible anxiety, and had made arrangements for learning with the utmost quickness the result of Macro's proceedings at Rome. A squadron of the swiftest triremes was at hand to carry him, in the event of failure, to the legions in Gaul or Syria; nor did he regain his equanimity with the welcome intelligence of success. Still suspicious and apprehensive, he refused to see the deputation of distinguished citizens who sought him in the island of Capreæ, and even the Consul Regulus was obliged to depart without an interview. Following the worst suggestions of his nature, he ordered sentences of great ferocity against all who were suspected of being concerned in the baffled plot. Livilla was starved to death, and the children of Sejanus are said to have been slain with exceptional atrocity. Nevertheless, the Emperor consented to return to Rome in the early part of 32 A.D.; but, as he sailed up the Tiber, which he considered the safest means of approach, his cohorts drove the people away from the banks. On reaching the gardens of Cæsar, the sight of the great city affected him with a sudden terror, and, reversing his trireme, he sailed back at once to his favourite island. In the recesses of that Eden, he is said to have now indulged in even worse abominations than before; but the subject is one which the historian can do nothing more than pass over with the hope that, corrupt as the nature of Tiberius may have been, he did not reach the depths of iniquity so freely imputed to him by credulous writers and declared enemies.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Emperor had now reached that state of positive madness to which he had been tending for a long time past. His suspicions redoubled, and with them those acts of cruelty which are almost inevitable when a man combines unbridled power with

uncontrollable fear. The family of Germanicus still excited the distrust of the unhappy sovereign. Nero had by this time perished in the island where he had been confined, and the end of Drusus was rapidly approaching. In 33 A.D.—a year memorable as that of the Crucifixion—an impostor, professing to be Drusus, started up in Greece and Asia, and deceived many by the similarity of his appearance. His fate is not clearly known, though it is probable that he was arrested and put to death. But the existence of such a claimant reacted unfavourably on the true Drusus, who was shortly afterwards starved to death in prison. By gnawing the stuffing of his pallet, the miserable prince prolonged his existence for nine days after the deprivation of food; and the death thus visited on him was voluntarily sought by his mother Agrippina, who resisted all attempts to force sustenance down her throat. With respect to the sentence upon Drusus, it has been conjectured that the Emperor may have regarded death by famine as a kind of divine infliction, which saved him from the guilt of shedding blood in the case of one who was a member of the Julian house.* But a man must have reached the last degree of moral corruption when such are the anodynes with which he lulls his conscience.

Four more years of life still remained to the Emperor; but they were years of failing health and deepening gloom. The succession was a matter which pressed for settlement, and the emasculated will of Tiberius was unequal to the task. If he could have established an hereditary monarchy, it might have proved a blessing to the Empire. But he had no children of his own, and there were two probable claimants, between whom he had not the energy to decide. These were Caius Germanicus Cæsar (afterwards known as Caligula), the only surviving son of Germanicus, and his own grandson, Tiberius Gemellus. Tiberius Claudius Drusus, the younger brother of Germanicus, still lived; but, though he afterwards succeeded to the purple as the Emperor Claudius, he had been excluded from State affairs, owing to the alleged infirmity of his body and his mind. The son of Caius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who afterwards succeeded as the Emperor Nero, was not born until the year when Tiberius himself expired. Though Tiberius Gemellus was nearer to the Emperor than Caius Germanicus, his preference had always been given to the latter; and Caius improved his chances by an intimate alliance with Macro, the new Prætorian Prefect. In 37, Tiberius made a second movement towards Rome, but again turned back when in sight of its walls. At Astura, in Latium, he was attacked by illness, and attempted to conceal its presence by violent exercises and profuse feasting. On the 15th of March, a fainting fit was mistaken for death. Caius Germanicus at once assumed the position of Emperor, when he was struck with apprehension at seeing Tiberius revive. According to Tacitus, the Emperor was then smothered by Macro, who pretended to heap on coverlets as if for warmth. Suetonius says that Caius poisoned him; but it is possible that he died a natural death. When the successor of Augustus breathed his last, he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. His life had begun with honour and success, and had ended in misery and disgrace. Rome seemed to gather freedom from the very knowledge of his decease; but the change proved to be only one from an older to a younger tyrant.

* Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, chap. 46.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS.

Accession of Caius Germanicus Cæsar (Caligula)—Early Life of the New Princeps—His Liberal and Popular Measures on succeeding to Power—Change in the Character of Caligula—His Debaucheries and Cruelty—Successful Government of the Empire—Caligula's Great Edifices—The Romans in Judæa—Complaints against Pontius Pilate—Herod Antipas in Galilee—The Tetrarchy of Ituræa, &c.—Herod Agrippa, and his Influence over the Mind of Caligula—Imprisonment of Herod Agrippa by Tiberius—His Release by Caligula, and Departure for his Dominions in the East—Troubles with the Jews of Alexandria—Fall of Herod Antipas—Caligula requires to be Worshipped as a God—Deputation of Jews and Greeks from Alexandria—Just and Liberal Sway of Rome in Judæa—Expedition of Caligula to the German Frontier—Grotesque Statements of Suetonius—Extortions of the Emperor—Open Assumption of Arbitrary Power—Abortive Conspiracy against him—His Assassination—Evidences of Insanity in his Character—Claudius created Imperator by the Prætorian Guard—His Previous Life—First Acts of the New Emperor—His Humane Disposition—Conquests in Africa—Successful Expeditions in Northern Germany—State of Britain after the Invasions of Julius Cæsar—Strong Feeling of the Romans against Druidism—Existence, in Early Ages, of some degree of Roman Civilization in Britain—Invasion of the Island by Claudius—Heroic Resistance of the Natives under Caractacus—Establishment of Roman Power in the Southern Parts—Herod Agrippa I. and his Kingdom—Later Phases of Jewish History.

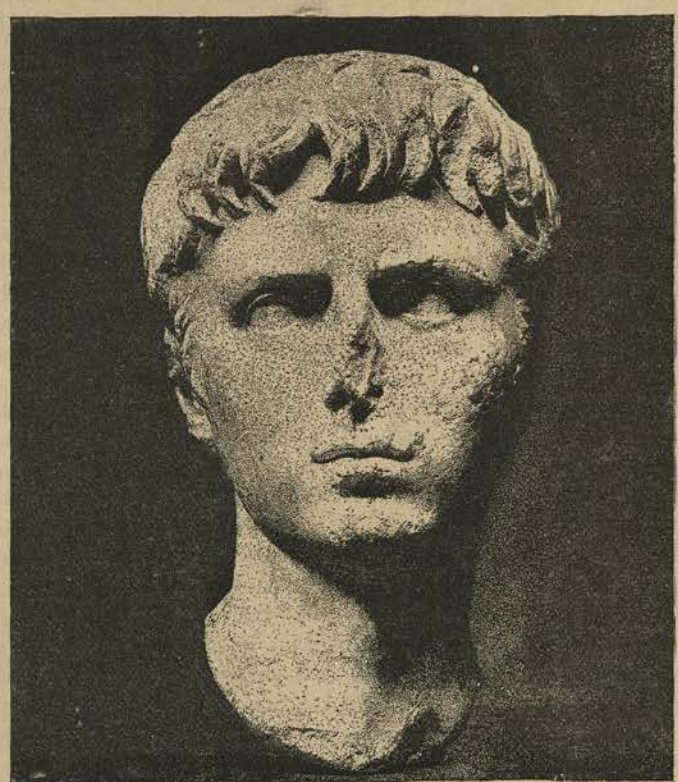
ALTHOUGH Tiberius hesitated about nominating his successor, the preference of the Senate was for Caius Germanicus, then in his twenty-fifth year; and to him the supreme power was confided. Another step was thus made in the direction of permanent monarchical forms; but all was still done under pretence of maintaining the Republic. The name by which the new Emperor is generally known, even in the gravest pages of history, is, curiously enough, a mere nickname. Caligula is the diminutive of *caliga*, the military buskin, and may therefore be taken as the equivalent of "Little Boot." While yet a mere child, Caius had accompanied his father, Germanicus, to the stations of the Rhenish legions, where he had been dressed in the military uniform, and, becoming the pet of the soldiers, received this term of endearment from one of the most familiar articles of attire. In after life, he himself resented the appellation, and the earlier historians always call him by his real name. Aurelius Victor, who wrote in the fourth Christian century, is thought to have been the first author who used the nickname seriously; but it has now commonly taken the place of Caius.

When Germanicus died, his son Caius was only seven years old. As a boy, he received the careful tuition of his mother Agrippina; but somewhat later he was unfortunately attached to the person of the reigning Emperor, Tiberius, and dwelt with him in his fantastical retirement at Capreæ, ingratiating himself with his illustrious relative by a hypocritical conformity with all his moods and opinions. He soon occupied various offices of State, and was named by Tiberius joint-heir with his own grandson, Gemellus, to all his personal property after the payment of certain legacies. The will of the late Emperor, however, was set aside after his death, as the act of an incapable dotard. It was found that Tiberius had accumulated the enormous sum of twenty-one millions sterling, and this enabled Caius to acquire a factitious popularity by profuse and often reckless expenditure. The Senate was not asked to confirm the acts of the late Emperor, and Caius showed a commendable and kindly feeling in bringing the ashes of his mother Agrippina, and of his brother Nero, from the islands where they had been banished, and depositing them, together with the remains of his other brother, Drusus, in the Imperial mausoleum. In his first speech to the Senate, the new sovereign assured the Fathers that he intended to share the government with them, and to rule with moderation. His earlier actions fully confirmed these promises. All political offenders were amnestied; the legacies of Tiberius were duly paid; prisoners were set free, the banished recalled, and the informers dismissed. Various reforms were at least attempted, and the Emperor proposed, but ineffectually, to revive the election of the chief magistrates. In the position of Consul, he gave great satisfaction by his attention to business, and for a little while it seemed as if the golden days of Augustus had returned. The works of several Republican writers were allowed to be freely circulated, and practisers of notorious immorality were expelled from Rome.

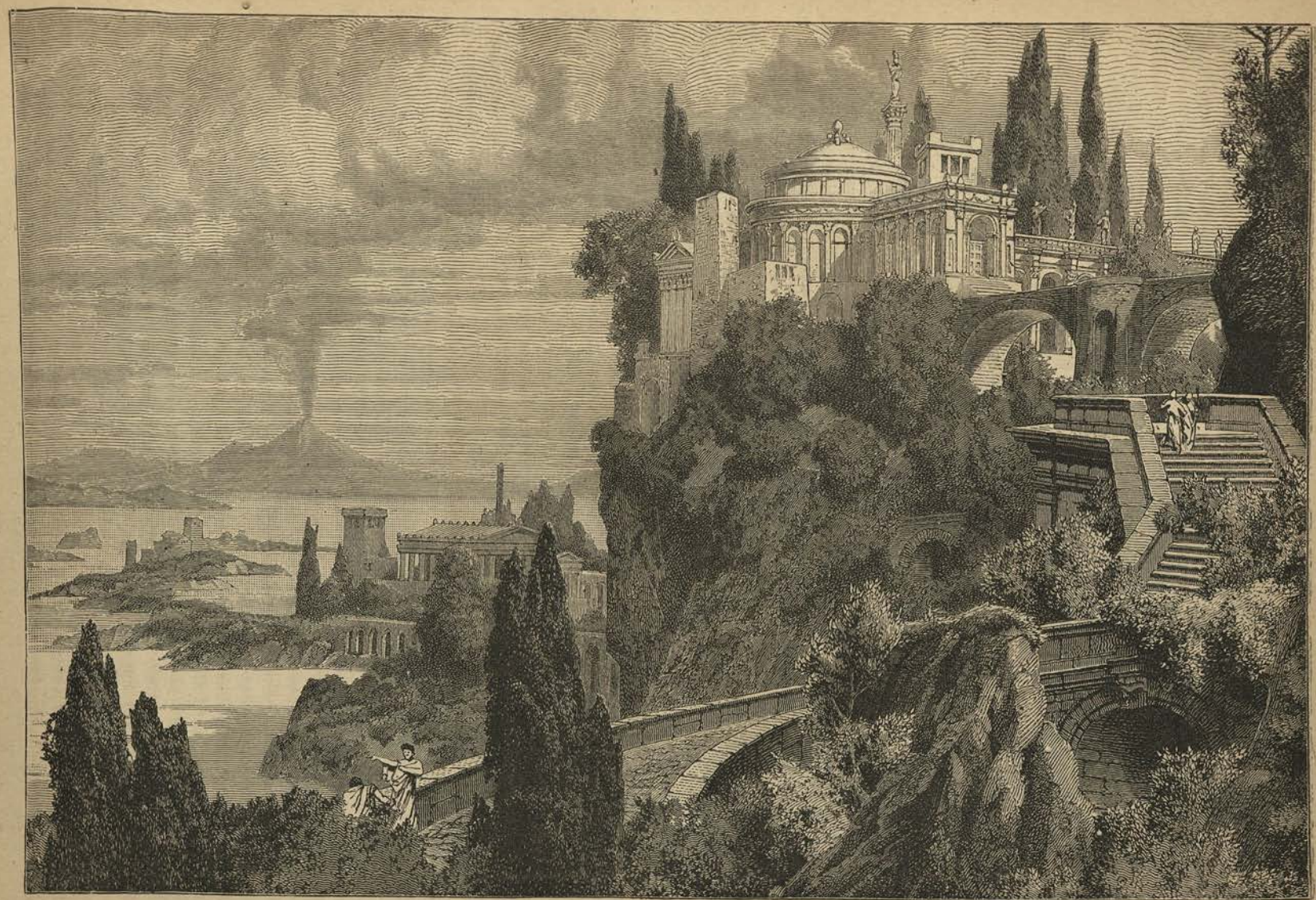
But Caligula had himself been a person of depraved life, even from his youth, and his habitual propensities were not long restrained. Curiously enough, the very circumstance which often has a purifying effect on evil livers served to bring out all the worst passions of his nature. Beginning after a while to indulge his taste for extravagant

and feverish revelry, he fell ill towards the latter end of 37 A.D., and excited so warm an interest on the part of the people that, on his recovery, his mind and heart appeared to be equally debauched by the flattery of which he was made the object. His licentiousness now knew no bounds, and his cruelty exceeded the greatest enormities imputed to Tiberius. To recount the several abominations which Caligula is said to have committed, and of which Suetonius has preserved a sickening catalogue, would answer no good purpose. Many of them were distinguished by so abnormal a character, and his barbarities were often so entirely purposeless, without even the excuse of a tyrant's fears, that the same insanity which is justly to be suspected in Tiberius seems to have also descended—and that in an aggravated degree—on his successor. His love of gladiatorial sports was excessive. He compelled persons of high rank to fight in the arena, where they were slaughtered in considerable numbers; and, on one occasion, he himself contended as a swordsman, though due care was taken that the weapons of his opponents were blunted. His affection for his sister Drusilla was undoubtedly criminal; and, on her death, he paid her divine honours, under the name of Panthea,—the Universal Divinity.

Among the specific acts of cruelty committed by Caligula were the slaying of the younger Tiberius (the grandson of the late Emperor), whom he had promised to educate as his own child, and the compulsion which he brought to bear on his grandmother Antonia, and his adherent Macro, together with the wife of the latter, to put themselves to death. His extravagance was so great that even the enormous accumulations of Tiberius were soon dissipated, and the pestilent bands of informers, so recently suppressed, were encouraged to renew their charges against the rich, that fictitious crimes might be condoned by real payments. Yet side by side with all these acts of capricious or self-interested despotism must be set the undoubted fact that the main body of the people were prosperous and contented. Speaking generally, the Empire was well governed: it was only the few who were oppressed, and we accordingly hear of no serious attempts at insurrection, either at home or in the provinces. In spite of his debaucheries, Caius gave unremitting and earnest attention to affairs of State; he



CALIGULA.



SCENERY AT CAPE MISENUM, NEAR BAIÆ. (*Vesuvius in the Background.*)

never deputed to a favourite what could be done by himself; and many of his projects were intelligent and useful. The humble majority were better off than they had been under the Republic, where the all-pervading tyranny of a pitiless class alternated with convulsions of revolt, or with the bloody rule of demagogues. Beyond the circle immediately surrounding Caligula, his barbarities were not often felt, and the influence of the monarch, as representing the majesty of the commonwealth, may even have been recognised in many quarters as a beneficent fact. Like Augustus, but unlike the careful and saving Tiberius, Caligula was a great builder, and added several important edifices to those already existing at Rome. That which is generally called the Claudian Aqueduct was designed, though not completed, by him; and the viaduct which he constructed across the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was a work of considerable grandeur and usefulness. The palace of the Cæsars, on the former of those eminences, was enlarged on a scale of great magnificence. Harbours of refuge were constructed on the dangerous straits of Messana. The temple of Augustus, which Tiberius had left unfinished, was completed, and the theatre of Pompey, partially burned by accident, rose once more in its accustomed pomp. But some of Caligula's performances in this respect showed the wilfulness of absolute and irresponsible power. In particular, it is recorded of him that, for mere ostentation, he threw a massive, though temporary, bridge of boats across the Gulf of Baiæ, along which he drove one day from Bauli to Puteoli, and returned the next, at the head of a military procession of unexampled splendour.

The taste of Caligula for sumptuous buildings seems to have been excited or developed by communication with a Jewish friend, who fired his imagination with glowing accounts of Jerusalem, the royal and ecclesiastical structures in which far exceeded anything that Rome could then boast. The mention of this friend brings us back to the course of events in Judæa and the neighbouring States. It would appear that the Jews had no cause of complaint against their Roman masters from the fall of the Ethnarch Archelaus (son of Herod the Great) until the arrival of the celebrated Pontius Pilatus, about the middle of the reign of Tiberius. The fault alleged against this ruler was that he had entered Jerusalem with standards flying, on which was represented the image of the Emperor. As such a fact offended the religious feelings of the people, who regarded all pictures of the human form as tending to the deadly sin of idolatry, remonstrances were addressed to Pilate, who replied, not altogether without reason, that the Romans had their customs as well as the Jews, and that he did not dare, on his own authority, to remove the portrait of the sovereign. However, he subsequently consented —probably with permission from Rome—to obliterate the hated figure; but the Jews never got over the first evil impression, and persistently sought occasion of quarrel. This was at length found in the seizure of a portion of the Temple revenues by Pilate for the construction of an aqueduct. The discontent thus engendered led to violent riots and sanguinary reprisals, and the Jews appealed to Vitellius, the Governor of Syria, who ordered his Procurator to quit Judæa, and submit himself to the pleasure of the Emperor. On arriving in Italy in 37 (four years after the Crucifixion), Pilate found that Tiberius was just dead; but Caligula, believing the truth of the charges of cruelty and exaction which the provincials had brought against him, or anxious to conciliate subjects in whom he appears to have then taken some little interest, dismissed him to Vienna (now Vienne), in Gallia Narbonensis, where he is said to have killed himself, about 38 A.D.

Although Judæa, in its more restricted sense, was incorporated with the Roman Empire, the adjacent districts of Galilee, Peræa, and Ituræa, which had formed portions of the dominions of Herod, still preserved their independence under native rulers. Herod Antipas (son of the late king by the Samaritan Malthace) reigned over Galilee and Peræa Proper from the true year of the Nativity (4 B.C.) to 39 of the Christian era, when Caligula banished him for aspiring to the title of king. He was a depraved and tyrannical prince, and is conspicuous in the New Testament as the executioner of John the Baptist, about the year 30. His half-brother Philip was Tetrarch of the northern districts east of the Jordan—viz., Ituræa, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa. Acting always as the servant of the Romans, he reigned quietly for a long term of years, and died in 33 A.D., when his possessions were for a short time united with the province of Syria. A greater amount of interest gathers round the person of Herod Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of the first Herod, whose second name was given in honour of the great minister of Augustus. Soon after the death of his father, in 5 B.C., Herod Agrippa was removed to Rome, together with his mother Berenice, and his elder sister Herodias. For a while, he occupied a

somewhat obscure position as Governor of the city of Tiberias, in Galilee; then, returning to Rome, he recommenced his intrigues for securing to himself a more prosperous future. He astutely perceived that Caius, afterwards the Emperor Caligula, was more likely to enjoy the supreme power than Gemellus, the grandson of the reigning Princeps. He therefore attached himself to the former, and soon obtained over him an influence of the most powerful nature. It was from this stranger to European ideas that Caius derived his passion for magnificent architecture; it was from him also that he imbibed those conceptions of absolute dominion which could hardly have been taught by any but an Asiatic. Other princes from the East were in the habit of visiting Rome, to seek refuge from their own relatives, or to solicit the mediation of the great military State. Caligula was doubtless acquainted with all of these, and from all derived lessons in the ways of despotism, which in after years bore pernicious fruit. But no one acquired so great a mastery over his thoughts as Herod Agrippa, and the son of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of shaping the mind of his young friend to forms entirely inappropriate to the sovereign of a people like the Romans. He convinced him that, on succeeding to power, he ought to regard himself, not as the chief magistrate of a commonwealth (such as Tiberius, even in his wildest excesses, had always professed to be), but as a king after the Oriental pattern, who was entitled to do precisely as he pleased, and whom his subjects were not only to obey as a ruler, but to reverence as a god.

The association of Agrippa with Caligula did not recommend itself to the mind of Tiberius, and towards the latter end of the Emperor's reign an incident occurred, which nearly proved fatal to the Judæan. The latter was driving out with Caligula, when he ventured to express a hope that the Roman sceptre would ere long pass into his hands. The words were heard by the charioteer, who reported them to Tiberius. Agrippa was at once arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained without trial for the remainder of the Emperor's life. Some of his friends, however, were allowed to visit him, and one day a freedman entered his chamber, and, speaking in the Jewish language, whispered that "the Lion" was dead. The centurion who had charge of Agrippa was presently made acquainted with the news, and, feeling sure that his captive would be at once set free, invited him to celebrate the event at a festival. The intelligence, however, was premature; and when it appeared that the Emperor was still alive, the party broke up in consternation, and the centurion, hoping to compensate for his fault, treated Agrippa with additional severity. He even went the length of threatening him with death; but the decease of Tiberius took place immediately after, and one of the first acts of Caligula was to liberate his friend. Agrippa had now every reason to believe that his fortune was made, nor did the event disappoint him. In 38 (the second year of the new reign), Caligula distributed crowns and sceptres to various foreign applicants. Sitting in state between the two Consuls, and professing to record the will of the Senate, the Emperor gave Iturræa to Soemus, the Lesser Armenia to Cotys, Thrace to Rhæmetalcès, and Pontus to Polemo. At the same time, Agrippa was permitted to leave Rome for the East, where his dominions were to consist of those which had recently been governed by Philip, together with the districts of Abilene and Cœle-Syria. Over this country he was to rule with the title of king, and he received from the Emperor large gifts of money, which enabled him to live with the ostentatious splendour dear to his heart. With many promises of Imperial favour, Herod Agrippa departed for his realm, but on the way there stayed for a while at Alexandria, where his presence provoked an insulting demonstration against the Jews, a community always much disliked by the Greek and Egyptian population of the city. Avilius Flaccus, the Roman Governor, took part with the rioters, and encouraged a demand that statues of the Emperor should be set up in the Jewish synagogues. Terrible riots ensued, in which the houses of the Jews were burned and plundered, and themselves subjected to ill-usage which frequently terminated in death. Flaccus, however, was severely punished by the Emperor, and Agrippa, glad to escape from a city so adverse to all of his race, continued his journey to Palestine, where he arrived early in 39.

The creation of a new and powerful monarchy in his immediate neighbourhood excited considerable alarm and jealousy in the mind of Herod Antipas. His wife Herodias urged him to go to Rome, and beg the Emperor to confer on him the province of Judæa, or at any rate guarantee the sovereignty he then enjoyed, so that it might be rendered safe from attack on the part of Herod Agrippa. From this course he was averse, knowing well that many Eastern sovereigns had entered the Imperial city as supplicants, and never returned from it in any capacity whatever. At length, however, he consented to depart, and the king and queen sailed together for Baiæ, where Caligula was then staying. They were followed by Agrippa, bent on charging

Antipas with fomenting a new movement in Parthia, and with seeking to establish himself in his own realm by so strong a military force as to be in a position to defy the suzerainty of Rome. The rivals laid their cases before the Emperor in person, and the result was that in 39 A.D. Antipas was deprived of his Tetrarchy, as already mentioned, and sent, first to Lugdunum, in Gaul, and afterwards into Spain. The apprehensions of Antipas were thus entirely justified by the event, and Herodias, rejecting an offer of pardon, shared her husband's captivity and disgrace. Galilee and Peræa Proper were added to the dominions of Agrippa, and the sovereignty of Herod the Great was nearly reconstructed under the rule of that ambitious prince.

Intoxicated by the success, superficial though it was, which had attended all his actions, and by the homage paid him by the numerous foreign princes assembled at his capital, Caligula now claimed divine worship. He even declared that the universal deity of the Cæsars was superior to all local gods. He had often before masqueraded in public with the attributes of the lesser divinities; but he at length announced that he was Jupiter himself, and the heads of some of the grandest statues at Athens were struck off, that the features of the Emperor might be joined to the desecrated figures, and presented for the adoration of the Roman populace. This monstrous claim was very generally admitted; but there was one nation within the bounds of the Empire which would *not* admit it. Wherever they were in sufficient numbers to act with independence, the Jews declined to set up the image of the Emperor in their synagogues. The resistance was particularly strong at Alexandria, where the Hebrews formed a very large population. Even the pagan Alexandrians were displeased at the required act of worship, and a twofold deputation from the great Egyptian city set out for Rome—one Jewish, and the other Greek. The former was headed by Philo Judæus, the philosopher, who has left a very minute and curious account of the interview which ensued. Caligula treated the deputation with grotesque contempt, but finally dismissed the countrymen of Philo with the remark that men who thought him no god were, after all, more unfortunate than criminal. The despot, however, persisted in his purpose, and nothing but his death prevented a serious revolt. This rupture was the more to be regretted, because, until the insane attempt of Caligula, or at any rate until the unauthorised severities of Pontius Pilate, the condition of the Jews under the sway of Rome had been in many respects highly enviable. The Roman garrisons in Judæa really protected the people against their own tyrants, as well as against the horrors of anarchy. No fiscal exactions of an unjust or excessive character were imposed by the Roman Governors; the soldiers and civil officers acted with toleration and equity; the liberties of the populace, both secular and religious, were guaranteed in all their fulness; and the Emperor himself was often appealed to, and not in vain, to redress abuses of local origin. But the outrage which Caligula committed on the faith of Judæa created a feeling of antagonism, which could not be easily allayed.

Having thus extorted from most of the subject populations an acknowledgment of his claims to be considered the greatest of the gods, Caligula conceived that it was incumbent on him to prove to all the world his capacity as a general. The grand military demonstration on the bridge of boats, to which allusion has been made, occurred in 39 A.D. On that occasion, the Emperor affected to make prisoners of some royal hostages from Parthia who were being detained in Italy. But he knew that his mock triumph would not impose upon the Roman people, and therefore announced that the barbarians were threatening the frontiers, and that he must repel them by vigorous action in the field. Quitting Campania, where for some time he had been disporting himself, he advanced northward by forced marches, as if there were no time to be lost, but occasionally checked his speed, for the sake of indulging his love of pomp. The various cities which he passed on his route were required to sweep the roads and lay the dust before his immense cavalcade of soldiers, favourites, and women; and in this way he reached the banks of the Rhine, where he entered with a sort of burlesque zeal upon the duties of the camp. Discipline was enforced with extravagant severity, and preparations were made for a battle, though no enemy was in sight. According to the rather improbable story told by Suetonius, Caligula ordered some Germans of his body-guard to cross the Rhine, and hide themselves in a convenient place; after which they were to sally forth, and give the alarm. This being done, the Emperor put himself at the head of the Prætorian cavalry, and, accompanied by a few of his closest friends, dashed into a neighbouring wood, whence, after having decked his comrades with branches from the trees, he returned by torchlight with every demonstration of triumphant success. The legions who had stayed behind were upbraided for their sluggishness, while the heroes of the day were rewarded with a new kind

of military chaplet, which the Emperor called "the crown exploratory." The same authority also avers that Caligula reported these events to the Senators in a letter abounding in reproaches that they should sit idly at home, pampering themselves with voluptuous indulgences, while he was exposing his person to so many dangers.* At the same time, the submission of a British prince, who had fled from the displeasure of his father, was blazoned forth as the capitulation of the whole island to the supremacy of Rome. The story of the German exploit, however, is too pantomimic for serious belief; and it is probable that the real object of the Emperor in seeking the camp upon the Rhine was to put down a spirit of insubordination which for some time past had been fostered in that quarter by Lentulus Gætulicus, the commander of the troops. In this object he appears to have succeeded; but it is possible that some absurdities may have marked the Emperor's stay in Gaul, and given rise to the extravagant narratives which afterwards found currency.

At Lugdunum (the modern Lyons), Caligula issued requisitions for extraordinary contributions from the Gallic cities. Every form of extortion was resorted to, and the Emperor even degraded himself to the level of an auctioneer, and sold a variety of articles from his own palace at exorbitant prices. At the close of the year 39, Lentulus Gætulicus was executed, and Caligula's sisters, Julia and Agrippina, were banished for a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. The early weeks of 40 A.D. were spent in preparations for an invasion of Britain. This project, however, ended in nothing; yet Caligula claimed a triumph for his brilliant achievements over the barbarian Germans and the distant islanders. The Senate doubted whether the Emperor was in earnest, and, when he returned to Rome on the 31st of August (his birthday), honoured him with nothing more than an ovation. This of course gave great offence to the egotistical madman, and, in camping his legions in the Forum, he assumed the dress of an Imperator, in the military sense of that term. He had already told the Senate that he would be neither a prince nor a citizen, but an Imperator and a conqueror. It would not have been possible to use words more calculated to rouse the anger of the Roman people, or at any rate of the aristocratic section. Here was a plain assertion of the fact that he regarded himself, not as the chief of the Senate, not as the guardian of the commonwealth, but as a king, acting in his own right, and entitled to set himself up above the laws. His ostentatious exhibition of military power in the Forum gave point and intensity to this insolent assumption, and paved the way for the catastrophe which was soon to bring his career to a close. Aurelius Victor declares he actually wore the diadem—that detested symbol of monarchy which Julius Cæsar, in the very height of his fame, declined to receive from the hands of Antony. Suetonius goes no farther than to say he was "very near" assuming it, but desisted on receiving the assurance that he had risen above the greatest heights of kings and absolute sovereigns. In either case, there could be no doubt on the part of the Romans that he had actually stepped into the position which they always regarded with such intense abhorrence.

A conspiracy against the life of the Emperor was detected in the latter part of 40 A.D.; on which occasion, Caligula behaved with the courage that seems to have been natural to him. Some of his most familiar associates having been denounced as participators in the plot, he boldly went up to them, bared his breast, and offered them a sword if they really desired to take his life. The attempt was repressed without much expenditure of blood; but the danger had passed away only for a brief time. Towards the end of 40 A.D., a conspiracy was formed in the Imperial household itself, at the head of which was Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the Prætorian Guards, whose effeminate voice had exposed him to the insults of his master. It does not appear that any of the Senators were concerned in this plot, which was prompted by the personal feeling of Chærea, and carried out by that officer and his associates. The Emperor obtained some knowledge of what was contemplated, but could not fix on the persons really engaged. It was finally determined to slay the tyrant during the festival of the Palatine Games; but for four days, while Caligula was presiding in the theatre, the conspirators hesitated to execute their plans. At length, however, on the 24th of January, 41, the Emperor was attacked as he was passing through a vaulted passage from the palace to the circus. He was struck almost simultaneously from behind and before, and, drawing his limbs together as he lay on the ground, in the hope of protecting the more vital parts, he kept exclaiming, "I live! I live!" until he expired, after receiving thirty wounds. His German body-guard, and the bearers of his litter, did their utmost to save him, but in vain; and the conspirators escaped without much difficulty. Caius Germanicus was only in his thirtieth year when thus cut off. His reign

* Suetonius: Caligula, 45.

had lasted not more than three years, ten months, and eight days; but within that brief period it had crowded a vast amount of iniquity and disgrace. The tyrant's death was merited, so far as any such death can be; but if it was hoped by the conspirators that the ancient Republic would be restored because Caligula was slain, they only showed how poorly they had estimated the conditions of the problem with which they undertook to deal. The Consuls, together with some members of the Senate, made an attempt to restore the old constitution, and to proscribe the memory of the Cæsars; but, beyond a narrow class, there was no public opinion in support of such a change, and the Empire proved that it had a vitality superior to the life of any individual ruler.

PRÆTORIAN GUARDS HAILING CLAUDIUS AS IMPERATOR.

It is related by Dion Cassius that one day, during a stay in Gaul, Caligula was sitting in his tribunal adorned with the insignia of Jove, and that, on seeing an artificer smile, and requiring to know the cause, he received for answer, "I think you a great absurdity"—a speech which by its very bluntness seems to have amused the Emperor, for it was not followed by any punishment. In a certain sense it expressed the truth; but there was another and more awful truth in connection with the life of Caius. It is easy to say of any great criminal that he is a madman; but this seems to have been actually the case with the ferocious tyrant who is known to us by the nickname of Caligula. He had been a sickly and excitable youth, liable to epileptic attacks; and although, in later life, he showed extraordinary energy, and the power to bear fatigue, he was always liable to sudden faintings. Suetonius states that he was aware of his mental infirmity, and had frequent thoughts of retiring from public cares, that he might treat himself medically. The agitation of his mind was so continual that he never reposed for more than three hours in the course of a night; and even when he slept, his rest was disturbed by wild and terrible visions. He often fancied that he saw something in the shape of the sea, which held him in a long discourse. The greater part of the night was spent in a watchful tumult of ideas, during which he would sometimes sit upright in bed, and at others run violently from gallery to gallery of his palace, passionately shouting for the daylight.* His affectation of deity imposed on him a constant struggle to impress his people

* Suetonius: Caligula, 50.

with the idea that to him, as to the gods above, nothing was impossible. Thus it happened that his brief tenure of power proved but a feverish dream, and that everything was distorted by the lurid atmosphere through which he contemplated all the facts of life.

Whatever designs the Senate might have had with respect to the future conduct of affairs, the matter was quickly taken out of their hands by a considerable opposition to a proposal which seemed to annul all that they had hoped to gain by the assassination; but the majority saw that there was really no alternative, and the Imperium was conferred on Claudius. The actual elevation of this obscure prince was unquestionably the work of the Prætorian troops, and we here see the commencement of that practice of military nomination to the purple which afterwards became one of the

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power which had now become dominant in Rome —viz., the Prætorian Guards. A number of these soldiers entered the palace shortly after the murder of Caligula, and found a man hidden behind the curtains of a verandah. They dragged him out, and discovered that it was Tiberius Claudius, the uncle of Caius, and brother of the popular hero, Germanicus. The Prætorians at once saluted him as Imperator, carried him off to their camp, and next morning proffered him the oath of allegiance, which he accepted. He then sent Herod Agrippa (who was in Rome at the time, and had done his utmost to procure respectful treatment for the body of Caligula) to persuade the Senate into a ratification of this choice. The conspirators made most distinctive and objectionable features of the Roman system. The Emperor Claudius, as he must now be called, was about fifty years of age when he succeeded to power. From his earliest years he had been subject to ill-health; his person was deformed; and Augustus would not allow him to appear in the circus among his relatives. He is said to have been scarcely able to speak intelligibly; yet he was considered good enough for an augur, and his devotion to literature, in which he distinguished himself by the production of several works, shows that his abilities could not have been contemptible. By Tiberius he was as much neglected as by Augustus; but he was probably one of those men to whom a recluse and studious

life is by no means displeasing. His enemies accused him of drunkenness, gambling, and coarse immorality—charges which were probably exaggerated by personal antagonism. Under Caligula, he held the Consulship for two months, and presided at the public games in place of his nephew. With the people he seems to have been a favourite; but his awkward manners subjected him to the practical jokes of the courtiers, and no one spared him, if Caligula could be made to laugh at his expense.

The first act of Claudius, in his character of Emperor, was to punish the murderers of his nephew. Chærea and some others were immediately executed. One of the conspirators had already declared in the Senate that he would not survive the advent of another Cæsar, and, though excepted from the proscription, he kept his promise by throwing himself on his sword. Claudius then published an amnesty for all that had been said and done during the period of disturbance; and his moderation gained him many friends. Nevertheless, he was extremely apprehensive of the same fate which had overtaken his predecessor, and would never appear in public without being surrounded by a military guard. Even in the privacy of his own palace, he omitted no precaution which might screen him from the sudden blow of the assassin, and throughout the whole of his reign was haunted by fears which his utmost pains could not allay. His disposition, however, was naturally kind, and at first he did everything possible to annul or soften the evil actions of Caligula. Confiscated estates were given up; fiscal exactions were lightened; the desecrated statues which Caligula had brought from Greece and Asia were for the most part sent back; and the temples that had been perverted to the worship of the late Emperor were restored to their own divinities. The public works which Claudius undertook were devoted to purposes of utility, and the Empire prospered by a rule which seemed likely to be benevolent and active. Of the personal faults of the Emperor, little need be said. He was much under the influence of women; yet, on the whole, his life will bear favourable comparison with the Cæsars generally. His grossest vice was gluttony, of which many stories are related by the scandal-loving writers of the time.

Unfortunately for himself and his subjects, Claudius, though well-meaning on the whole, was unduly pliant to the influence of stronger minds. Shortly before his accession to power, he had married for his third wife Valeria Messalina, by whom he had a son named Britannicus, and a daughter called Octavia. The profligacy of Messalina has made her, in all succeeding times, a by-word of reproach; and to moral depravity she added an unscrupulous ambition. With Polybius and Narcissus, two Greek freedmen and ministers of the new Emperor, she carried on an intrigue, which was as much political as amatory. Her chief object was to gain power, and the feeble Claudius fell completely under her rule. In the very first year of his reign, Messalina procured the second banishment of Julia, together with the exile of the philosopher Seneca. These acts were soon followed by the condemnation and death of Appius Junius Silanus, a distinguished Senator, and by similar cruelties, which provoked a conspiracy quickly stifled in blood. One of the persons thus sacrificed, in 42 A.D., was the celebrated Pætus, who was ordered to commit suicide. Seeing him hesitate, his wife Arria stabbed herself, and handed him the dagger, with the tender and memorable words, "Pætus, it does not pain me." Claudius had already forgotten his better impulses in the wiles of a cruel partner.

The reign of Claudius was not undistinguished by martial exploits. Mauritania, which had finally become a Roman possession when, in the previous year, Ptolemy, the son of Juba II., was killed by order of Caligula, was constituted by Claudius into two provinces, the eastern of which included the greater part of the territory formerly belonging to the Massæsylii and the Numidian kingdom. Of these provinces, Suetonius Paulinus was made the Governor; and thence, in 42 A.D., he conducted an expedition beyond the Atlas mountains. Passing through the Tafilet, or country of the date-palm, he penetrated as far as the river Gir, at the northern extremity of the Sahara, or great sandy desert. This was the first time a Roman army had crossed the immense range of the Atlas, and Paulinus, proud of his achievement, wrote an account of the expedition. War also soon broke out on the frontiers of Gaul and Germany, where Servius Galba, the Governor of the former country, resolved to find an opportunity of distinguishing himself. Crossing the Rhine, therefore, he made war upon the Chatti, but achieved no great success. Shortly afterwards, the Cherusci (the tribe to which Arminius had belonged) requested the arbitration of Claudius between the contending factions of their own nation. The Emperor placed over them a son of Flavius, the Romanised brother of Arminius; but the patriotic party were displeased at an arrangement which made them little better than vassals, and the tribe was hardly less disturbed than before. About 47 A.D., the Chauci,

a commercial people trading with Gaul and Britain, made a piratical attack on the country bordering the mouths of the Rhine. Domitius Corbulo conducted an expedition against them, subdued the Frisians, and made so much progress in other directions that Claudius, fearing a dangerous rival in this successful captain, recalled him from the scene of his triumphs. Before his return, however, he constructed the great canal, leading from the Maas, near Rotterdam, to the Rhine, near Leyden, which exists to the present day.

Claudius now resolved to add Britain to the possessions of the Empire. Our island had long excited the curiosity and interest of the Romans, and Julius Cæsar had on two occasions penetrated some way into the mysterious territory. In the estimation of the great conqueror, Britain was a natural appendage to Gaul, peopled by a cognate race, and regarded with veneration by the neighbouring continentals, as the chief seat of Druidism. The conquest of Britain was therefore held up as an enterprise which must sooner or later be undertaken; but, for various reasons, it was equally neglected by Augustus, by Tiberius, and by Caligula. Though not of a martial character, Claudius determined to wipe out this disgrace, and even to lead in person the army which he designed for the exploit. One reason for his feeling so great an inclination to the project may perhaps be discovered in the fact that he had himself been born in Gaul, and took a special interest in whatever might be supposed to concern the fortunes of the province. The Romans had endeavoured to uproot Druidism in Gaul, and it was feared, if Britain retained its independence, that every effort in that direction would be nullified. We do not know sufficient of the Celtic religion to explain with any certainty why the Romans, who were usually tolerant of other faiths, were so bitter against this; but it is well ascertained that such was the fact. Probably, Druidism was employed as a political force for the maintenance of national freedom; at any rate, Claudius, in spite of his general mildness, was particularly severe in this respect. He delivered to the executioner a Gaulish chief who had obtained the distinction of Roman knighthood, but who, on a visit to the Imperial capital, was found in possession of the Druidical talisman called the Anguinum, or "serpents' egg."* The adherents of Druidism in Gaul were frequently persecuted by the Roman generals, and it may have seemed advisable to strike at the very root of the detested system in those dark and remote lands, covered with forests and involved in swamps, which lay beyond the narrow seas of Britain.

It cannot be said, however, that Claudius had any just cause of quarrel with the people. The natives of the island had exhibited, ever since the days of Julius Cæsar, a very friendly spirit towards the Romans. They had despatched an embassy to Augustus, with presents and amicable professions; and, in the reign of Tiberius, some Roman soldiers, cast upon the shores of Britain, were sent back to Germanicus without injury. By the time of Claudius, no inconsiderable portion of Roman civilization had found its way into the country, though it is difficult to say by what channel. Gold coins of British origin have been discovered, executed in good style, and bearing Latin inscriptions. They belonged to the tribe of the Trinobantes, who inhabited the present counties of Hertford and Essex, and the name of the capital whence they were issued was Camulodunum, which is generally considered to be Colchester. It is possible that Roman traders had formed settlements in Britain before the expedition of the Emperor Claudius; and London—in its Latinized form, Londinium—was already beginning to acquire that character as a seat of commerce which has attached to it ever since. Still, all such matters must in those times have existed in only a very rudimentary stage within the British frontiers, and the small communities of semi-civilized natives were doubtless surrounded by other tribes who gloried in their native barbarism.

In the course of 43 A.D., four legions crossed the channel under the joint command of Aulus Plautius, and of the future Emperor, Titus Flavius Vespasianus. Their operations were conducted against two princes of the Trinobantes, the sons of Cunobelin—a monarch identified with the semi-fabulous King Cymbeline, immortalised in one of Shakspeare's plays. The elder of these princes was the celebrated Caractacus, whose true British name was probably Caradoc. We have very few details of the campaign; but it would seem that the Britons were in the first instance defeated on the southern side of the Thames, and that they afterwards crossed the river, hoping to make a more successful stand on the northern shore. But their expectations were disappointed; for the Batavian cavalry in the Roman forces swam over the stream, and inflicted so serious a reverse upon the natives that Caractacus retired to the west, leaving his brother Togodumnus dead behind him. The

* This monstrous production is said to have been formed by the poisonous saliva of a multitude of serpents inextricably twined together. It was to be gathered by moonlight, and worn in the bosom. (Pliny's Natural History, Book XXIX., chap. 3.)

army was now joined by the Emperor, and the Trinobantes were again worsted in front of Camulodunum. Several tribes submitted to the stronger power, and Claudius returned to Rome in 44 A.D., after having spent only sixteen days in Britain.

War, however, was still maintained in the western parts of the island, where Vespasian distinguished himself by repeated victories. Caractacus held out bravely in the mountains of Wales; but, in the year 47, Aulus Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, who conducted the war with great vigour, and asserted the power of Rome over several parts of the island. This energetic commander founded a colony of veterans at Camulodunum, and the Romans thus acquired a military base which proved of the highest value. Nevertheless, it was not until 52, nine years after the commencement of the war, that Caractacus was finally defeated in a desperate action which resulted in the seizure of his camp. The unfortunate chief was betrayed by his stepmother, the queen of the Brigantes; his wife and daughter were taken prisoners at the same time. All were carried to Rome, and Caractacus, appearing in chains before the Emperor, pleaded his cause with a boldness and spirit which made the most favourable impression. He and his relations were pardoned, and, settling in Italy, were adopted into Roman families. The resistance of the Britons, however, was renewed under various chieftains. Ostorius and his men were worn out by perpetual forays, and the Roman commander at length died of fatigue, aggravated, it is believed, by mortification at being unable to subdue the valorous islanders. The struggle had by this time acquired a character of ferocity, as the Britons, whenever they had the opportunity, avenged their wrongs by sanguinary massacres. Between the death of Ostorius and the arrival of his successor, Aulus Didius, the Silures defeated the invaders so disastrously that matters looked grave when the new general took the command. The Roman fortunes, however, were speedily repaired, and by 54 A.D. nearly all the south of Britain had accepted the yoke, and was beginning to show evidence of foreign culture. Four legions sufficed to keep the northern and western tribes in check, and the Druids were steadily driven back until they reached their last place of refuge in the woody island of Anglesey. During the next few years, the Twentieth Legion formed a camp upon the Dee. This in time grew into the city of Chester, the name of which is derived from *castra*, a camp; and to the present day no city in the island presents more interesting remains of antiquity.

Although Claudius thus added to the dominions of Rome by the conquest of South Britain, and established several colonies on the continental frontier (such as Treves and Cologne), he exhibited an almost lavish generosity in restoring to Antiochus and Mithridates the kingdoms of Commagene and Pontus, and in bestowing on Herod Agrippa I. the provinces of Judæa and Samaria, by which the realm of Herod the Great was completely reunited. These Imperial favours were conferred by Claudius almost immediately after his succession to the purple; but Agrippa did not enjoy his grandeur very long. Notwithstanding that his inclinations were to idolatry, he pleased the Jews by a strict observance of the sacred law, and is chiefly known to us as a persecutor of the early Christians. He became arrogant and vain, held games at Cæsarea in honour of the Emperor, and, on one such occasion, according to Josephus, appeared in the theatre clad in a garment wrought entirely of silver, which surrounded his person with so dazzling a radiance that the spectators saluted him as a god. This is the circumstance glanced at in the Acts of the Apostles (xii. 21—3), where it is stated that Herod was on the instant smitten with a loathsome disease, of which he died. The date of his death appears to have been 44 A.D., and, as his son, Herod Agrippa II., was then only seventeen, the whole country was again placed under a Roman Procurator. Four years later, the little Syrian principality of Chalcis, on the Belus, was conferred on the young man; and in 50 A.D. he was permitted to exchange this for the Tetrarchy of Northern Peræa, together with that of Abilene, and was at the same time allowed to assume the royal title. His dominions were enlarged by Nero, and, though a man of abandoned life, he affected zeal for the Jewish religion. We hear of him in the Acts of the Apostles, and that in no favourable light. Like Herod the Great, he had a taste for magnificent buildings and pompous living; but the people considered him a profane imitator of heathen ways. Herod Agrippa II. took part with the Romans in events yet to be related; and when he died, in the year 100, the house of Herod came to an end. The members of the Idumæan dynasty had never been widely popular; but they had their adherents, and in the time of Jesus Christ a party arose under the name of "Herodians," the members of which acted with the Pharisees, and seem to have regarded the monarchs of the race of Herod as necessary agents in the preservation of the Jewish nationality against the all-devouring greed of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

NERO.

Evil Influence of Messalina over the Mind of Claudius—Cruel Persecutions—Census of the Empire in the Eight Hundredth Year of Rome—Celebration of the Secular Games—First Appearance of Lucius Domitius (afterwards the Emperor Nero)—Rivalry between Messalina and Agrippina the Younger—Intrigue of the former with Caius Silius—Their Reported Marriage—Assassination of Messalina—Marriage of Claudius to Agrippina—Education of Nero by Seneca—Character of the Philosopher—Early Life of Nero—Dangerous Position of Agrippina—The Emperor Claudius Poisoned by her Contrivance—Proclamation of Nero—His Appearance and Disposition—Hopeful Commencement of his Reign—Successful Campaigns in the East—Liberal Reforms in the Political State of Rome—Antagonism between Nero and his Mother—Assassination of the Young Prince Britannicus—Debaucheries of Nero—Murder of Agrippina—Reception of the Emperor at Rome after the Death of his Mother—Institution of Games and Festivals—Death of Burrhus, and Disfavour of Seneca—Execution of the Empress Octavia—Marriage of Nero with Poppæa Sabina—Destruction of Rome by Fire—The Conflagration attributed by Nero to the Christians—The Apostle Paul in Rome—Persecution of the Converts—Rebuilding of the City—The Golden House of Nero—Plots against the Emperor—Deaths of Lucan and Seneca—Servility of the Senate and People—Largesses to the Lower Orders—Visit of Nero to Greece, and Triumphal Return to Rome—Servius Sulpicius Galba—Unsuccessful Rising in Gaul under Julius Vindex—Galba saluted Imperator in Spain—Revolts in other Provinces—Consternation of Nero—His Panic-striken Flight from Rome, and Death at a Suburban Villa.

WELL-MEANING, but weak and irresolute, Claudius fell more and more, with advancing years, under the influence of his wife Messalina. This was conspicuously the case after the Emperor's return from Britain in 44 A.D., when extravagant honours were conferred on one who was all the while disgracing her husband by scarcely-veiled profligacy. But the ferocity of Messalina was equal to her moral corruption. She made many enemies, and got rid of them, sometimes (it was said) by secret poisoning, at other times by fabricating charges which she had every reason to believe would ensure their death. Actuated by jealousy, she contrived the destruction of Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, who had previously been banished; and Julia's husband, Vinicius, soon shared the same fate. The eight hundredth year of Rome (47 A.D.) was painfully signalised by the judicial murder of the Consul Valerius Asiaticus, who was charged by Messalina with licentiousness and treason, and who, being allowed to choose his own death, opened his veins, and expired of exhaustion. These lamentable events were now frequent, and Claudius, who began his reign with every appearance of humanity, became a remorseless tyrant under the combined influences of fear, a bad wife, and unworthy favourites.

In many respects, however, the duties of his station were discharged by the Emperor with diligence. A census of the Empire was taken in 47, when it appeared that the number of male citizens of the military age was 5,984,072, corresponding to a total enfranchised population of 25,419,066. This showed a very large increase on the number ascertained in the year 13 of the Christian era—an increase mainly due to the extension of citizenship to provincial communities. In the reign of Caligula, and again during that of Claudius, the franchise had been sold to those who were willing to pay for a privilege which carried with it exemption from the poll-tax and the land-tax. The traffic may have been carried on rather by the ministers of the Emperors than by themselves; but it was an abuse which should have been detected and punished. On the completion of the eighth century from the foundation of Rome, Claudius celebrated the Secular Games with much pomp; and on this occasion some of the noblest Roman youths gave a representation of the legend of Troy, a subject associated with the traditions of the Imperial city. Among the performers appeared the Emperor's son Britannicus, then in his seventh year, together with Lucius Domitius, son of Agrippina the Younger by her deceased husband, Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus. This was the boy who afterwards became the Emperor Nero. He was at that time about ten years of age, graced with remarkable beauty, and inheriting, as the people fondly supposed, all the virtues of his grandfather, Germanicus. The two lads, Britannicus and Lucius, were thus unconsciously brought into a position of rivalry, and the mutual distrust of their mothers was intensified into the deadliest jealousy and hatred.

Lucius was manifestly the favourite of the populace—a fact which seems to have encouraged in Agrippina the ambition of securing the reversion of power to her son. Messalina must have speedily discovered the design, and the court of Claudius was agitated by the antagonisms of two unscrupulous women who did not care to conceal their enmity. After a while, Messalina quarrelled with

the freedmen enjoying the Emperor's confidence, and drew upon herself the mortal animosity of favourites who were too powerful to be safely defied. Their opportunity was not long in coming. A Roman noble, named Caius Silius, who enjoyed the reputation of being the handsomest man of the day, attracted the attention of Messalina, who in 48 openly entered into an intrigue with him. Silius, desiring to fix the changeful affections of his mistress, proposed that they should

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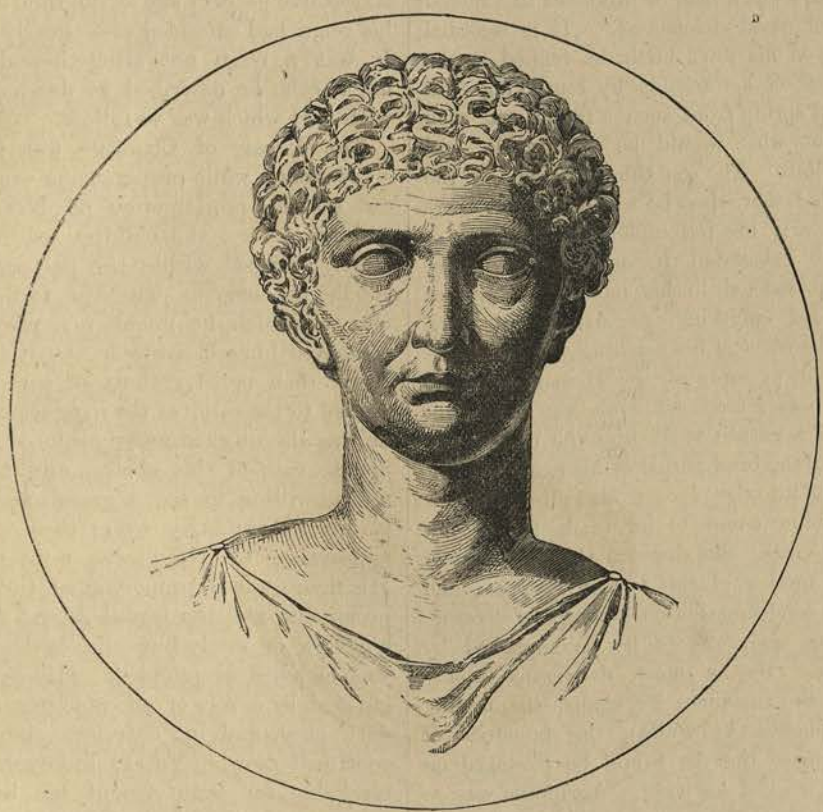
hasten the departure of the old and imbecile Claudius, enter into the state of marriage with one another, and secure the inheritance of Britannicus. It is even alleged by Tacitus and other ancient historians that the wedding ceremony was performed while Claudius still lived; but it is possible —judging from a statement made by Suetonius— that the marriage was contrived by the Emperor himself, in order to divert to another a gloomy prophecy that evil would shortly befall the husband of Messalina. According to this version of the facts (which seems not improbable, considering the superstitious and timid nature of Claudius), the Emperor urged on the union, assisted at the ceremony, and signed the deed, as a witness of its legal completion. Whether he had previously divorced his wife, rests entirely on conjecture.

Supposing the marriage to have been really carried out without the knowledge of Claudius, it is easy to understand his rage when the disgraceful fact was revealed to him. Tacitus says that he received the news at Ostia, and returned to Rome in a state of fury, alternating with unmanly fears. With extraordinary boldness, if all the circumstances are to be relied on, Messalina went to meet him, accompanied by her son Britannicus, and her daughter Octavia; and it would seem that the Emperor hesitated in his first intentions as to her fate. He was surrounded, however, by those who would not allow his anger to cool. The Greek favourite Narcissus obtained the dismissal of Messalina, though Claudius was still resolved that she should be heard in her own defence. Silius and his accomplices, together with some other paramours of the Empress, were at once executed, and the fate of the chief offender followed soon after. Narcissus, fearing that his Imperial master would soon take Messalina back to his favour,

sent some officers to despatch her, pretending that he was authorised to do so by Claudius himself. The fatal act was accomplished in the garden of Lucullus, whither Messalina had retired with her mother Lepida. Claudius, who had by this time fallen into the ignoble condition of a mere glutton and sot, never evinced any emotion at the tragical end of his wife, and was probably not displeased to be rid of a connection which brought him nothing but embarrassment and disgrace.

every attention was shown to Nero. The latter was placed under the care of the philosopher Seneca, a native of Spain, who had first risen into notice during the time of Caligula. By Claudius he had been banished to Corsica, on account of an intrigue with Julia Livilla; but he had a friend in Agrippina, and, after an exile of five years, returned to the capital. The character of this remarkable man is a combination of paradoxes. It can hardly be doubted that, in spite of his



THE YOUNGER AGRIPPINA.

The death of Messalina occurred in 48 A.D., and the Emperor soon afterwards espoused his niece Agrippina. Marriages within such close degrees of affinity were extremely abhorrent to the Roman people, and it was necessary to obtain a decree of the Senate to authorise the union. In 50, Domitius was adopted into the Imperial family by the name of Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus; and three years later he was married to the Emperor's daughter Octavia—a doubly incestuous connection, as being with a cousin and a step-brother. The youthful Britannicus, having now lost his mother, and being under the supervision of her rival, was much neglected, while

philosophical tenets, his ascetic professions, and his apparently sincere conviction that there is a moral law to which all persons should submit, he was a worldly-minded fortune-seeker, determined to make his way in the great Roman arena by whatever arts were necessary to that end. Seneca was a very unfortunate tutor for a youth like Nero; not that he positively inculcated principles of vice, but that he paltered with the pure and noble, so as to beget a laxity of mind, such as in terms he disapproved.

Nero was a precocious boy, and his mother lost no opportunity of bringing him into public notice. He assumed the *toga virilis*, or dress of manhood,

at the age of fourteen, and was soon afterwards dignified with the title of Prince of the Roman youth. In the same year (51 A.D.), he was raised to Proconsular power beyond the city, and his popularity was increased by an open and pleasing manner. Yet, fair as his promise seemed, it was scarcely possible that his career could be otherwise than bad. His father, Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus—a descendant from the Lucius Domitius to whom the Dioscuri announced the victory of Lake Regillus—was a man of infamous life, mated to a woman of equal viciousness.* It is recorded of him that, on his son's birth, he replied to the congratulations of his friends by remarking that nothing could spring from such a father and such a mother but what would be abominable, and fatal to the State. The son thus ushered into the world lost his father when he was only three years old, and in early life fell under the influence of persons little calculated to develop the better elements that existed in his nature. If Seneca afterwards did anything to correct his evil tendencies, the effect of his teaching was but short-lived; and the example of the Roman court, to which Nero was introduced while yet a lad, was manifestly of a nature to do him the utmost disservice during the brief period of his manhood.

In stepping into the place of Messalina, the new wife of Claudius seems to have adopted all her predecessor's vices. She dreaded the vengeance of Lepida, the mother of the former Empress, and obtained her condemnation on a charge of treason, which, it was said, was to be accomplished by magical arts. But a more dangerous enemy appeared in the freedman Narcissus, who, finding himself supplanted by Pallas, the favourite of Agrippina, vowed that he would be revenged on one who had worked his ruin. Agrippina was so apprehensive that Narcissus would inflame the mind of the Emperor against herself, that she determined to make away with the feeble old man who had now completely given himself up to the suggestions of his parasites. She accordingly procured the assistance of a woman named Locusta, well known as a professional poisoner. In the Rome of those days there were many such, and they were generally women. Locusta was one of the most successful of these diabolical practitioners, and it is said by Juvenal that she was frequently employed by ladies who wished to get rid of their husbands. From her, Agrippina obtained a slow poison, which, on the 12th of October, 54 A.D., she contrived to introduce into a dish of mushrooms; but Claudius, with his accustomed voracity, ate to excess, and brought on a violent fit of vomiting, which for the moment saved his life. Messalina, however, procured the assistance of a Greek physician named Xenophon, who, though he had received numerous favours from the Emperor, now thrust a quill full of poison down his throat, on pretence of relieving the sickness. Claudius was sixty-three years of age at the time of his death, and his reign had extended over nearly fourteen years. It was a reign not altogether disgraceful, and might even be described as decent, in comparison with that which was to follow.

The decease of Claudius was kept secret for a few hours, while preparations were being carried out for the proclamation of Nero. Britannicus and his sisters, the children of Messalina, were closely guarded within the palace, lest any effort should be made to place the former in the position to which he might not unreasonably have conceived himself entitled. On the following day, Nero, then not far short of seventeen, was conducted to the camp of the Prætorian Guards, where he was almost unanimously saluted Imperator. The Senate ratified this choice, and the people were not unwilling to see a grandson of Germanicus placed in authority over them. The personal appearance of Nero was now unprepossessing. His figure was ill-proportioned, the stomach being prominent, and the legs slender. His hair was of a yellow or sandy hue, and in later life his skin was blotched or pimpled. His eyes were distinguished by a sort of greenish tinge, mingled with dark grey, and his defective sight occasioned a continual scowl. Yet as a boy he had been remarkable for beauty, and his face was always handsome, although its expression was marred by the debauched and ferocious nature which glared out of it. His education had conferred on him a fair amount of scholarship, and his mind seemed to possess a natural or acquired taste for the graces of life, which, however, with a character such as his, is pretty certain to degenerate into frivolity. He was an amateur painter and sculptor, delighted in music and dancing, was fond of driving chariots, and took especial pride in killing a lion in the arena, after it had been prepared by stupefaction for the safe encounter.

At the commencement of his reign, Nero was simply the slave of his mother, who kept the real power in her own hands, and, against her son's wish, put an end to the freedman Narcissus. Pallas was now advanced to a position of influence,

* The Ahenobarbi (Copper Beards) derived their name from the tradition that the Dioscuri had changed their hair from black to red by stroking the face of Lucius Domitius. They were in truth a red-bearded race.

and several persons were proscribed, whose death would probably have followed, had not Agrippina been restrained by the opposition of Seneca, and of Burrhus, the Prefect of the Prætorian Guard. The good qualities exhibited by Nero in the early part of his reign have been attributed to the exhortations of these two persons; but the influence of Seneca is justly open to suspicion. In addressing the Senate immediately after the funeral of Claudius, the new Emperor promised to restore to that body all its rightful influence in the State, while he would principally concern himself with the command of the armies. The Senate took advantage of its newly-recovered liberty to pass several measures for the reform of abuses, and in particular sanctioned a law restoring the ancient prohibition of the receipt of fees by advocates, with a view to discouraging the paid accusations of the delators. Agrippina, however, resented this show of independence, and alleged that the Senate was annulling the acts of Claudius. She insisted on the Fathers meeting within the palace, so that, concealed by a curtain, she might listen to all that passed in debate. Nero was too young and inexperienced to resist these interferences, and for a time Agrippina continued to govern the Empire in the name of her son. The opening of the new reign was fortunate. The Armenians despatched an embassy to Rome, to solicit the aid of Nero against the King of Parthia, who had overrun their country, and placed his brother Tiridates on the throne; and, in consequence of this request, Domitius Corbulo, who had already distinguished himself in Germany, was sent to the East, where, after several brilliant successes, he restored Tigranes to his realm, as a vassal of Rome. These campaigns spread over the six years from 54 to 60; after which Corbulo acted as Proconsul of Syria. In 67, however, he fell under the suspicions of Nero, who, pretending that he wished to reward his merits, recalled him to Europe. On reaching Corinth, he received an order to put an end to his life, and, vainly deploring his want of foresight, fell upon his sword, exclaiming, in a single Greek word, "Rightly served!"

This was after Nero had revealed all the infamy of his character; but at first he encouraged the liveliest hopes of a mild and beneficent reign, so far, at least, as general interests were concerned. Officials guilty of extortion in the provinces were sternly brought to justice, while, on the other hand, the authors and propagators of scurrilous libels against the Emperor were suffered to go unpunished. When desired to sign his name to a list of malefactors who had been condemned to death, Nero is reported to have said, "Would to God that I had never learned to write!" He appeared as much averse from flattery as Augustus or Tiberius; and, on the Senate commending the wisdom of his government, he desired the Fathers to keep their praises till he had deserved them. The careful habits of Claudius had enabled him to bequeath to his successor an immense revenue, from which Nero drew the means for many liberal acts, which increased his popularity with the citizens. He even contemplated abolishing the duties then levied on the people of Rome, but was dissuaded from so rash a design by the remonstrances of the Senate. This was not the only instance in which the youthful Emperor deferred to the wishes of that ancient council. In fact, he left the conduct of affairs very much in the hands of the Senators, and of other constitutional officers. The old historic machinery of the State was allowed to do its work with little interference on the part of Nero; and, for five years, so happy a condition prevailed (though individual crimes were committed, as we shall presently see) that the opening period of the great tyrant's reign was regarded in after times as a species of golden age, in which the Empire was prosperous, and the people were content.

It is possible that before he became maddened with power there may have been a certain languid good-nature in Nero, which made him really desirous to promote the well-being of the citizens, so long as his own gratification was not circumscribed. But the most powerful motive was doubtless the desire to save himself trouble, and to pursue with the greater freedom his personal inclinations. In his worst indulgences, he seems to have been restrained by Agrippina, and encouraged by his philosophic friend, Seneca; and a feeling of bitter antagonism soon grew up between himself and his mother. Nero disgraced the favourite Pallas: Agrippina retorted by threatening to procure the support of the army for Britannicus. This was early in 55 A.D., and it was soon followed by the first of Nero's crimes. Fearful that the menace with respect to Britannicus might in truth be carried out, Nero contrived to administer poison to the boy at a banquet, in the presence of numerous guests, who saw the startling suddenness of the death, and doubted not that it had been brought about by the foulest agencies. The crime took place about the middle of February, 55, only four months after the assassination of Claudius; and Seneca (perhaps unjustly) is charged with being privy to its commission. The infamous Locusta had prepared the potion, and Nero himself pre-

sided at the numerous experiments by which the fatal drug was tested before its administration to Britannicus. When the corpse was consumed the same night in the Campus Martius (where a pyre had been prepared beforehand), a sudden tempest broke out, which the citizens regarded as a token of divine indignation; and some were found to declare that the body had been coloured to conceal the stains of poison, but that the violence of the rain washed off the paint, and revealed the accursed fact.

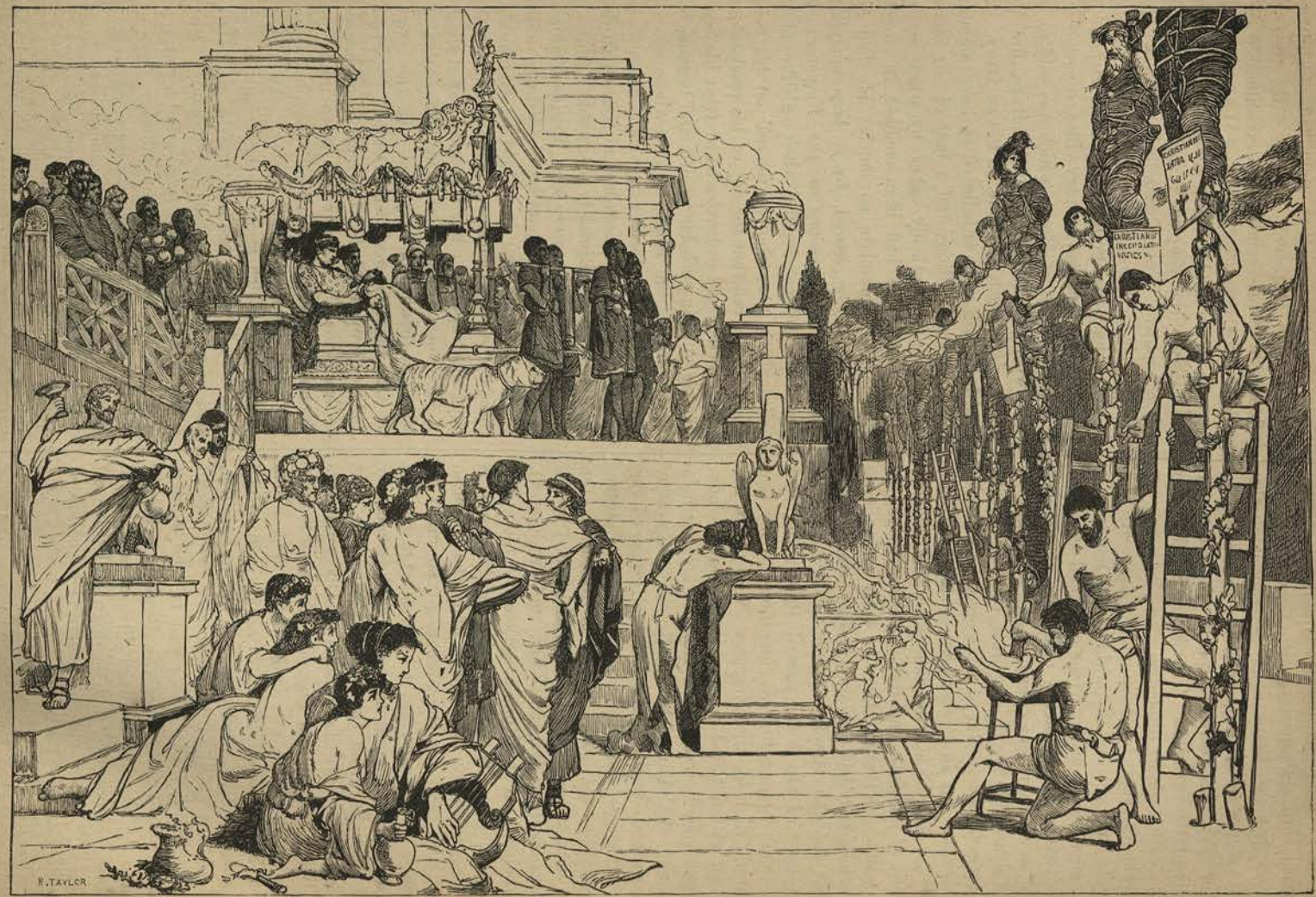
Detaching himself more and more from the restraints his mother would have imposed, Nero gave himself up to wild and extravagant enjoyments, to nocturnal revels (during which he sallied out into the streets, and committed outrages on all he met), and to vices of which it is shameful to preserve the record. Yet at this very time the government of the State was such as we have described—a government which ensured the repose and comfort of the vast majority, while the personal habits of the Emperor brought death and suffering to many of his associates. It was towards the close of the five years which have been celebrated as years of general happiness that Nero committed his most atrocious act. He had formed an intrigue with Poppæa Sabina, whose husband, Salvius Otho (afterwards Emperor), was appointed to the government of Lusitania, simply that he might be got out of the way. Poppæa saw that she would have an enemy in Agrippina, and persuaded Nero that his mother was plotting against his life. The Emperor therefore determined to take hers; but an attempt to cause her shipwreck in the Bay of Baiæ, by placing her in a vessel so constructed as to fall to pieces on the withdrawal of certain bolts, failed through mismanagement. At length, however, near the end of 59 A.D., she was killed by a body of soldiers, in a villa on the banks of the Lucrine Lake; and it is said that the act was committed with the consent both of Seneca and Burrhus. Nero regarded the day of his mother's death as the first day of his Imperial power; but his crime entailed upon him the judgment of a tortured conscience. He often confessed himself haunted by his parent's ghost, and, speaking in accordance with Greek and Roman belief, declared that the Furies sometimes lashed him with their whips, and at others seared him with their flaming torches. While making a progress through the cities of Greece, he drew back from the Eleusinian Mysteries on hearing a herald make proclamation that all impious and guilty persons should depart; and he applied to the magicians to exorcise the avenging spirits which followed him, but which, had his penetration equalled his fears, he would have known lay too deep in his guilty nature to be appeased by any sacrifice or incantation.

In conveying to the Senate the news of his mother's decease, Nero declared that she had put herself to death in despair and shame at the detection of the plot against his life. It was from Naples that he addressed this communication to the Fathers; but he shortly afterwards returned to Rome, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with his reception. Nevertheless, there were some who suspected his guilt, and had the courage to make it known. His statues were found veiled with the sack in which, according to the Roman law, parricides were sewn up, previous to being drowned; and the walls were covered with the inscription, "Nero, Orestes, Alcmæon, the matricides." The majority, however, cared nothing about such imputations, and were content when Nero provided them with a sufficient number of games and spectacles. Shortly afterwards, he instituted the feast of Juvenalia, when he himself appeared on the stage, and, with a lyre in his hand, sang with a bad voice some verses which professed to be of his own composition. In 60 A.D., he established the Quinquennia, or Neronia, in imitation of the Olympic Games of Greece; and Greek sports, together with competitions in poetry and eloquence, were introduced for the admiration of the Roman people, who regarded these foreign importations with no very enthusiastic feeling. Nero himself contended at the displays, and was of course hailed as a victor where no one dared oppose him; and the poet Lucan now made his first appearance in the ignoble character of an Imperial panegyrist. In spite of all his cruelty, Nero refused to allow, even in the case of condemned criminals, the gladiatorial combats in which the Romans so much delighted. The training of the young Emperor had been Greek rather than Roman, and he had a sort of feminine sensibility, which perhaps was really shocked at the bloody contests of hired swordsmen. His Hellenic tendencies were against him as a popular sovereign; but the people were not unprovided with favourite entertainments of another kind, and as yet there was no disposition to renounce the authority of the Princeps.

In following the events of this period, the observation of the historian is constantly diverted by the personal traits of the sovereign; but (not to speak of Judæa, which will engage our attention hereafter) an important series of events occurred in Britain, where the Roman power had been firmly established since the time of Claudius. Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of Mauritania,

succeeded to the command during the first half of Nero's reign, and, joining the quarters of the Fourteenth Legion at Segontium (the modern Caernarvon), took measures for exterminating the Druids in the Isle of Anglesey, then called Mona, whither they had retreated before the westward advance of the invaders. The Menai Straits were passed with some difficulty—the infantry on rafts, the cavalry by swimming; and, after a desperate engagement, in which the Druids and the women joined with furious cries and gestures, the Britons were completely crushed. The sacred groves were then cut down, and Druidism—a system detestable for its elaborate cruelty—ceased to exist in 61 A.D. But at this very time a serious revolt broke out in the eastern parts of Britain, where the Iceni—a tribe inhabiting the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk—were driven to desperation by the exactions of their conquerors, from whom they had borrowed money at exorbitant interest for the supply of Roman luxuries. A recent king of the Iceni, named Prasutagus, had at his death bequeathed his dominions to his two daughters, and to the Emperor Nero; but the latter provision failed to secure the partial independence which was hoped from it. The whole patrimony was claimed by the Roman procurator, who scourged Boadicea, the widowed queen of the Iceni, and subjected her daughters to outrage. Inflamed by the exhortations of Boadicea, the whole tribe at once flew to arms, and, aided by the Trinobantes (dwelling in Essex and Middlesex), overwhelmed all the Roman settlements along the estuary of the Thames. At Camelodunum, a horrible massacre occurred, and the Roman forces, weakened by the absence of so many in Anglesey, were nearly cut to pieces. On hearing of the revolt, Suetonius Paulinus hastened by forced marches from the west to the east, but was unable to save Londinium and Verulamium from being sacked and burned. At length, however, a great battle was fought at a spot which cannot be identified with certainty; on which occasion, Boadicea, mounted on a war-chariot, animated the spirit of her followers by eloquent and fiery harangues. The result of the contest was a complete victory for the Romans. Eighty thousand of the undisciplined Britons are said to have been slaughtered, and Boadicea killed herself by poison. The entire insurrection collapsed before the end of 61 A.D.

Heedless of such events, Nero ripened in wickedness, and, now that his mother had departed, was the less inclined to endure any other interference. In 62, Burrhus was removed by death, and the circumstances of his decease were such as to excite the suspicion that Nero had administered poison to his minister. At the same time, the influence of Seneca underwent considerable diminution. The greatest enemies of the philosopher, however, were to be found among the Senators, who disliked the Emperor's tutor as a provincial and a sophist. Notwithstanding his pretence of stoical views, Seneca lived in luxury, and was known to have accumulated enormous riches. He possessed gardens and country villas, together with a superb palace at Rome, which was said to contain, with other magnificent furniture, five hundred cedar tables, standing on feet of ivory. His wealth in cash alone is believed to have amounted to nearly two millions and a half of our money; and it was sarcastically asked by what precepts of philosophy he had been enabled, in so short a time, to accumulate so much. He had done so, it is to be feared, by a base compliance with the worst passions of the Emperor; yet, when the nobles signified their dislike of the philosopher, Nero showed no zeal on his behalf. Seneca perceived that the day of his predominance had departed, and endeavoured to avert his fate by offering to relinquish his wealth, and begging leave to withdraw from court, as one whose age incapacitated him for further service. The proposals were refused; but Seneca had no reason to doubt the fate that ultimately overtook him. The favourites of Nero were now Fenius Rufus and Tigellinus, between whom he divided the military command which had been held by Burrhus. Of these two men, Tigellinus was the stronger and the more unscrupulous; but both encouraged the fears of their master, and abetted his persecution of all whom he dreaded or suspected. In the course of 62 A.D., the Emperor's wife Octavia, for whom he had never even affected the least regard, was put to death, mainly in order that Nero might satisfy the ambition of his mistress Poppæa by advancing her to the position of his spouse. An accusation of adultery, which seems to have had no foundation, was brought against Octavia, and she was sent to a place of custody in Campania. But she was a favourite with the people, and a riot ensued, which Nero put down by military force. The charges against the Empress were reiterated and enlarged, and she was then imprisoned in Pandateria, an island in the Tyrrhene Sea, now Santa Maria. The poor girl (for she was scarcely twenty) knew only too well that her death would shortly follow on her banishment. To the soldiers and centurions who surrounded her, she pleaded passionately for life; but, after a few days' confinement,



NERO'S TORCHES—BURNING OF CHRISTIANS AT ROME.

she was seized and bound. Her veins were then opened with a knife, and ultimately she was stifled in a warm bath. Poppæa became the wife of the Emperor; but the latter, if we may believe the accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius, continued to act with a degree of profligacy exceeding even the licence of his predecessors, and into the dwellings of the citizens. Some of these persons were arrested, and, upon being questioned, declared that they were acting with orders—a statement which gave rise to the opinion that Nero had himself contrived the fire. After raging for six days, the flames subsided, but a second conflagration soon burst out in a different quarter.

NERO

of which it may be said that it was only a less offence on the part of those historians to repeat the details.

While the Emperor was thus piling one crime upon another, a terrible catastrophe occurred at Rome, by which the larger part of the city was swept away. A devastating fire broke out on the 19th of July, 64, the tenth year of Nero's reign. The conflagration commenced in a number of wooden stores, filled with combustible materials, which were erected against the eastern end of the Circus, abutting on the valley between the Palatine and Cælian Hills. A strong east wind carried the flames towards distant portions of the city, and enormous numbers of houses and other buildings were speedily destroyed. When the flames were at their height, ruffians were seen flinging torches This renewal of the disaster unquestionably looked like design, and Tigellinus was openly accused of having caused the second, if not the first, calamity. The later fire lasted three days, and destroyed a large number of temples, halls, theatres, and other public buildings, including some of the most interesting monuments of ancient Rome, together with choice specimens of Greek art, and innumerable volumes of Hellenic and Latin literature. It was subsequently remarked as an extraordinary fact that the day on which the first of these dreadful fires broke out was the anniversary of the first burning of Rome by the Gauls. Nero was at Antium when the catastrophe commenced, and it was afterwards said that on returning to Rome he watched the conflagration from the villa of Mæcenas, and chanted the sack of Troy to his own

lyre, as the flames glowed and ravaged in the valley beneath his feet. Suetonius and Dion Cassius explicitly charge the Emperor with this tremendous crime; but Tacitus, who was certainly not well disposed towards any of the Cæsars, expresses a doubt on the subject, and it is, in truth, unlikely that Nero should have committed such an act. His own mansion on the Palatine suffered to some extent from the fury of the conflagration, and after the cessation of the fire he opened his gardens to the houseless people, caused sheds to be erected for their accommodation, and took measures to prevent a scarcity.

Nevertheless, many persons still believed in his guilt, and Nero considered it advisable to divert suspicion from himself by laying the blame on others. The occasion is one of special interest, because, for the first time, it brings to our notice the fact that there were Christians in the Imperial city. For several years, the Apostles had been making progress in Syria, Asia Minor, and the adjacent countries. It was at Antioch, in 43 of the modern era, that the disciples were first distinguished as Christians; and seven years later, what is sometimes called the First Council of Jerusalem was held, to determine the question whether the Gentile converts were to observe the Jewish law—a point which was decided in the negative. From Asia Minor, the new doctrine spread into Greece; but, except at Corinth, the Hellenes were not greatly stirred. The most remarkable part of this missionary work was performed by Paul; and it should be remembered, to the honour of the political system guaranteed by the Roman Empire, that he received the protection of the State in the prosecution of labours which had for their object the entire destruction of the Roman religion. It is not necessary to repeat in this place the several journeyings of Paul for the propagation of the Christian faith—a narrative with which all are familiar in the Acts of the Apostles. Suffice it to say that he is thought to have arrived at Rome in the spring of 62, though the date has been the subject of controversy. Here he dwelt two years, making many converts among the Gentiles, and some even in the household of Nero himself. His ministry seems to have been not in the slightest degree hindered, though he was placed under the guard of a soldier, having come to Rome to appeal against a sentence which had been passed on him at Jerusalem for desecrating the courts of the Temple by intruding into them with a number of his Gentile companions. He must have been in the city near the time of the great fire, and it was upon the converts that Nero (if we may believe the accounts) endeavoured to fix the guilt which many imputed to himself.

The atrocities that ensued are commonly regarded as the first persecution of the Church. Large numbers of the converts were arrested, and afterwards others, upon information supplied by the first. These were tried, according to Tacitus, "not so much on the charge of causing the fire, as for their hatred to the human race." The historian adds that some were wrapped in skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by dogs; that several were crucified, and others set on fire like torches, so as to give light when darkness had set in. Nero, it is said, lent his own gardens for the spectacle, and gave a chariot-race, at which he drove his vehicle in the dress of an ordinary charioteer. The gardens where this terrible scene took place were on the slope of the Vatican hill, and possibly on the site of St. Peter's Cathedral—in many respects the most important Christian structure in the whole world. The probability seems to be that the conflagration was of accidental origin, as fires were frequent in Rome, and there was very little organisation by which they could be extinguished. But this natural explanation was doubtless the one which commended itself to the smallest number of people. Those who did not charge the crime upon the Emperor ascribed it to the Christians. The latter, though tolerated, were regarded with the utmost dislike, as the propagators of a mischievous superstition, and as persons guilty of abominable crimes. Such was the popular opinion of the day, as reflected by Tacitus; and this being the impression entertained by so many, it is probable that Nero found a large number of persons ready to sympathise with his endeavours to fix the responsibility for the fire upon a small body of obscure and humble men, who had ventured to depart from the received ordinances of religion. Whether Paul was actually in Rome at the time of the fire is not known with certainty; but on the whole it seems probable that he was released during the early part of 64 A.D., and that, after visiting Judæa, Asia Minor, and Greece, he returned to Rome in 65, where he was imprisoned a second time. It is also supposed that he suffered martyrdom in 66, 67, or 68; but of this there is no historic evidence. The tradition of the Romish Church is that he was beheaded at Rome, and buried some two miles from the Eternal City, where, in after times, a magnificent cathedral, dedicated to his memory, was built over his supposed grave by the Emperor Constantine. The martyrdom of Peter, by crucifixion, is said to have occurred at or about the same time, and at the same

place; but the presence of this Apostle at Rome—on which the Romish claim to supremacy is chiefly based—is a matter surrounded by considerable doubt.

The Imperial city was rebuilt with extraordinary rapidity when the ruins had been cleared away. It was constructed on a scale of much greater magnificence than had ever been known before in the capital of the Roman world. The Grecian style of architecture was introduced throughout; the streets were made broader and straighter than before; and every "island" of houses was surrounded by an open colonnade. The dwellings were built of fireproof stone, with scarcely any timber, and arrangements were made for a more lavish distribution of water. To meet the expenses of these great works, heavy exactions were levied on the whole of Italy and on the distant provinces. Rome was thus a gainer by the misfortune which had destroyed an ill-built and unhealthy mass of houses; but Nero was not forgetful of his own grandeur also. He appropriated an immense space for the erection of a new palace, which was afterwards called the Golden House. This mansion covered a vast area of the old city, and was divided into several portions, connected by three covered galleries, each a mile in length. Within the compass of the outer walls were magnificent gardens, lakes, woods, and orchards. The edifice itself was resplendent with gold and precious stones, and before the entrance stood a colossal statue of the Emperor, one hundred and twenty feet high. The superb character of this Imperial palace seems, by contrast, to render still more terrible the frightful crimes which were conceived within its boundaries. Prodigious as was its size, it appears to have been ready for the Emperor's reception before the close of 65 A.D.; but Nero was no sooner housed in his gorgeous home than a number of portents and disasters occurred, which were regarded as judgments for the pillaging of Greek temples to supply the Emperor's palace with works of art and funds for building. The nobles were discontented, and a conspiracy against the life of Nero had for some time been formed by Calpurnius Piso. Several months passed away without this plot being either detected or carried into execution; but in 65 it was inadvertently betrayed by one of the conspirators to his freedman, who lost no time in communicating with the authorities. Among the victims of the Emperor's anger were the poet Lucan and his uncle Seneca. Both died after the accustomed fashion of opening the veins in a warm bath. The complicity of Seneca in the conspiracy is by many considered doubtful, though there are facts which seem to point in that direction. The philosopher met his fate with much fortitude, but his sufferings were terribly prolonged. While the blood was flowing, he continued to talk calmly with his friends, and it was at length found necessary to abridge his agonies by causing his suffocation with steam.

The deaths of many other persons followed; in several cases, even the children of the victims were poisoned. The proscribed were generally compelled to be their own executioners, and the Senators, who in fact detested Nero, had the meanness to express their sense of the services he had rendered to the State. In the temples, the people returned thanks to the gods for having such a master, and the terror was so great that no one dared lament the slaughter of his nearest relative. Among the truly noble sufferers was Thrasea, a Stoic philosopher, who was sentenced to death, while his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, was exiled. The same year was signalised by the death of the Emperor's second wife, Poppæa Sabina—a death caused by the physical ruffianism of her husband. In the drunkenness of his tyranny, Nero may have considered himself beyond the reach of danger; but, however slavish a community may be, such acts cannot be committed without accumulating a store of hatred, which finds its vent at last. For the present, however, it may really have seemed that all public spirit was at an end. The Senate was much reduced by repeated executions; the old families were dying out, while plebeians were advanced to positions of importance, in the hope that they might prove pliable instruments in the hands of the despot. The condition of the commoner orders was decidedly better than it had been under the Republic, for they attached themselves to the cause of the Emperor, and were in turn rewarded by largesses, which raised them considerably above the fear of want. Imperial festivals were of frequent occurrence; for days together, objects of the most costly description were flung amongst the mob; a portion of every confiscated fortune was bestowed upon the poor. The practice, which had begun under other Emperors, was largely extended by Nero. The *lazzaroni* of ancient Rome, as they have been called, formed a more effectual guard round the person of the sovereign than even his Prætorian cohorts. They gathered about him when he appeared in public, and watched the gates of his palace when he would retire from the world. The system was in many respects a bad one; yet it was better than that neglect of the poor which had characterised the Republic,

except during those revolutionary seasons when the commonalty gained the upper hand. That a government such as Nero's was not indifferent to the needy, even though its consideration was shown after a vicious manner, and sprang from a selfish motive, must be taken as one redeeming feature in a system which abounded in abnormal crime.

While Rome was suffering from the despotism, or disgusted with the follies, of Nero, the provinces were firmly and justly governed by a series of able administrators. Their very success, however, roused the jealousy of the Emperor, who feared them as possible rivals. In was perhaps on this account that in 66 A.D. he paid a visit to Greece, attended by a large number of courtiers and favourites. Here he exhibited his musical skill before the complaisant Hellenes, and was so well received that he declared they alone had ears. He distinguished himself also in the several games, though it is recorded that on one occasion his chariot, his horses, and himself, rolled over in full career. During his stay in Greece, Nero commenced the great work of cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth; but the design was never completed. Gratified with the reception he had met with from the Greeks, the Emperor proclaimed the freedom of their country to the people assembled at Corinth; yet he plundered the public buildings of their statues and other works of art, to adorn his baths and palaces. All this while, however, danger was growing up in other quarters. Vague whispers reached the capital of military revolts in Gaul and Spain, and the freedman Helvius, who had been left in charge of affairs, besought his master to return. The re-appearance of Nero in Italy in 67 was after the manner of an Olympic triumph. Passing from town to town in a chariot drawn by four milk-white horses, he at length entered Rome through a breach made in the city walls. He contrived that he should be saluted by the titles of Nero-Apollo and Nero-Hercules, and lost no opportunity of parading himself before the people as a successful singer and musician. Frivolities of this nature were particularly hateful to the Romans, who had not yet lost all the manliness of their earlier days. Of sycophants there was, of course, no want; but many of the better orders murmured openly at the degradation of their country. Nero felt alarmed and withdrew into Campania, as a safer place than Rome.

The storm at length gathered in the province of Hither Spain, which for the last eight years had been governed by Servius Sulpicius Galba. This distinguished officer was connected with some of the best families in Rome, and was a general favourite, on account of his courage and military skill. Having been born on the 24th of December, 5 B.C., he was in his seventy-third year when, in 68 of the Christian era, he began his movement against the corrupt tyranny of Nero. He had served Caligula well on the Rhenish frontier, and, on the assassination of that Emperor, had refused the offer of his own soldiers to confer on him the purple. Two of his principal commands were in Aquitania and Africa, and in the latter half of Nero's reign he had been sent as Governor to Hispania Tarraconensis. While still occupying this position, a proposal of revolt was made to him by Julius Vindex, the ruler of Transalpine Gaul, and himself a man of Gallic race; but Galba thought the time not yet ripe for such a project, and Nero, informed of what Vindex contemplated, set a price upon his head. Virginius Rufus marched against him with the army of Lower Germany, but subsequently entered into an agreement with his adversary to unite against the tyrant. The troops repudiated this arrangement, and a sanguinary battle was fought at Vesontio, the modern Besançon, in the early part of 68. Vindex was defeated with great loss, and committed suicide in the rage and despair of the moment. Galba now saw that it was time to make a movement on his own behalf, as the defeat of Vindex would probably be followed by the proscription of himself. He therefore harangued his troops, and placed before them, in the liveliest colours, the many iniquities of which Nero had been guilty. The legions saluted him by the title of Imperator, and he was soon joined by Virginius, who brought with him the united armies of Gaul and Germany. At the same time, Claudius Macer in Africa, and Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany, were honoured by their own soldiers with the same title, now well understood as being indicative of sovereignty; and Tacitus has acutely observed that these facts revealed the startling secret that a prince could be created elsewhere than at Rome.

Nero was presiding at a gymnastic contest at Naples, on the 19th of March, 68—the anniversary of his mother's assassination—when he received news of the revolt commenced by Julius Vindex. His anger was not unmixed with contempt for a vain and idle defiance, and during eight days he would not listen to any discussion on public affairs. At length, however, he started for Rome, but was so elated on the road by what he considered a favourable omen, suggested by a group of sculpture representing a Gallic soldier dragged down by a Roman knight, that, on arriving at the capital, he

again devoted himself to his beloved frivolities. The news that Vindex had fallen seemed a confirmation of his hopeful augury; but the news was speedily succeeded by that of Galba's revolt, and the defection of Virginius. It was apparent that the whole West was in rebellion, and that power, and even life itself, hung by a thread. The prospect was so awful that the feeble tyrant fainted with the sudden blow. On recovering, he tore his robes and smote his head, exclaiming that no one had ever before endured such ill-fortune as he; that other Cæsars had fallen by the sword, but that he must lose his Empire while still alive. At length he summoned troops from Illyria for the defence of Italy; but it was found that they were in correspondence with the enemy. Even the Prætorians declared against him, and the rabble of the capital, formerly his most devoted friends, assailed him with jeers and clamour. For several days he raved in impotent fury: sometimes threatening the people, and especially the Gauls, with the direst vengeance; at others, signifying that he would disarm the rebels by his beauty, his tears, and his persuasive tones. As a last resource, he proposed to set sail for Alexandria, and earn his bread by singing in the streets.

But the situation was rapidly becoming too serious for these grotesque exhibitions. Nero was haunted by terrific dreams, and the citizens were alarmed by portents of a dreadful character. Maddened by fear and wrath, the Emperor one evening started from his couch at supper, provided himself with some poison in a golden casket, and, while he made his way to the Servilian Gardens, sent one of his freedmen to secure a galley at Ostia. As night advanced, the ignoble wretch found himself deserted even by his personal attendants, and would have thrown himself into the Tiber, had his courage been equal to the exploit. The freedman Phaon offered him his villa in the suburbs as a place of refuge; and thither he made his way on horseback, rudely and imperfectly attired, and attended by four adherents. It was the early dawn of a June morning when he passed the city-gates; and on his road to the villa, four miles off, he heard the Prætorians in their camp uttering curses against himself, and proclaiming their allegiance to Galba. The fact of the tyrant's flight had now become generally known, and the country people whom the fugitives met on their way, and who did not recognise the Emperor, asked, "What news of Nero?" and remarked that he was being pursued. The terror of the situation was enhanced by lightning and thunder, and by a shock of earthquake. Arriving at the villa, Phaon desired the Emperor to make his entry through a drain from the bath-room, that his presence might not be known, and he at last crawled into the house through a hole in the outer wall. After a short period of repose, he ordered his attendants to dig a grave, for which he himself lay down to give the measure, desiring that pieces of marble might be collected to decorate his tomb, and occasionally murmuring, "What an artist to perish!" Then he made signs of an intention to kill himself, but at once laid the daggers aside, with the remark that it was not yet time to use them. Shortly afterwards, the trampling of horses was heard; it was evident that the pursuers were close at hand. Preserving to the last his tendency to do everything after a theatrical fashion, Nero quoted a line from Homer, which has been translated

"The galloping of speedy steeds assails my frighten'd ears,"

and at the same moment placed a dagger to his breast. The slave Epaphroditus struck it home, and the miserable creature expired with so horrible a stare upon his face that the on-lookers were terrified by the expression. Thus perished Nero at a little more than thirty years of age. The body was treated with no indignity, but was hastily burned by the freedmen; and flowers were scattered by some unknown hand on the tomb of one whom, it might well have been supposed, no human being would have mourned.

GALBA.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

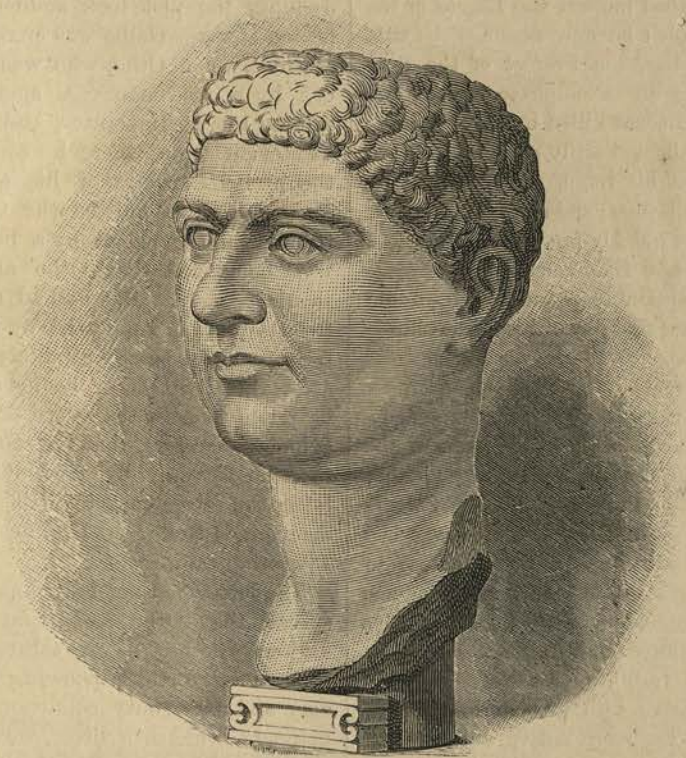
GALBA, OTHO, VITELLIUS, AND VESPASIAN.

Cessation of the Line of the Cæsars—Expected Reappearance of Nero—Measures taken by the Senate—March of Galba towards Rome—Suppression of Revolts—Arrival of Galba in the Capital—Immediate Outbreaks of Sedition—Piso associated with Galba in the Government—Discontent of the Soldiers—Conspiracy of Salvius Otho—The Prætorians proclaim Otho Imperator—Agitation in the City—Murder of Galba, Vinius, and Piso—March of Otho to Repel the Advance of Vitellius from Germany—Defeat of the Othonians near Bedriacum—Suicide of Otho—Character of Vitellius, the next Emperor—Moderation of his Earlier Measures—Brutality of his Soldiers—Previous Career of his Rival, Vespasian—The Legions at Alexandria proclaim Vespasian Emperor—Preparations for an Attack on Rome—Indolence and Sensuality of Vitellius—Defection of Several of the Legions, and of the Fleet—Brilliant March of the Vespasian General, Antonius Primus—Defeat of the Vitellians at Bedriacum—Sack of Cremona—Insurrections against the Power of Vitellius—Victorious Progress of Antonius—Vitellius Coerced by his own Legionaries—Capture of Rome by the Vespasians—Assassination of Vitellius—Succession of Vespasian—His Reputation in the East—Measures of Mucianus at Rome—Insurrection of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis—Numerous Disasters of the Romans—Symptoms of Revolt among the Gauls—Re-establishment of Imperial Power by Petilius Cerialis—Wise Administration of Vespasian—Reform of the Senate—Restoration of Prosperity—Grand Public Buildings: the Temple of Peace, the Baths of Titus, and the Colosseum—Encouragement of Learning—Quarrel with the Philosophers—Case of Helvidius Priscus—Death of Vespasian—His Character and Aims.

With the death of Nero, the line of the Cæsars came to an end, though the name still continued to be used as denoting the holders of Imperial privilege. From the mighty Julius to the effeminate miscreant who perished in the villa of the freedman Phaon, there had been six of these military rulers, and it is a singular fact that Augustus is the only one of whom there is reasonable cause to believe that he died a natural death. Counting from the battle of Actium—the true commencement of the Empire—about ninety-nine years had intervened between the fall

of the Republic and the extinction of what may be called the Julian house. But that brief time had sufficed to create in the Roman mind a strong sense of the continuity of power in association with the Cæsars. The people could hardly believe in the failure of the race which had effected so memorable a change in their political state; and many were found to declare that Nero still lived, and would presently return to the sovereignty. The natural result of this persuasion was that a number of pretenders started up, and that, even as late as twenty years after the great event of June, 68, a false Nero fled for protection to the Parthians, and was ultimately surrendered to the Roman authorities. The Christians, while admitting that the Emperor was really dead, believed that he would revisit the earth as Antichrist; and it was considered by several that Jerusalem might not improbably be the scene of his reappearance. Setting aside these wild anticipations, however, the death of Nero was undoubtedly an important event. The Empire had up to that time enjoyed a mysterious sanctity from its association with the Julian race, which was supposed to be of divine origin, and the greatest member of which had been deified after his death, not merely by servile courtiers, but by the gratitude of a whole people. Now, the accustomed order was overthrown, and the Government became the prize of the successful soldier.

Immediately after the flight of Nero from his palace, and even before he had left Rome, the Consuls convened the Senate at midnight, and informed its members of the entire collapse of the Government, and of the practical abdication of the tyrant. They were required to declare the fugitive a public enemy, and to pronounce on him the sentence of death. This was done with acclamation, and the officers appointed to the pursuit were charged to take the culprit alive, if possible, that his end might have all the disgrace of a public execution. With the cap of liberty on their heads, the people thronged the temples, to thank the gods for the restoration of their freedom; but, in the meanwhile, the political problem, as to how the State should be governed, awaited solution. Galba had been proclaimed Imperator by the army of Spain, and his position was recognised by Virginius Rufus, who commanded the army of Lower Germany, together with the remnant of the Gallic forces which had served under Julius Vindex. But Virginius had stipulated that the



OTHO.

choice of the troops should be ratified by the Senate, and Galba had accepted the condition. It therefore remained to be seen what the Senate would do; though it can hardly be doubted that, had its decision been adverse, Galba would none the less have asserted his power. He in fact commenced his advance on Rome directly he heard of Nero's death, and it was not until he reached Narbo, in Gaul, that he was met by a deputation bearing the Senatorial ratification of his election. Until then he had called himself the Legate of the Senate and the people; he now assumed the title of Cæsar. Nymphidius, the Prefect of the Prætorian Guard, made an attempt to snatch the Empire for himself, but was killed by his own men; certain marine battalions, hastily enrolled by Nero in the last weeks of his reign, were crushed by Galba at the Milvian bridge; and several pretenders in the provinces were quickly put down. The close of the year saw the new Emperor at Rome.

The actual assumption of power by Galba did not take place until the first day of his Consulship—viz., the 1st of January, 69. He was at once met with difficulty and trouble. The legions of Upper Germany refused the oath in his name, and demanded that they should swear in the name of the Senate and the people. They clamoured for another Imperator; and when the news reached Colonia Agrippina (now Cologne), Aulus Vitellius, who had been sent there by Galba to take the command of Lower Germany, was saluted with the supreme title. Thus encountered by a revolt a few days after his legal investiture (for Vitellius lost no time in setting out for Italy), Galba determined to associate a younger man with himself in the position of Cæsar, that the more active duties of the office might be in vigorous hands. For this purpose he selected Piso Licinianus, a descendant of the Crassi and Pompeii, who had been banished by Nero, but whose grave and severe character recommended him to the stern disciplinarian now at the head of the Government. Galba presented Piso to the soldiers on the 10th of January; but the usual donation was refused, and a bad effect was thus produced amongst a set of men whose good will was needed for the stability of the administration. Considerable discontent was also excited by the rigour with which some of the adherents of Nero were punished, while one of the worst of them, Tigellinus, was left untouched. These turbulent feelings found an exponent in Salvius Otho, who had recently come back from Lusitania as a partisan of Galba, but who scrupled not to turn against his friend when he saw that such a step might be conducive to his own ambition.

The character of Otho was in complete antagonism to that of Galba. The former was an elegant trifler and a voluptuary, and, while his manners were pleasing, his disposition was bad. He had been intimate with Nero, and doubtless his nature suffered from the evil association. A soothsayer had once proclaimed that he would attain to the Empire: he now determined that the prophecy should be fulfilled. He seduced the Prætorian Guards with gifts, and on the 15th of January the plot took sudden and almost unexpected shape. Galba was engaged in conducting a sacrifice, when Otho, who was present, was called out by a freedman. A small body of soldiers saluted him as Imperator, and carried him to the Prætorian camp, where he seemed bewildered by the perilous success of his own scheme. Galba soon afterwards quitted the temple, and was confronted in the palace by a body of the populace, who demanded that Otho and his accomplices should be slain. But he had already learned that the traitor was supported by the Prætorians, and, from inquiries hastily conducted by his officers, had ascertained that other bodies of troops refused or hesitated to draw the sword on his behalf. It was evident, therefore, that he could do nothing more than endeavour, by personal remonstrances, to bring the rebels back to their allegiance. This he determined to do, but first despatched Piso to the Prætorian camp.

The latter had not long departed when a rumour spread that Otho had been slain by the very soldiers who had before saluted him. Galba now at once set forth, but, owing to the feebleness of age, and the gouty condition of his limbs, was obliged to ride in a litter, wearing a linen corslet instead of armour. Piso had effected nothing by his mission. The report of Otho's death was erroneous; and before the younger Cæsar had quite reached the Prætorian camp, he perceived from the cries of the soldiers that all hope of influencing them was at an end, and consequently awaited in the Forum the arrival of Galba. The Emperor was soon on the spot, surrounded by his friends and a small number of troops; but he was distracted and confused by the multiplicity of antagonistic suggestions offered him, and by the alarming accounts, received every minute, of the progress of the rebellion. The citizens were undoubtedly in favour of Galba; but, when the legions of Otho were seen approaching, the single cohort accompanying his rival passed over to the enemy, and the unarmed people were dispersed. In another moment, the litter of the Emperor was overturned, and himself slaughtered by numerous

blows. Vinius, one of his trusted advisers, shared his fate; and Piso, vainly flying to the temple of Vesta for protection, was dragged out and slain. The heads of all three were brought before Otho, and afterwards paraded through the streets; but the body of Galba was privately burned by one of his freedmen. He was a man of soldierly virtues, but of somewhat harsh and unsympathetic character. Probably he would have made a good ruler, had he been suffered to live, and age had not impaired his faculties. It is difficult to see any sufficient reason for his violent deposition and death; but his parsimony in the matter of the donative to the troops was probably the chief cause.

The Prætorian nomination was accepted by the Senate, which did not venture to dispute the edict of an armed power it had no means of resisting. But Otho was confronted by a foe of great importance in Vitellius, whom the troops in Germany had selected as Imperator, and who was speedily joined by the legions of Spain and Gaul. Syria, and the provinces on the northern coast of Africa, declared for Otho, and the latter, after a vain attempt at negotiation, summoned to his standards the Prætorian Guards, the legions that had accompanied Galba to Rome, and the army of Illyria. Two divisions of the army of Vitellius had already entered Italy, and others would quickly follow. The chief lieutenants of that commander were Valens and Cæcina; but the march of the former was delayed by a revolt among his soldiers. Nevertheless, the whole country from the Padus to the Addua was occupied by the adherents of Vitellius, and Cæcina made an attack on Placentia, but without success. Marching on foot at the head of his troops, Otho moved forward to the Padus, which he crossed at Brixellum, and subsequently took up a position at Bedriacum, a town commanding the road between Cremona and Mantua. The active command was shortly afterwards handed over to Titianus, the brother of Otho, who stayed with the main body of the army, while Otho himself retired to Brixellum to receive the expected reinforcements. The principal general under Titianus was the veteran Suetonius Paulinus; but his counsels were over-ruled, and Titianus determined to advance upon Cremona. The enemy's lines having been reached, a parley was opened with Cæcina, which might perhaps have led to some result, had it not been broken off by Valens, who had by this time arrived at the seat of action, and who ordered an immediate attack. The issue of the battle was at first extremely doubtful; but Valens was enabled to pour in such continual reinforcements that the legions of Otho were defeated with great loss. The soldiers in the camp, four miles in advance of Bedriacum, received the conquerors as brethren on the following day. Yet there were still abundant forces to carry on the struggle, for the Prætorians were untouched, and the army of Illyria was close at hand. Nevertheless, Otho resolved to abandon all further attempts, though the devotion of his soldiers appears to have been deep and earnest. His decision was prompted by a magnanimity which his dissolute and reckless life could hardly have foreshadowed. He revolted from the thought of further bloodshed; and, having provided for the safe departure of his chief adherents, and taken measures to prevent his death being imputed to the servants, he threw himself on his sword in the early morning of April 16th, 69, after some hours of sleep. The body was immediately burned; and such was the grief of the soldiers that many slew themselves, either on the pyre, or in the camps.

Aulus Vitellius was at once accepted by the army and the Senate as the successor of Otho. He was born in the year 15, and had distinguished himself by his flattery of one Cæsar after another, his gambling propensities, and his gluttony. Still, he was a man not devoid of ability, and in his government of Africa is said to have exhibited great fairness; but the feverish air of Rome, with its innumerable allurements and temptations, developed all the worst qualities of his nature, and he was accused of stealing the golden ornaments of the temples to supply his wants. He was now fifty-four years of age, with no qualities calculated to make him a fitting monarch for so great a dominion, and with a number of ignoble vices that degraded him as a man, and sank his intellectual powers in sloth and luxury. On arriving in Italy, he ordered several executions in connection with the murder of Galba; but these were not in excess of justice, and the first acts of his government were characterised by moderation. He seems, indeed, to have made an honest attempt to reform those abuses of the Imperial rule which had resulted from the predominance of the military element. But this was far too difficult a task for a man of indolent and sensual disposition to accomplish. During his progress to Rome, Vitellius frequently indulged in drunken orgies, while his soldiers, who were chiefly Celts and Germans, committed acts of plunder and brutality which spread terror through the land. Rome itself he entered more like a conqueror than a deliverer; and the tone in which he harangued the Senate

and the people gave general offence by its assumption of superiority.

But his reign was destined to be almost as short-lived as those of Galba and Otho. A competitor had already arisen in the East, where Titus Flavius Vespasianus had received the support of his soldiery. This remarkable commander belonged to the Sabine stock, and was born at Phalacrine, near Reate, on the 17th of November in the year 9 of the Christian era. His paternal family was of humble origin, though his mother, Vespasia Polla, was the sister of a Roman senator. At this period of Roman history, it had become usual to give the elder of two sons the cognomen of his father, and the younger a cognomen derived from the family of his mother. Vespasian was the younger son, and therefore took the name of his female parent. After occupying several posts, both military and political, he distinguished himself by his operations in Britain during the reign of Claudius. Under Nero, he obtained the Proconsulship of Africa, and afterwards commanded in Judæa during the earlier stages of the memorable revolt which will be described further on. While in that country, he was hailed by some as the Messiah, and, being a man of superstitious nature, seems to have been powerfully influenced by the prophecies that were uttered in respect of him. When sacrificing on Mount Carmel to the deity of the spot, he was assured by the officiating priest that his greatness would be found equal to whatever purpose he was at that time meditating. It is not improbable that his thoughts were even thus early directed to the Imperial power; but he tendered his allegiance to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius in succession, acting with the loyalty characteristic of an old soldier and an honest man. Tacitus relates that he was strongly impressed by the silence with which the oath to Vitellius was received by his troops. It was evident that Rome required a more vigorous, an abler, and a purer government than any it had enjoyed for many years. But Vespasian acted with caution, and forbore from bringing himself into collision with powers which he might not, at the time, have been strong enough to encounter.

At length, however, he was induced by Mucianus, the Proconsul of Syria, to assume a position of hostility to Vitellius; and when Tiberius Alexander, the Prefect of Egypt, declared in his favour, and thus secured to him a country which could starve out Rome by withholding the usual supplies of corn, his hesitation came to an end, and Tiberius caused his soldiers to proclaim the new Emperor at Alexandria on the 1st of July, 69. By the middle of the month, all the eastern provinces had given in their adhesion. The vassal kings offered their help, and preparations were rapidly pushed forward at Cæsarea and Antioch. Vespasian soon found himself at the head of formidable levies, and, placing the eastern provinces under the care of two armies, he equipped a third for operations against Vitellius himself. The van was led by Mucianus, who at every point found his numbers swelled by willing auxiliaries. The three legions of Illyria, which had remained faithful to the memory of Otho, joined the Syrian Proconsul at Aquileia, and their adhesion was speedily followed by the army of Pannonia, and the Dalmatian garrisons. The danger to Vitellius was imminent and extreme; yet he seems to have been incapable of understanding his own peril. He feasted and drank with revolting gluttony, and, at an enormous expense, ransacked his vast Empire for new and curious dainties, while the enemy was every day drawing nearer to the gates of Rome. Public affairs were managed entirely by Valens and Cæcina, who soon became jealous of each other. Very little dependence could be placed upon the troops. Those which Vitellius had brought with him from Gaul and Germany, and who were for the most part natives of the northern countries, lost their hardihood and strength in the enervating climate, and under the corrupting influences, of Rome. The Third Legion revolted; the succours demanded from Britain, Germany, and Spain, were not forthcoming; the fleet declared for Vespasian; and Cæcina, who led a body of troops into Cisalpine Gaul, showed ere long that he was animated by treacherous intentions, which he would probably have carried out, had not his own soldiers ultimately put him in chains.

The principal collision between the hostile troops occurred in the neighbourhood of Bedriacum, where the followers of Vitellius had crushed the army of Otho, but where they were now to experience a very different fate. Antonius Primus, one of the lieutenants of Mucianus, descended the Julian Alps, and advanced towards Verona, though he had been ordered by his commander to remain inactive until the main body came up. The movement was undoubtedly rash, for the forces of Antonius were much inferior to those of the enemy: nevertheless, the result was successful and brilliant in the highest degree. The outposts of the Vitellians were pushed back from the head of the Adriatic; every fortress was turned or carried; and the cavalry of Antonius soon covered the wide plains around Verona. Antonius was determined to proceed as he had begun, notwithstanding that

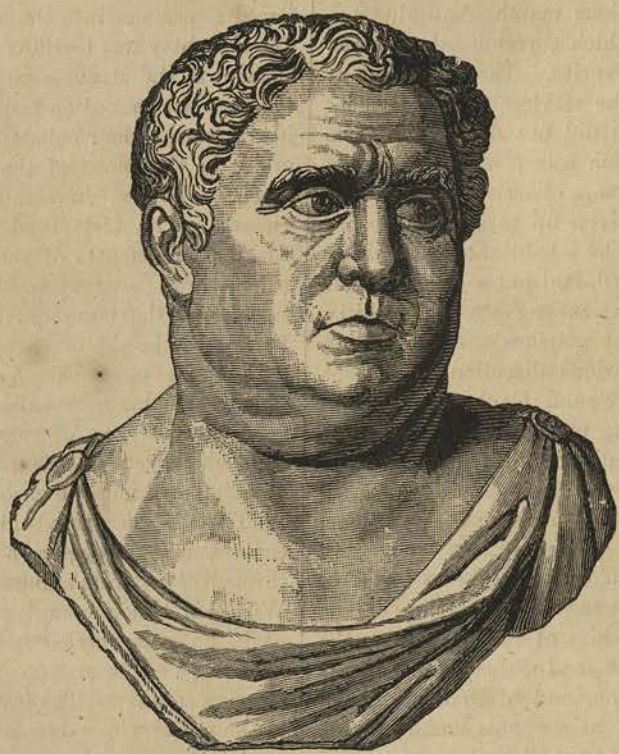
he had received letters from Mucianus, rebuking him for his adventurous haste. Two legates who opposed his schemes were immediately removed from the camp, and Antonius then attacked the Vitellians, who, being now without a general, owing to the imprisonment of Cæcina shortly before, were decisively beaten at Bedriacum, though not without so desperate a resistance that the forces of Antonius were saved from a disaster only by the personal heroism and energy of their general.

Continuing his victorious march, Antonius arrived before Cremona, which surrendered, and was treated with shocking severity. The lieutenant of Mucianus had ensured the services of his men by hopes of plunder, and he did not disappoint their wishes. The city—which was a Roman colony, originally established as a barrier against the Cisalpine Gauls—was given up to all the licence of successful soldiers. The inhabitants were either slaughtered or maltreated, and not a single edifice was left standing, except the temple of Mephitis, the deity of the adjacent marshes. The Vitellian legions dispersed in various directions. Valens was taken prisoner. Spain, Gaul, and Britain declared for Vespasian, and Antonius assumed to himself all the credit of the great success. Vespasian was still in the East, making arrangements for cutting off the corn-supplies of Rome, while Vitellius, safe for the moment at the capital, was abandoning himself to the grossest forms of pleasure. When, however, the defection of the fleet was announced to him at Mevania, near the Apennines, whither he had advanced, he was seized with consternation, and his fear prompted acts of cruelty to which he was not usually prone. An insurrection broke out in Campania, and spread rapidly through the territories of the Samnites, Pelignians, and Marsians. Even the frontiers of the Empire were threatened by barbarian incursions. The Vespasians under Antonius moved in the direction of Rome itself, where Vitellius had again taken up his quarters. Valens was put to death at Urbino, and the Vitellian forces in the valley of the Nar gave in their submission on the appearance of Antonius.

That commander next made offers to Vitellius, to whom he promised ample compensation if he would abdicate, and retire to Campania. The suggestion was willingly adopted by the slothful epicure; but the soldiers in the Imperial city rose in insurrection, and forbade the contemplated agreement. The military appear to have considered that Vitellius was being degraded by Flavius Sabinus, who had conducted the negotiations; and, in the riots that ensued, Sabinus was put to death in the presence of Vitellius, who was a mere puppet in the hands of the armed legionaries. In the course of these tumults, the Capitol was destroyed, and the temple of the three great gods, which had once before perished in civil distractions, was burned to the ground. But the soldiers had gained their object, and it was determined to resist the forces of Antonius. A fierce combat at the gates was followed by one still more deadly in the streets of the city itself, when the Vespasians had forced a passage into the heart of the metropolis. The slaughter was terrific; but the most revolting element in the struggle was the levity with which the populace looked on from the windows, applauding or jeering the combatants, or indulged in wild orgies in the blood of the slain, or plundered defenceless houses, in rivalry with the infuriated victors. The last stand of the Vitellians was within the defences of the Prætorian camp; and when these were stormed, all were put to the sword, and the murderous conflict was at an end. During the height of the battle, Vitellius escaped to a house upon the Aventine, but afterwards returned to his own palace, where, in a kind of fatal imbecility, he wandered through the deserted halls, dismayed at the solitude and silence, yet dreading still more to encounter any human being. A Tribune discovered him concealed behind a curtain, and, dragging him forth, conveyed him through the streets amidst the scoffs of the citizens. With his hands bound, and a halter round his neck, he was hurried from point to point, even after he had been wounded by one of his own German soldiers. The insults of the populace and of the military now became more extreme, and the wretched man was covered with mud, while his head was kept erect by a sword placed under his chin. Pricked on with the points of weapons, and frequently smitten on the cheek, he was brought at last to the Gemoniæ (a place where the carcases of criminals were thrown), and there despatched. The last words he uttered—and they were words not wanting in dignity—were, "Yet I was once your Imperator."

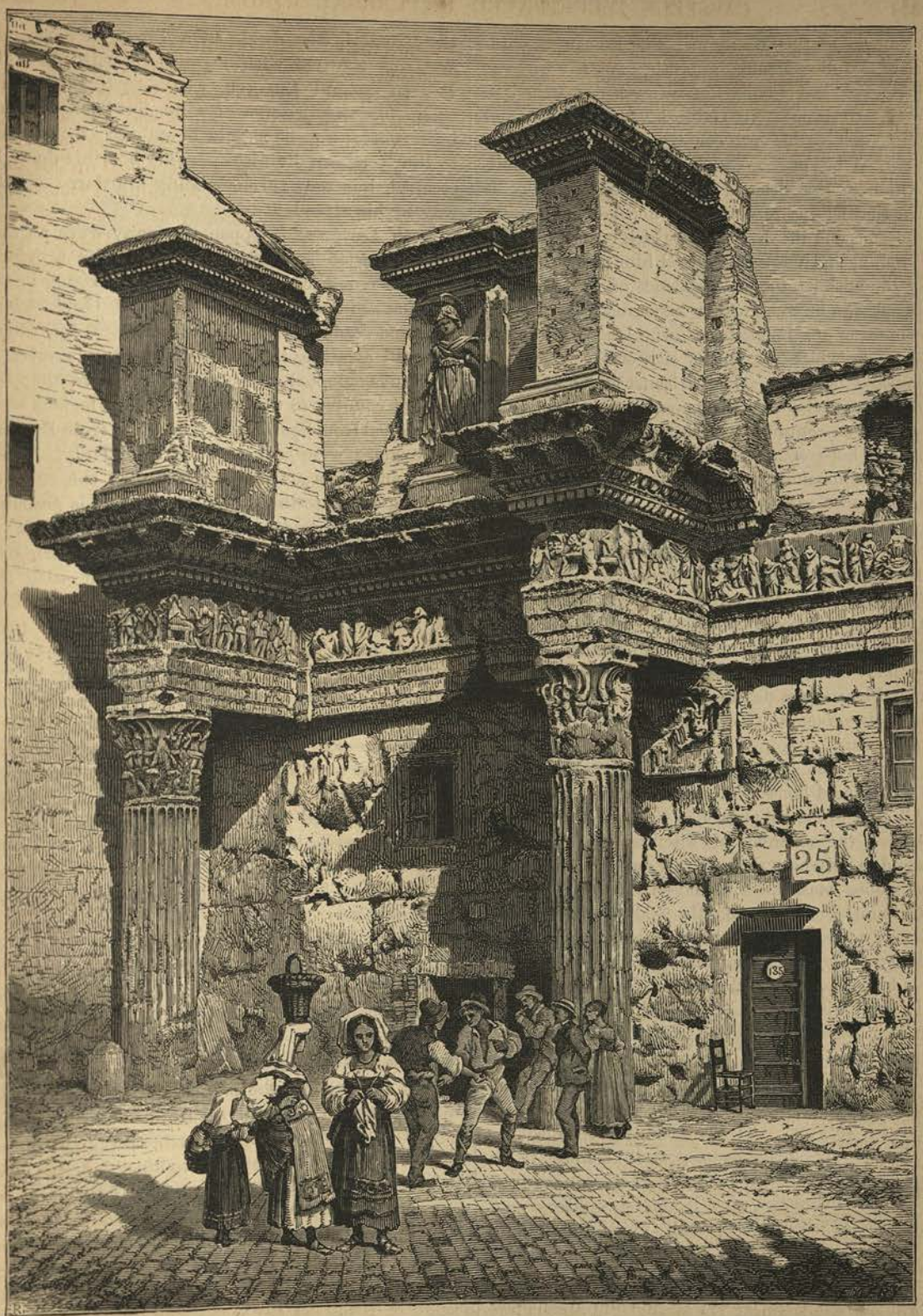
The death of Vitellius took place on the 21st of December, 69, eight months after his acknowledgment by the Senate on the death of Otho. The compliant Fathers now conferred all the Imperial honours on Vespasian, as they had previously conferred them on his predecessors. But peace was not restored, for the flushed and insolent soldiery continued for several days to commit unprovoked outrages on the citizens. The Principate of Vespasian is generally dated from the

1st of July, 69, when the legions at Alexandria swore to obey him; but it was not until the 1st of January, 70, that he was appointed to the Consulship, together with his son Titus, nor did he arrive at Rome until about six months later. The people received their new master with a certain prepossession in his favour, though, perhaps, with no enthusiasm; and the Flavian dynasty began with a fair promise for the future. By many of the Orientals, as we have seen, Vespasian was regarded with reverence, as the presumed subject of awful prophecies. He was invested with divine attributes, and supposed to have the faculty of curing the blind and lame. Envoys from the Parthian king sought him out at Alexandria, with an offer of 40,000 cavalry; but for these he had now no occasion. One of the first cares of Vespasian, on succeeding to power, was to undo what he had previously accomplished in the way of depriving Rome of food. Corn-vessels were despatched to the Imperial city for the relief of that scarcity which was already beginning to be felt; and this detained Vespasian more than was desirable under the circumstances. Adverse winds during the spring still further prolonged his stay in Egypt, and it was not until the middle of summer that he reached the capital. In the meanwhile, affairs had been carried on by Mucianus, who found it necessary to act with great severity against those who were still disturbing order. The son of Vitellius was put to death. Domitian, the son of Vespasian, who had been raised to the Prætorship, was checked in his profligate eccentricities; and Antonius Primus was driven from the city. Before the return of Vespasian, the foundations of the new Capitol were laid with observances of great solemnity. Nothing was wanted but the presence of the Emperor himself to give the utmost dignity and interest to the ceremonial.



VITELLIUS.

While these events were occurring at Rome, a movement of a serious character commenced in Lower Germany. Some branches of the German Chatti had for several years been settled, under the name of Batavi, in that wedge of territory, formed by the Maas, the Waal, and the Rhine, which in our own day forms part of the Netherlands. These people furnished to the Roman armies their best cavalry, and in the time of Nero one of their commanders was Claudius Civilis, a chief of royal descent, who had been adopted as a Roman citizen. Towards the end of Nero's reign, some unexplained trouble arose between the



RUINS OF PART OF NERVA'S FORUM, ROME.

(From "Picturesque Europe.")

members of this family and the Roman Government. Julius Paulus, a brother of Civilis, was beheaded, and Civilis himself was despatched in chains to Rome. By Galba he was released, and sent back to his own country, where the legions resented his presence, and demanded punishment. Although this demand was not conceded, Civilis felt that he was in a state of hopeless antagonism to Rome, and the dissensions which ensued between Vitellius and Vespasian offered him an opportunity of establishing the independence of his race. In this design he was further encouraged by the discontent of the Belgic tribes, who longed to cast off the yoke which the mighty city of the Tiber had imposed on them. The Frisians and other communities also joined the movement, and the Batavians even ventured to send emissaries into Gaul, in the hope of rousing the province against the Imperial dominion. Some of the Roman garrisons in Lower Germany were driven out in the course of 69, and a flotilla on the Rhine was seized. After some delay, the rebels were attacked by Hordeonius Flaccus, the Governor of Upper Germany; but the two wings of his force were partially composed of native auxiliaries, who either went over to their countrymen, or fled without striking a blow. The consequence was that Flaccus was defeated, and his army compelled to seek refuge at Castra Vetera, the "old camp" of Drusus.

The revolt spread with alarming rapidity, and Civilis found himself in command of a great army. All this while, he pretended to be acting simply against the adherents of Vitellius, and even tendered to his troops the oath to Vespasian, in support of whose cause he had, indeed, been required by Antonius Primus to take the field. This, however, was a mere mask for the concealment of his true designs, and after the triumph of Vespasian he made a sudden attack on the Romans, but was defeated with the loss of some of his best warriors. Nevertheless, the position of the Imperial troops was calamitous, and the whole territory of the Treviri was overrun. At the same time, Gaul Proper was greatly agitated; an insurrection broke out in Britain; and the Druids prophesied the extinction of the Roman power in those Celtic lands. The garrison of Castra Vetera were treacherously massacred, after having surrendered on a promise of their lives; and Civilis found himself in a position of such unquestioned superiority that he contemplated setting up a kingdom, of which the capital should be Colonia Agrippina. That he might enjoy the advantage of supernatural direction, he consulted the queen and priestess of the Bructeri, who dwelt in a tower on the Lippe, and was credited with mysterious wisdom. The Roman general Lupercus was despatched to her, ostensibly as a prisoner of note, but really, it may be surmised, that he should be offered as a sacrifice to the Northern divinities. This horrible doom he escaped, but only through being murdered on the way by his attendants.

Both Lower and Upper Germany were at that time regarded as portions of the Gallic province, and the existence of so formidable a rising in the north-east imperilled the whole of Gaul, which appeared ready to take the infection. While Rome was still awaiting the arrival of its new sovereign, Mucianus adopted measures to preserve that important country to the Empire. Two legions were summoned from Spain; one was called from Britain; three more were sent forward from Italy. These rapid and vigorous preparations had the effect of striking awe into the Gauls; indeed, it is probable that, however great the disposition to revolt in certain quarters, the people of the Western province were, on the whole, well content with the Roman supremacy, which had conferred on them the advantages of civilisation, and secured their internal peace for many years. A congress was summoned in the territory of the Remi in 70, and the national representatives decided on submission. The Roman legions under Petilius Cerialis crossed the Alps without any difficulty; some of the revolted auxiliaries returned at once to their allegiance; two of the insurrectionary tribes succumbed; and Cerealis entered Treves Civilis, however, headed a sudden assault upon the camp of that commander, but was repulsed and put to flight. The rear of the fugitives was cut off by the people of Colonia, and Civilis made his last stand at Castra Vetera, which he strengthened by diverting a portion of the Rhine. Cerealis attacked the camp, but without effect, until a deserter pointed out a track through the morass, which enabled the Romans to outflank the enemy. The rebels, however, immediately swam the intervening streams into the country of the Frisians and Chauci, and Civilis still maintained the struggle, with occasional successes. Nevertheless, the Batavian chieftain saw the prudence of coming to terms with the Roman general, and his proposals were favourably received, under the hollow pretence that he had taken up arms in the cause of Vespasian, and not against the authority of Rome. Thus the war came to an end in the course of 70; but the ultimate fate of Civilis is entirely unknown.

Owing to the complete restoration of peace, both in the East and in the West, the temple of Janus

was closed in the year 71. It had stood open ever since the termination of the wars waged by Augustus in Germany, and the coincidence gave occasion to the court poets to compare Vespasian with his illustrious predecessor. He was in truth a very different person—a man of simple ways, and, above all, a soldier. His frugal habits operated as a wholesome corrective of the feverish debauchery which had long disgraced the Roman nobles, and which, so far as the pleasures of the table were concerned, reached its greatest height of insane extravagance in Vitellius. But Vespasian was not merely a soldier, and a pattern of sober living; he was also a just and intelligent ruler, who successfully defended the frontiers, and did much to restore the Roman State. One of his first acts of domestic policy was to refashion the Senate, which had now been reduced to two hundred members, many of whom had usurped the places of those killed in the late commotions. It was as Censor—an office which he assumed in 72, together with his son Titus—that he effected these reforms; but the younger man was accused of using the opportunity to proscribe the objects of his suspicion. The Senate, purified and restored by the care of Vespasian, was treated by him with great deference, and admitted to a large share in the government of the Empire. For several years, the new Princeps refused to accept the Tribunitian power, or the title of Father of his country. Even during the civil war, he had waived the usual practice of causing all who approached him to be searched for concealed weapons, and the whole of his policy was directed, according to Suetonius, to lifting up the almost prostrate commonwealth in the first instance, and adorning it in the second.

The provinces were managed by Vespasian with considerable address. Latin rights were bestowed on the whole of Spain; but Greece, to which Nero had granted freedom, was reduced to her former condition. Some other countries were treated in the same spirit, and the dependent sovereignties in Thrace, Cilicia, and Commagene, were absorbed into the Roman State. Vespasian has been accused of parsimony; but it should be recollected that, owing to years of civil contention, the Empire was greatly impoverished when the successor to Vitellius assumed the reins of power. He had to restore many buildings in Rome itself, and in some places whole cities. He could only accomplish these necessary works by extreme carefulness in the management of the finances, and by largely increasing the taxation of his subjects. He is said to have declared that, for all which he found it necessary to do, he needed the sum of forty million sesterces. It cannot be denied that he acted in the spirit of a wise and beneficent sovereign, though his popularity suffered by what many regarded as niggardliness and extortion.

The great architectural achievements of Vespasian's reign were the restoration of the Capitol, the erection of the Temple of Peace, and the building of a new Forum, of the Baths of Titus, and of the Flavian Amphitheatre, known to us as the Colosseum. The Baths of Titus were far more magnificent than any which had preceded them, and, as they were open to the public without the slightest charge, the utmost refinements of luxury in this respect could be enjoyed by the humblest citizen. The Colosseum, the ruins of which are still the wonder of the civilised world, was built (together with the Baths of Titus) within the area of Nero's Golden House, the greater part of which, if not the whole, was destroyed by order of Vespasian. It is probable that the newer edifice was constructed in some degree out of the materials of the older; but whereas Nero simply ministered to his own delight, the Amphitheatre of Vespasian was dedicated to the amusement of the whole people. It is remarkable that the first of the Flavian sovereigns was disinclined to gladiatorial combats; but the Colosseum contained ample provision for sea-fights, and for the hunting of wild beasts. The interior of this splendid building shone with marble, gold, and precious stones, and the number of spectators which it could accommodate is set down at 87,000. The erection of so gigantic a structure necessarily spread over some years, and it was not completed until after the death of Vespasian. To the modern world it has a terrible and pathetic interest, in having been the scene of many Christian martyrdoms.

Although himself unlearned, and possibly disinclined to study, Vespasian was a liberal patron of letters, in the hope of providing better culture for the upper classes. He allotted a regular salary to public teachers, and the first to enjoy this donation was the rhetorician Quintilian. There were some among the philosophers, however, who rejected such favours, considering that they gave the Emperor too great a power over education. One of the Emperor's most violent opponents was the Stoic orator Helvidius Priscus, who had been exiled under Nero. The attacks of this man were frequent and bitter, and Vespasian, after bearing with them for a long while, determined to take steps against an enemy who might once more have plunged the commonwealth into turmoil. Helvidius was again banished—a measure rendered imperative

by numerous conspiracies, traceable to the influence of the orator and his friends. Shortly afterwards, upon some fresh provocation, his death was decreed, and carried out with such alacrity that, when Vespasian desired to recall the capital sentence, it was too late. In this matter, the Emperor forgot those principles of moderation which generally controlled his actions. He persecuted the family of the deceased philosopher, and even put to death Herennius Senecio for having written a life of the original offender. The whole of the Stoic and Cynic sects were banished; but for this act of severity there was doubtless sufficient cause, and it will be remembered that the Republic had banished the philosophers once before.

The reign of Vespasian extended over ten years from the date of his proclamation at Alexandria; and, with few exceptions, they were years of tranquillity and prosperous development. The old Sabine was assiduous in the discharge of his Imperial duties. It may be said of him that he wore himself out, and hastened his decease by devotion to the business of the State. Even during his last illness he refused to rest, but continued to perform his public functions until very near the end. His death took place on the 23rd of June, 79, in the seventieth year of his age. The lasting glory of Vespasian consists in the fact that he put an end to that series of convulsions which followed the death of Nero, and that he lifted the mighty fabric of Roman power out of the ruins to which it had been reduced by years of faction and intrigue. Of his personal character it is sufficient to say that it was far better than that of any Roman Emperor since Augustus, unless Galba may be reckoned as his equal. Niebuhr says of Vespasian that his administration was thoroughly beneficial to the Roman world; that, although he did some unjust things, he ruled, on the whole, with care and conscientiousness; and that, while he showed no mistrust towards the Governors of provinces, he protected the provincials themselves against official tyranny whenever it was necessary. His personal appearance was coarse and uninteresting; but his conversation, though somewhat rustic, was distinguished by a natural sprightliness and wit. It is recorded by Suetonius that, on feeling the approach of death, he whispered to his attendants, "Ah! methinks I am becoming a god!" It was a fine satire on the ridiculous and profane adulation which had been paid to some of his predecessors. Not, assuredly, as a god do men think of him, but as a human being who succeeded to great powers, and used them, in many instances, for the good of myriads.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

Judæa under Roman Procurators—Pseudo-Christs—Contests between Galileans and Samaritans—Position of the Jews at Rome—Religious Excitement at Jerusalem—Procuratorship of Antonius Felix—Terrorism of the Secret Assassins—Military Operations against the Armed Banditti—Character of Felix—Herod Agrippa II. acts as a Spy upon the Jews—Symptoms of growing Discontent—Prophecies of Jesus, the Son of Ananus—Strange Portents—Arrival of Gessius Florus—Capitulation of a Roman Detachment in Jerusalem—Defeat of Cestius Gallus by the Jews—Failure of his Attack on the City—Brief Career of Manahem—Sanguinary Tumults between the Jews and Greeks at Cæsarea—The Command in Judæa conferred by Nero on Vespasian—Preparations of the Jews for Resistance—Josephus the Historian, and his Motives during the War—His Command in Galilee, and Defence of Jotapata—Capture of the City—Flight and Surrender of Josephus—His Subsequent Career—Reduction of Galilee—Ferocity of the Romans—Movement among the Samaritans—Second Campaign of Vespasian—Massacre and Devastation—The Command transferred to Titus—State of Jerusalem while awaiting the Siege—Excesses of the Zealots—The Moderate Party Crushed by a Revolutionary Movement—Civil War amongst the Factions—The Defences of Jerusalem—Appearance of Titus before the Walls—Commencement of the Siege—Prolonged and Desperate Resistance—Sufferings of the Jews—Titus Master of the Lower City—Horrors of the Famine—Appeal of Titus to the People of the Upper City—The Temple Attacked, Taken, and Burned—Defence of the remaining Positions—Capture and Destruction of the Upper City by the Romans—Terrible Vengeance on the Jewish Nationality.

JUDÆA, which had again been placed under Roman Procurators on the death of Herod Agrippa I., in 44 A.D., now once more demands our attention. During the period of the former annexation, the treatment of the people had been fair and liberal; but, unfortunately, a different spirit now prevailed. A number of less scrupulous officials governed the land, and discontent was speedily engendered. The commonalty readily accepted the guidance of enthusiastic or fanatical leaders, and committed

excesses from which their own countrymen suffered. Several of these chieftains called themselves Christs, and professed to have been elected and anointed by Jehovah; but to the Romans they were simply brigands, and as public enemies were hunted down and slain. The existence of such pretenders is a curious fact, whatever the precise nature of their pretence. They are called false Christs in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and also by the Fathers of the Church, but in Josephus appear as "false prophets." Probably their religious professions were merely incidental to their political designs; but in any case they effected little. Nevertheless, the spirit of revolt was not laid, and about 50 A.D. the populace of Jerusalem itself rose in insurrection, when the Roman soldiers slew many in the streets during the Passover. It cannot be denied that the representatives of Cæsar had an onerous task in governing the late kingdom of the Herods. The Galileans and the Samaritans were constantly at feud, with the connivance, it would seem, of their respective Procurators, and savage conflicts occurred between them. On one occasion, the Romans took part with the latter against the former; but this only inflamed the animosity of the Jews. The antagonism of Galileans and Samaritans was at length put down by Quadratus, the Prefect of Syria, who in 52 brought a large military force to bear on the disputants, and acted with great severity. A period of comparative tranquillity ensued; but false prophets still arose, and the desire for independence yet survived.

Herod Agrippa I. had obtained from the Emperor Claudius (whose power, as we have seen, he helped to secure) an edict of toleration for the Jews throughout the Empire; and this was enforced against the people of Dora, a city of Palestine, when they insulted the synagogue. The Hebrew settlers in Rome had previously been persecuted and expelled by Tiberius; and they were again driven forth in 52 A.D., a little before the end of Claudius's reign. By the Greeks and Romans alike, these strange Asiatics were regarded as an intractable, turbulent horde, haters of the human race, and professors of a melancholy superstition which divided them from all other nations. It must be confessed that they have seldom had the art of making themselves beloved by the communities amongst which they have settled. In the western division of the Parthian Empire, they made open war on the satraps of Babylonia, at the time when Caligula was reigning on the Tiber; fought with the Syrians against the Greeks until both, combining against them, crushed their forces; and ultimately seized on the cities of Nearda and Nisibis, where they maintained themselves in a position of almost complete independence. At Rome (where, after the death of Claudius, they had once more been tolerated), they were particularly condemned for insubordination and licentiousness; while their spiritual pride and austere isolation were especially distasteful to men imbued with the spirit of a philosophical eclecticism. Coincident with this distrust of the Jews by the Romans, was the detestation of the Romans by the Jews. Jerusalem throbbed with religious excitement and national aspiration during the reign of Nero, and every movement of the Parthians against the Empire was hailed by the people with the warmest sympathy. The Roman general Corbulo had some trouble to hold them in check; but, on the union of the Eastern provinces under his vigorous command, so great an effect was produced that it continued even after his death.

Nevertheless, the Hebrews of Jerusalem cherished their hopes in secret; and during the Procuratorship of Antonius Felix—a freedman of the Emperor Claudius, and brother of the favourite Pallas—the Zealots, as the partisans of independence were called, established a system of terrorism and assassination, the agents of which met in secret, under oath, and chose the victims who were to be slain. In our own times we are familiar with such an organisation, and understand what a responsibility it casts on the defenders of public order. The persons denounced in Jerusalem were murdered on the occasion of festivals. Even the steps of the Temple were not considered too sacred a place for the commission of these crimes; and it is said that escape was impossible. Felix, who probably held power in Judæa from 54 to about 62 of our era, was much occupied in endeavouring to repress this atrocious conspiracy.* Several of the assassins were executed, and the pseudo-Christs were crucified in large numbers. One of them, an Egyptian Jew, commanded 4,000 robbers and murderers in the wilderness; but the disorderly body was attacked by Felix on the Mount of Olives, and slain or put to flight. At Cæsarea, many of the Jewish population, who were continually at issue with the Syrian Greeks of the city, and who appear to have acted with their usual haughtiness

* According to Josephus ("Antiquities of the Jews," XX. 8, 5), Felix himself gave rise to the assassinations by suborning a number of villains to murder the High Priest Jonathan, against whom he had an ill-feeling. But it is noticeable that the Jewish historian, when relating the same facts in his "Wars of the Jews" (II. 13, 3), says not a word about Felix in connection with the matter, though mentioning his name a little before.—The events of this period are confused, and the chronological sequence is far from clear.

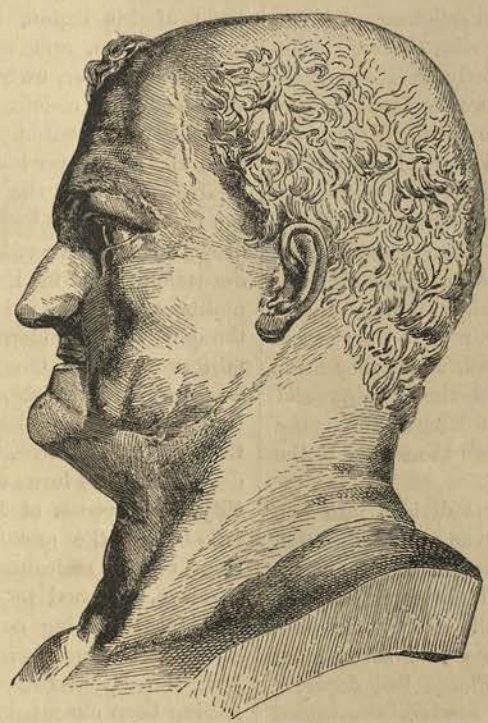
and insubordination, were killed by the Roman troops on their refusing to desist from violence. The Procurator was doubtless a stern and peremptory man; but the state of Judæa demanded exceptional treatment. As a persecutor of Paul, Felix bears an evil name in the Acts of the Apostles, and his private life was stained with licentiousness; yet, when he was recalled to Rome, and charged by the Jews with malpractices, his accusers were unable to obtain his disgrace, though, as his brother Pallas had for some time lost the favour of Nero, he could have found no help in that direction.

RUINS OF THE COLOSSEUM, FROM THE PALATINE.

The crimes of the assassins broke out again, in 62, under Porcius Festus, the successor of Felix, but were once more held in check by timely and vigorous measures. A new impostor, who led a host of men into the wilderness, was destroyed together with his followers; but troubles of a different kind speedily arose. Herod Agrippa II.—who, while reigning as Tetrarch in Northern Peræa, had been permitted by the Romans to occupy a sacerdotal position in Jerusalem—acted as a spy on the patriots, whose doings in the Temple he could observe from the upper rooms of his palace. The priests accordingly heightened one of the walls, so as to shut out his view; and when both Herod Agrippa and Festus required the demolition of the extra work, a deputation from the Jews, headed by the High Priest Hilkiah, went to Rome to appeal against the order. The mission was successful; but, during the absence of Hilkiah, Agrippa conferred his office on two other priests in succession. The second of these was Annas the younger, a Sadducean, and an opponent of the Christians; but his animosity was restrained by Festus, whose rule, though strict, was characterised by moderation. The latter died in 64, after a rather brief tenure of office, and was succeeded by Albinus, who is accused by Josephus of acting with rapacious tyranny, while the factions of rival High Priests kept the whole city in a state of turmoil. Herod's Temple was completed about this time, and the discharge of 18,000 workmen added industrial to religious complications. Agrippa, perceiving that a season of danger was at hand, enlarged Cæsarea Philippi as a place of retreat in case of the worst; built a magnificent theatre at Berytus, in Phœnicia; and opened at the latter city a splendid gallery of statues and copies from the antique. Before leaving, he appointed Matthias, the last legitimate High Priest of Jerusalem.

Another change in the Procuratorship took place about 65, when Gessius Florus arrived in Judæa as the successor of Albinus. He found the city in extreme agitation, consequent on the social disturbances already mentioned, and on the ravings of an enthusiast named Jesus, the son of Ananus who, at a feast in the Temple, began suddenly to cry out, "A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice from Jerusalem, and against the Temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people!" Such, at least, is the statement of Josephus,* who adds that, for several years preceding the great siege by Titus, this man went about Jerusalem by day and night, repeating the same words; that, although scourged with terrible severity, he still uttered his doleful cry; that when asked his reason for doing so, he gave no answer; that he received blows and food with equal impassibility, but continued to exclaim, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" year after year in all the streets and lanes. The legend is rendered more striking by the conclusion, which is to the effect that, as the prophet was going round the walls of the city during the siege, with the accustomed words upon his lips, he suddenly exclaimed, "Woe, woe to myself also!" and was immediately struck dead by a stone from one of the Roman engines.

The son of Ananus was filling all Jerusalem with vague apprehension when Florus reached the seat of his government. Other prodigies were soon reported by the credulous and the timid. It was said that while the people were assembled, during the night, at the feast of unleavened bread, a sudden light, of extraordinary brilliance, shone round the altar and the Temple, and continued for about half an hour; that the inner gate on the eastern side of the edifice—a brazen gate of immense weight, strongly bolted—suddenly burst open without any apparent cause; that a few days after, a little before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens careering round the city; and that the priests on duty in the Temple at night, in the season of Pentecost, heard a movement and a noise, and presently a voice as of a great host, saying, "Let us depart!" A comet, having the appearance of a scimitar, flamed in the heavens, and it is reported that this continued a whole year. The general agitation was increased by the prevalent belief of the Christians that the second coming of the Messiah,



VESPASIAN.

* Wars of the Jews, Book VI., chap. 5, sect. 3.

and the end of the world, were close at hand. Nothing, therefore, could be more unfortunate than the circumstances under which Florus began his administration. Josephus accuses him of being even more despotic and extortionate than Albinus; of making extravagant demands upon the Temple treasury, despoiling whole cities, encouraging the robbers for the sake of sharing their booty, insulting the religion of the people, and, in revenge for their remonstrances, ordering a general massacre, in which women and infants were slain as well as men.* But statements coloured by national feeling and religious sensitiveness are always to be received with caution. The city was still in a most disorderly state—so much so, indeed, that the Romans were implored by the priesthood and the nobility to occupy Jerusalem with a military force, which they had usually refrained from doing, out of deference to the old Jewish sentiment. Florus accordingly brought a detachment from Cæsarea, to take possession of the city, and restrain the anarchists. The soldiers, however, were fiercely attacked, and found themselves in a position of great peril. They were forced to retire into the citadel, which they held, together with the palace and the heights and towers of the Upper City on Mount Zion: the Lower City and the Temple were abandoned to the populace.

The Jewish capital was thus divided into two camps, and a conflict of seven days' duration ensued. It ended in the reduction of the citadel, the burning of the palace, and the capitulation of the small Roman force, all of whom were treacherously slain, though they had surrendered on promise of their lives. Florus had departed previous to the outbreak, and matters now passed into the hands of Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, in which province Judæa was included. He at once saw the necessity of supporting his lieutenant with a powerful army; and, putting himself at the head of the Twelfth Legion, with six thousand men from other corps, and several thousand auxiliaries, he set out for Jerusalem in the late summer of 66. Herod Agrippa, who had left the city a little after the entrance of the Romans, was required to accompany the expedition. Everything seemed to promise success; but the Jews poured forth from Jerusalem and the neighbouring towns in great numbers, and the Romans were repulsed with the loss of five hundred men. After remaining within his entrenched camp for three days, Gallus again advanced towards Jerusalem, and, at the suggestion of Agrippa, offered terms of accommodation. His envoys were received with a shower of arrows. Gallus then led his troops to the gates, in the hope of taking the city by assault, and the Jews, retiring into the Temple, abandoned the suburb of Bezetha to the enemy, by whom it was burnt. The attacks of Gallus on the northern wall of the Temple were, however, repelled, and, finding that the Jewish population generally was rising all around, he fled into Syria, harassed in flank and rear by the insurgents, and leaving behind him the eagle of his legion, many engines of war, five thousand men, and several officers. He died a few months later, owing, probably, to mortification at so crushing a defeat by enemies whom he had regarded with contempt. His chagrin would have been all the greater had he known what is asserted by Josephus, that the moderate politicians were on the point of surrendering the city when he suddenly drew off his forces. The Romanising party in Jerusalem was in itself not inconsiderable in numbers, and was strengthened by many who thought it imprudent to provoke so great a military power. On the other hand, the Zealots were multitudinous, and for a time they had a leader who seemed likely to give concentration to their scattered forces. A little before the Roman detachment of Florus was beleaguered in the Upper City, the fortress of Massada, near the Dead Sea, fell before the assault of Manahem, a popular chief of the malcontents, who, having slain the garrison, marched to Jerusalem while the Romans were still holding out in their fortified position. For a little time his influence seemed all-powerful; but, the High Priest Ananias and his brother having been executed, apparently by his order, the populace withdrew from him the confidence they had previously shown. On his assuming the royal diadem, he was slain by the partizans of Eleazar, the son of Ananias.

The situation was undoubtedly very menacing for the Romans all over the East. At Cæsarea, the Greeks and Jews were at mortal issue, and the controlling authority of Rome was equally set at naught by both. A recent decree of Nero having assigned the magistracy to the Greeks, the Jews were insulted and attacked by the people of Hellenic origin. On the same day that the Romans who capitulated at Jerusalem were massacred by the Zealots, the Jews of Cæsarea were slaughtered by the Greeks, to the number of 20,000. Similar massacres occurred in other cities, and, at Alexandria, Tiberius Alexander, himself a Jew by race, though occupying office as a Roman Governor, slew

* Wars of the Jews, Book II., chap. 14.

50,000 Hebrews, whose turbulence he had in vain endeavoured to subdue by persuasion. The Jewish character is distinguished by a saturnine and fierce intensity, which at times of excitement makes the race extremely difficult to handle. In the events just recorded, the people of Judæa had worsted a powerful Roman army, and established something like a state of independence; but it was not to be expected that the greatest Empire in the world would permanently give way before a passionate rising of half-mad enthusiasts. The defeat of Gallus occurred about the beginning of October, 66, and the news soon afterwards reached Nero in Greece, where, as the reader knows, he was amusing himself with his lyrical and other follies. He had sense enough, however, to see that the crisis must be met with energy, and he conferred the command on Vespasian, afterwards one of his successors in the Principate.

Vespasian was the best officer in the Roman army, and he acted with the promptitude which events demanded. He at once proceeded by land into Syria, collecting troops and engines of war wherever he could obtain them, and at the same time despatched his son Titus by sea to Alexandria, whence he was to conduct the Fifteenth Legion to the seat of hostilities. A large force was ready by the spring of 67, and concentrated at Ptolemais, the modern Acre—a town situated on the coast of Phœnicia, and therefore offering facilities for military operations against either Judæa or Galilee. The interval of six months, which had elapsed since the retreat of Gallus, was employed by the Jews in organising their forces. The people of Jerusalem were still divided into the two factions of the Zealots and the Herodians; yet, although the latter were not indisposed to pay a certain deference to Rome, as the only means of restoring the native monarchy, all were determined to resist an attack upon the Holy City. The chief commands were in the hands of the Herodians; but the popular enthusiasm doubtless proceeded in the main from the other and more patriotic party. The Sanhedrim was converted into a council of war, and Palestine was divided into seven military districts, besides the capital itself, which formed an eighth. The supreme executive power in Jerusalem was shared by the High Priest Annas, or Ananus, a Herodian, with Simon, the son of Garion, one of the Zealots. Eleazar had command of the Temple—a position which placed in his hands the military chest taken in the flight of Gallus.

Impressed with the necessity of caution, Vespasian determined to make his first attack on the outlying district of Galilee, where the command of the Jewish forces had been bestowed by the Sanhedrim on Josephus. The future historian was then about thirty years of age; a man of ancient and priestly family, and remarkable even at that time for his comprehensive learning and acquirements. When a youth of sixteen, he had lived in the desert with an Essene saint named Banus, whose ascetic discipline he underwent for three years. Afterwards he became a Pharisee, and at twenty-six went to Rome, where he enjoyed the patronage of Poppæa Sabina, the wife of Nero, and conceived so high an idea of Imperial power as to become a convert to the Roman domination. Had his views been fully known to the Sanhedrim, it is probable that he would not have received his appointment to the command of Galilee. Nevertheless, we are hardly justified in saying that he acted the part of a traitor in his management of that post. His conduct is, indeed, open to suspicion on several grounds; but it is not unlikely that he really desired to prevent the subjugation of his country by the Romans, though willing to effect some kind of compromise as a means of warding off the evils which ultimately ensued, and that he gave in his submission only when he found that fortune had declared against him. The most serious evidence to his detriment is that which he himself has set down in his autobiography; but the statements in that work are largely at variance with those which he made in his "History of the Jewish Wars," written at a much earlier period, and therefore, perhaps, more likely to reflect the truth as to events which had then but recently occurred.

Although Judæa and the allied provinces formed but a small country, the resources of the people were far from inconsiderable. The population was large, considering the area which it occupied, and at all times the Jewish race has been courageous and warlike. The national feeling was now roused to the utmost. Every man capable of bearing arms received the means of defending his country, and the women vied with their husbands in devotion to the common cause. Josephus lost no time in putting Galilee into a position of defence; but his measures were greatly hampered by the extravagant proposals of the Zealots, headed by John of Giscala, a man of great power and influence, but one whom Josephus describes as a robber, a desperado, and an assassin. This man, he says, misrepresented his actions, plotted against his life, tampered with the loyalty of the people, and did his utmost to persuade the Council of War at Jerusalem to supersede him in his government. All such attempts were defeated by the unsleeping vigilance of Josephus, and the preparations for defence

went on with equal intelligence and spirit. The Governor of Galilee despaired of victory in the open field, and determined to make a stand behind the walls of Jotapata—a city built upon a precipice surrounded by valleys of immense depth and steepness, and to be approached only on the north side, where the mountain sloped towards the plain. This mountain Josephus encompassed with a wall, so that the enemy might not be able to possess himself of the summit. The city was covered on all sides by other mountains, and could not be seen until those approaching it were close at hand. The situation, therefore, was very strong, and Josephus seems to have acted wisely in selecting this place for the scene of his principal operations.

A demonstration against Jotapata, made by Placidus, one of the lieutenants of Vespasian, led to no result, and the chief commander then proceeded against it with the greater part of his forces. The defence was prolonged for forty-seven days, during which Josephus exhibited the highest abilities as a general in foiling the attacks of his adversary. At length, however, famine set in, and the city was taken by assault; but the siege had been distinguished by a series of desperate struggles, and the conquerors paid dearly for their ultimate success. Josephus alleges that the final attack was facilitated by information conveyed to the Roman general by a deserter. After fighting bravely at the head of his men, the Jewish Governor made his escape with thirty-nine of his comrades, and, according to his own account, took refuge in a cave. His hiding-place, however, was discovered by Vespasian, who sent a messenger to offer him his life. This he was disposed to accept; but his companions declared against any surrender, and resolved to kill themselves by mutual slaughter. Josephus, following a plan which had been suggested to him in a dream, persuaded his countrymen to draw lots in pairs, and fall on each other's swords. He himself and another formed the last pair, and both then determined on submission.

Such is the strange story which Josephus relates in his "History of the Jewish Wars." * It has a suspicious look of being fabricated, or at least greatly heightened to produce the desired effect. But it is certainly true that the historian escaped the general massacre at Jotapata, and that he was carried a prisoner to Vespasian. He was at first informed that he would be sent as a pledge of victory to Nero; but he contrived to evade a fate which would probably have been equivalent to his death, by cleverly working on the superstition of the Roman general, to whom he gave the prophetic assurance that he would one day attain the Imperial sovereignty. Instead of being sent to Rome, he was allowed to accompany his conqueror wherever he went, and, being afterwards admitted among the clients of Vespasian's family, adopted the names of Titus Flavius in honour of his patron. After the war, he received grants of land in Judæa, a yearly pension, and the Roman franchise. His reputation undoubtedly suffers by these facts; but the reality of his defence of Jotapata cannot fairly be questioned, though it must be borne in mind that we have no other account than his. The siege appears to have been one of the most desperate of the ancient world; and it was probably not until he saw the hopelessness of further resistance that Josephus considered how he could make the best terms for himself. A man of higher nature would have perished, rather than submit to such ignominy; but the future historian started with a strong conviction that the power of Rome was invincible, and this may have affected his final resolve, without his being actually a traitor to his country and his race.

While still in possession of power, Josephus had fortified many places in Galilee besides Jotapata, and, finding the banditti of the country too strong for repression, had drafted them into the army. One of the most important of the Galilean cities was Sepphoris, sometimes regarded as the capital of the province. The command of this position was entrusted to John of Giscala; but the success of the Romans at Jotapata so discouraged the Galileans that in a little while their resistance was confined to the small city of Giscala, to which John transferred himself. Two of Vespasian's legions were advanced to Scythopolis, in the southern part of Galilee, thus cutting off the communication between that province and Judæa. The only maritime place now remaining to the Jews was Joppa, where they had a naval force for interrupting the Roman supplies. But when a detachment of Vespasian's army appeared before the walls, the place surrendered, and the people took to their ships, which were afterwards dashed to pieces on the shore by a great storm. The town was then destroyed, and a garrison established among its ruins. At the taking of many of the cities, the Romans disgraced themselves by frightful barbarity, several of the prisoners being slaughtered, others sold for slaves, and others again sent to toil at public works. It is probable that equal cruelties were committed on the other side, for the war was one of mutual hate, and the object

* Book III., chap. 8.

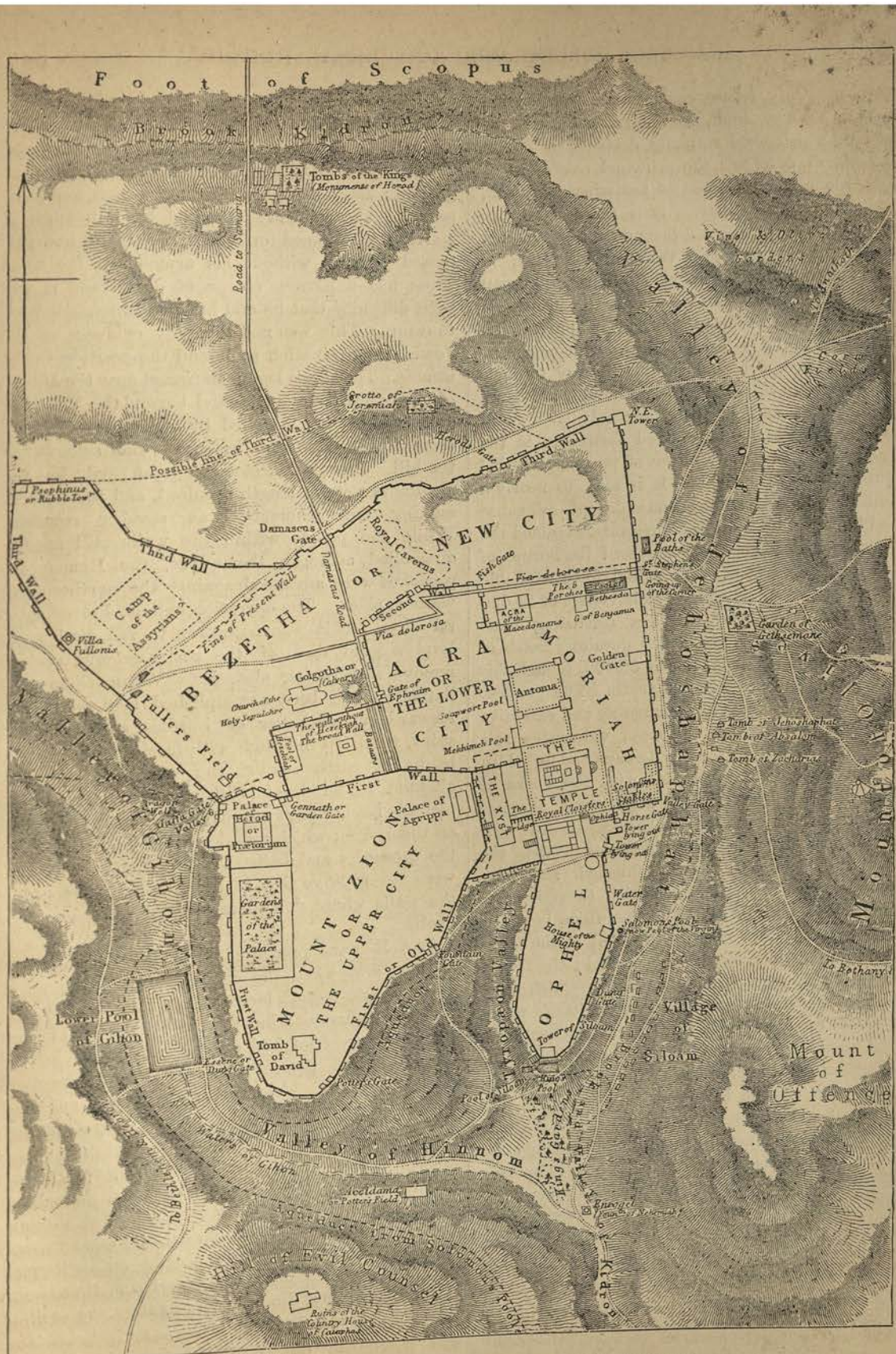
of each combatant seemed to be the absolute destruction of the other. The whole territory of the Jews, despite its several divisions, was now united in patriotic opposition to the Romans. Even the people of Samaria joined with their ancient enemies in opposing the invaders. A large body of armed Samaritans assembled on Mount Gerizim, with the intention of joining the insurgents, but were attacked by Petellius Cerealis, the commander of the Ninth Legion, and, refusing to surrender, perished to the number of nearly 12,000.

The second campaign of Vespasian began in 68, when the Roman commander crossed the Jordan, and appeared before Gadara, situated on the eastern bank of that river. This city at once opened its gates, and Vespasian returned to Cæsarea, which he had made his headquarters since the fall of Jotapata, leaving two of his lieutenants to complete the reduction of Peræa. The Peræans endeavoured to cross into Judæa by the ford of Jericho; but the river was swollen, and the fugitives, turning back upon their pursuers, were slain in heaps. It is said that even the Dead Sea was choked by the bodies carried into it; and all prospect of resistance in that direction was at an end. Vespasian was equally active, and, wherever he went, wasted the fields, destroyed the towns, and slew all who ventured to resist. He likewise placed garrisons in the fortresses, and, advancing from Cæsarea along the maritime plain, extended his power as far as Idumæa in the south. It was at this juncture that news reached Judæa of the death of Nero. The continual revolutions at the capital, combined, perhaps, with some recollection of the flattering prophecy uttered by Josephus, induced Vespasian shortly afterwards to suspend his military operations, considering that he might at any moment be recalled to Rome as Imperator. He had many adherents in the East, and, on the 1st of July, 69, as already related, he succeeded to the purple, so far, at least, as the acclamations of his soldiers could invest him with that honour. The command in Palestine was now transferred by Vespasian to his son Titus, and the capture of Jerusalem was the exploit of the younger general.

All this time, the people of Jerusalem were preparing for the attack which they knew could not be very long delayed. The principal authority was Ananus the High Priest; but his efforts were to some extent frustrated by the rivalries of the factions. In the opinion of many, the wisest plan would have been to sally forth from the city, and attack the Romans in detail—an operation which would doubtless have been carried forward by a great wave of popular enthusiasm, though it could hardly have been attended by any permanent success. More cautious ideas, however, prevailed over these passionate schemes, and it was determined to defend Jerusalem from behind the walls. Fugitives from other cities crowded into the chosen spot, and increased the confusion which already existed. Amongst the refugees were John of Giscala and his adherents, who had escaped from the last Galilean fortress that fell before the enemy. His exhortations encouraged the party of resistance, and induced them to suppose that the Romans were exhausted by their operations against the northern cities. The Zealots became more extravagant than ever. Purchasing the services of large bands of robbers and assassins who had recently sought protection in Jerusalem, they commenced a series of revolutionary movements, attended by massacre and terrorism. After taking the lives of several whom they accused of being concerned in a Roman plot, the insurgents assembled in the Temple to choose a High Priest by election, and the dignity was conferred upon a person of humble birth and vulgar manners. Ananus, who had for a time been cowed into submission, now appealed to the people against what many regarded as an act of sacrilege. The result was a war within the unhappy city itself, at the very moment when Judæa was lying beneath the feet of the Romans, and the capital was threatened with attack. The camp of the Zealots was within the actual walls of the Temple, and it was no easy matter to dislodge them. John of Giscala offered to interpose as a mediator: the revolutionists distrusted his sincerity, and appealed for assistance to a body of 20,000 Idumæan brigands. Ananus closed the gates against these ruffians, but they effected an entrance one stormy night, when the portals were left unguarded. The soldiers about the Temple were immediately massacred; the High Priest was put to death, and his naked body thrown forth to the dogs and vultures; on the following morning, 8,500 corpses were dragged from out the precincts of the sacred edifice; and the triumph of the Zealots was quickly followed by a still more extensive massacre, and by sentences which professed to be judicial. The iniquities of these men were carried to so wild an extreme that even the Idumæans, whom they had called in to their assistance, quitted the city in disgust. One of the victims—a certain Niger of Peræa—died invoking the Romans to avenge him; and in truth matters had come to such a pass that even subjugation by a foreign enemy was preferable to the daily terrorism of unscrupulous fanatics.

The moderate party was now completely crushed; but unity was not the more established. Having gained the upper hand, the demagogues, as usual, quarrelled among themselves, and split up into three factions, possessing nothing in common but the violence and ferocity which instigated all their deeds. The Temple remained in the grasp of Eleazar; John of Giscala, at the head of his Galilean refugees, struck terror into the Lower City; while, beyond the walls, a number of ruffians, commanded by Simon the son of Gioras, committed unrestrained cruelties on those who fell into their hands. Ultimately, Simon was admitted into the city, and took up a position on Zion, from which he menaced the two other factions, who in turn threatened him and one another. It was a veritable civil war, and one of which it is difficult to assign the object—a war of madmen, who ought to have combined against the danger by which all were to be speedily overwhelmed. The engines left by Cestius Gallus in his flight were used by the disputants against one another, and the missiles constantly interchanged killed the priests and the worshippers as they knelt within the courts of the Temple. Yet the Zealots boasted that they had secured the independence of Jerusalem, and the prosperity of the whole Jewish race. They even exhorted their brethren in other lands to make common cause with themselves, and announced with confidence that out of this sea of agony and carnage the greatness of the nation would arise once more in renewed youth and vigour. The unsettled state of affairs at Rome, consequent on the death of Nero, afforded the Jews a breathing space, which, had they been possessed of a reasonable patriotism, they might have turned to good

THE TOWER OF ANTONIA, JERUSALEM.



PLAN OF JERUSALEM IN THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURY.

account. Only failure could result to a nation divided against itself, and torn to pieces by factions which were mutually destructive. John and Simon were now the principal chieftains, as the former had contrived to assassinate Eleazar, and suppress his party. Still there were two competitors for power, and their dissensions did not cease until the approach of the common enemy.

It was in the early part of 70 that Titus began to collect his forces at Cæsarea for the attack on Jerusalem. The delay, instead of proving an advantage to the besieged, as by wise management it might have done, added incalculably to their misfortunes in the result. Large numbers of Jews, beginning to consider that their holy city would not be attacked at all, entered Jerusalem at the Passover, so that the number of persons crowded within its walls amounted, it is said, to nearly a million. For these strangers no sufficient sustenance had been laid up, and their presence magnified the difficulties of defence, and increased the horrors of the final catastrophe. The actual force available for resistance seems to have fallen short of 24,000 men, while the army of Titus (including some Asiatic contingents, and a few desultory bands of Arabs) amounted, it is said, to 80,000, though this is probably in excess of the truth. The greatest hope of the Jews was in their strong and extensive fortifications; but on the most vulnerable side these were defective, for the Romans had forbidden Herod Agrippa I. to proceed with the works he had begun. The original design was to some extent carried out by the Sanhedrim after the commencement of the insurrection; but the structures had been hastily finished, and were doubtless not in the best condition for resisting a powerful attack. Within the outer lines, however, were several places of strength—such as the castle of Antonia, which formed the citadel; the towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which were distinct fortresses; and the Temple itself, which could be easily defended from its massive walls.

Advancing from the north, Titus pitched his camp on the high range called Scopus, from which the city he had come to attack was first apparent to his eyes. No time was lost in planting the legions wherever they could best command the walls, or intercept retreat; but the preliminary dispositions were not effected without some fierce combats with the Jews forming the external guard of the capital. These collisions resulted in the uniform discomfiture of the defenders, who at length retired behind the fortifications, when the Romans stood unmolested within the sacred space around the city. Titus proceeded with caution and judgment, for a very slight observation of Jerusalem assured him that it was a place not readily to be conquered. On the 13th of April, 70, he advanced in person, with six hundred horse, to reconnoitre the ground; and although at first not a man was to be seen, he was suddenly attacked by a number of warriors who issued forth from a gate he had just passed. Being without his armour at the time, Titus had a narrow escape of death, and it was with difficulty that he and his companions got back to camp. This was not the only evidence of the Jewish determination to defend the position to the utmost. The single legion stationed near the Mount of Olives, east of the city, and beyond the Valley of Jehoshaphat, was attacked by a large force, which pressed the Romans back to the summit of the hill. Titus again stood in great peril; but the assailants were at length repulsed, and the work of making entrenchments was steadily resumed. While the people within the walls still angrily quarrelled amongst themselves, the Roman approaches were advanced against the northern and western sides. The operation extended over several days, for it was necessary to fell timber, to level a good deal of the rocky ground, and to remove intervening obstacles. When these preliminaries had been accomplished, men were sent forward, under cover of hurdles and extended skins, to fill up the ditch with fascines, and to pile banks of earth against the walls, of sufficient altitude to be level with the ramparts. The mounds having been completed, towers were reared on them, from which missiles could be projected by the catapults and balistæ. Three of the towers were seventy-five feet in height, thus overtopping the walls whose defenders they were designed to quell.

The Romans proceeded with their accustomed vigour; and when the engines on the Mount of Olives began to cast large stones into the city, the besieged understood but too plainly that the period of their fiery trial had commenced. The balistæ effected great damage, and the Jews resolved to destroy them. A desperate sally was executed by the garrison, who, penetrating to the camp of the Romans, burnt their munitions of war. The assailants now resorted to the battering-ram, at the same time excavating mines beneath the walls. These were speedily countermined, and the antagonists, meeting in the darkness, waged furious strife where it was scarcely possible to distinguish friend from foe. Wild bears, and sometimes bees, were sent against the besiegers as they were toiling through the narrow galleries; and it became evident that neither by escalade from above, nor by

subterranean works from below, could the city be taken. The wall, however, began to show signs of yielding before the incessant concussions of the battering-rams, and to this operation the Romans confined themselves for the present. Frequent sorties were made from the city; stones, darts, scalding water, and boiling oil, were poured down on the assailants; but, as they worked under cover, the amount of injury was not considerable. At length the wall fell down, and the Romans secured a position within the outer line of defence, on the north-western side of Jerusalem. They were now in full possession of the new city, called Bezetha, which had been built by Herod Agrippa I., and included what is popularly known as Mount Calvary, the reputed scene of the Crucifixion. The houses in Bezetha were levelled, and a new camp was established on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians.

Before this success was attained, Titus had sent Josephus to the gates, to offer honourable terms, and to advise submission. But the dominant parties in the city were now so thoroughly united in their determination to resist the heathen invader, that the renegade Jew, as many of his countrymen considered him, was driven off with bowshots. So far, the Romans had been triumphant; but another wall rose before them, and beyond that a third—the walls of the Lower and of the Upper City. Titus now determined to subdue Jerusalem by a blockade, and to inflict upon it the utmost severity of famine, if the obstinacy of its defenders still continued. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the city at a distance of about two furlongs—a work of extraordinary labour, considering that it was finished in three days. At the same time, the besiegers pressed their attack upon the second wall, and drove back into the city all who endeavoured to escape, or suspended them on crosses with every mark of ignominy. The war had entered the stage of mutual exasperation and fury; but Dion Cassius asserts, on behalf of the Romans, that fugitives from Jerusalem had poisoned their water, and killed their stragglers. A sense of dejection fell on the besiegers; many of them deserted, and some took refuge with the besieged. The reaction against this feeling was likely to take the form of barbarous rage, and the stern Romans never hesitated where an enemy was to be vanquished. The terrible grip of famine soon began to close upon the doomed city; but the military leaders and their fighting men refused to listen to the petitions of those who, for the sake of food and safety, would have yielded all to the invaders. It is said that, shortly before the commencement of the siege, a small body of Christians, who had exercised their religion in the Jewish capital—not without some lingering associations with the older faith—departed from Jerusalem, and even from Judæa itself, and, crossing the Jordan, entered the country called the Decapolis, or region of the ten cities.* But their numbers were so few as to make little difference in the resources of the beleaguered capital.

After breaking through the second wall of defence (that of the Lower City), Titus found himself in the valley lying between the two main hills of Jerusalem—a valley occupied by narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets and the poorer habitations. In these lanes, a succession of desperate fights continued during four days, when the Romans suffered severely, and were at one time driven back. The besiegers were now before the walls of the fortress Antonia, which lay to the north-west of the Temple. Finding his troops exhausted by their previous exertions, Titus granted them a few days' repose, and held a grand review of his forces on the ground north of the Temple, in full view of the Upper City, every house in which was crowded with spectators. He considered that this demonstration might possibly bring the besieged to reason, and induce them to surrender their city; but it had no such effect, nor were the renewed exhortations of Josephus more successful than those which he had addressed to his countrymen on a former occasion. The dearth within the city had reached an extreme point, and frightful stories are told of the struggle for food, and of the acts of infanticide which even mothers committed in the extremity of their sufferings. The Zealots nevertheless continued to insist that Jerusalem should still hold out, and declared that the Messiah was near at hand, who would deliver them from the grasp of their enemies, and make them leaders and princes of the world. The energy of the defence, however, was met by an equal energy of attack. The Romans resorted once more to their embankments, their mines, and their batteries; and although the defenders overthrew their works as often as they were erected, the citadel of Antonia was carried by surprise about the beginning of July, and preparations were then made for an attack upon the Temple. The Lower City was at the same time demolished; but large numbers of the population received their lives on submission. Titus seems to have been really desirous of sparing the Temple and the Upper City, if it could be done consistently

* The statement is that of Eusebius, in his "Ecclesiastical History," Book III., chap. 5.

with his main purpose of subduing the Jewish capital. He made offers of accommodation, and sent several of his captives to the gates of the Temple with instructions to adjure their countrymen to spare the shrine of Jehovah, and save themselves from extermination. "I call on my own and on your gods," he is reported by Josephus to have said,—"I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place, and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice." But these appeals were wholly ineffectual, and the prayers of the Jewish captives were answered by John of Giscala with a storm of missiles, which strewed the ground with corpses.

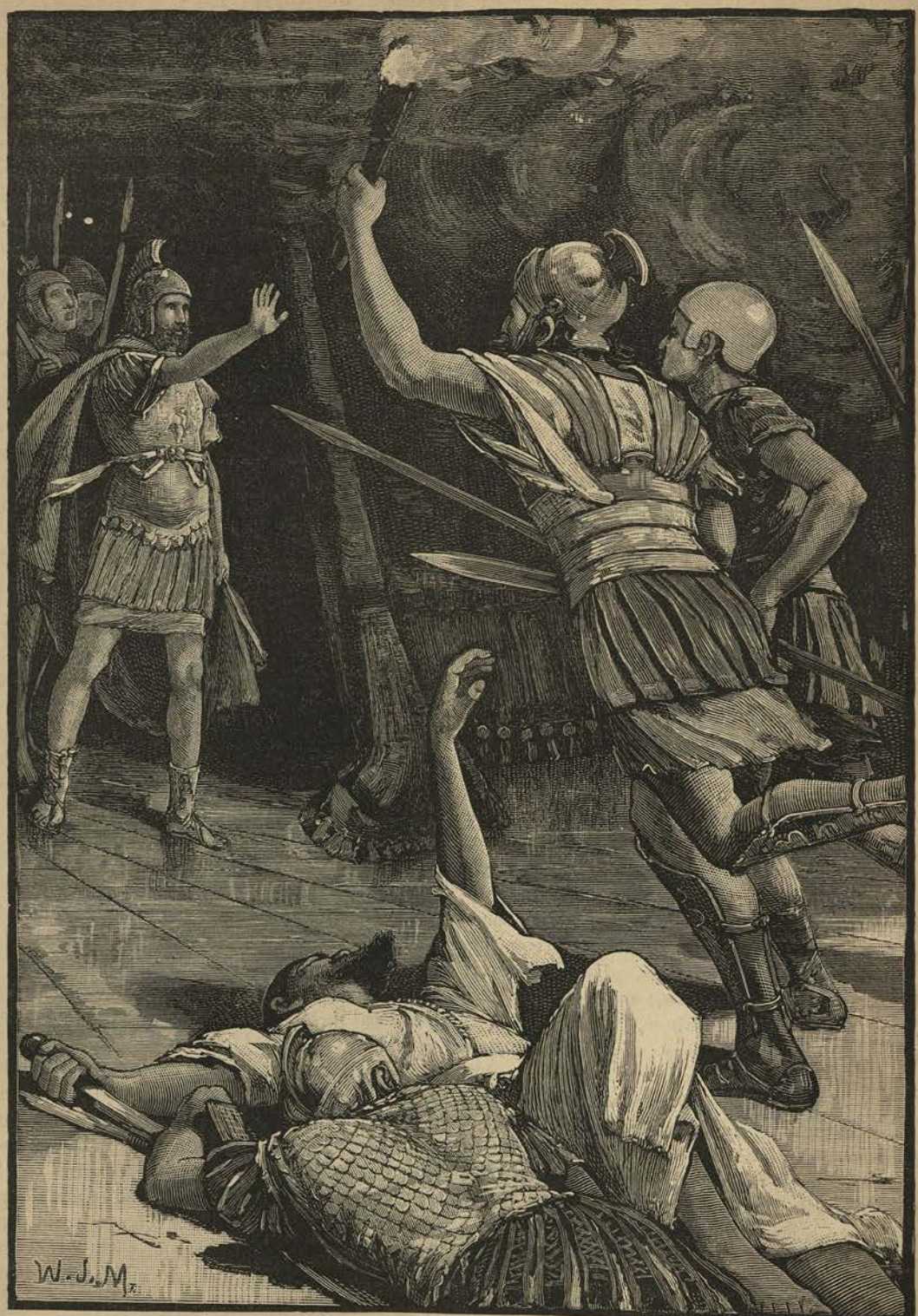
The siege had now lasted three months, and the final agony had yet to be endured. Titus commenced the necessary works for attacking the Temple, though, we may well believe, with a sad heart. At this juncture he was, indeed, showing more respect to that edifice than the fanatics themselves, who, according to Josephus, profaned the Holy of Holies with their presence, and polluted with bloody hands the golden vines and the golden table. When all was ready for the assault, Titus again expostulated with his opponents, and declared that he would save their holy place, even in their own despite. But nothing shook the stern resolution of the Zealots to fight out the desperate battle to its latest gasp. Their defence was magnificent in its stubborn courage and inexhaustible resource. The engines of the Romans were repeatedly destroyed by the besieged; numerous sallies were executed; some of the outworks were sacrificed; and on one occasion a large number of Romans, who had been permitted to obtain a lodgment in the western gallery of the outer court, found themselves surrounded by a fearful conflagration, which cut off many. In retaliation, the Romans burned the northern corridor, and in this way secured the court of the Gentiles. Shortly afterwards, the battering-rams were brought to bear upon the defences of the second court; but the difficulties of the attack were so enormous that, on the 8th of August, fire was applied to the great gates, which had defied all attempts to undermine them. John and Simon had by this time withdrawn into the Upper City; but the priests, the women, and the unarmed multitude, remained within the second enclosure of the Temple, and frantically encouraged one another by asserting that the flames were a barrier sent by God between his people and their assailants. The fire, however, made rapid progress, and hundreds of Jews perished in that which they had vainly declared to be their miraculous protection. The sanctuary was as yet untouched; and, although many of his officers exhorted him to destroy it, Titus was sincerely desirous of sparing the religious feelings of his enemies. He ordered the flames to be quenched; but, before this could be effected, the Jews burst from their inner stronghold in all the rage and madness of despair. They were driven back by a cavalry charge, and, as they were shutting the gates behind them, one of the Roman soldiers threw a firebrand into the sanctuary itself.

A fearful shriek rose from the crowd of Jews as the flames sprang up within the sacred enclosure, and, drawing their swords, they made ready for a renewed attack. Titus had retired a little before, in order to snatch a brief interval of repose and sleep; but, at the sound of this multitudinous clamour, he rushed to the scene of action. He implored his men to save the place they had conquered; he commanded, he gesticulated. But the soldiers were now entirely beyond control: his voice was unheard, his actions were unnoticed or disregarded. The gates were burst open; the walls were scaled; the opposing combatants were slain. So great was the excitement of the conquerors that many were borne down by their own comrades, and trodden to death. Blazing torches were flung into the inner parts of the edifice, and the work of carnage was continued with such frightful energy that the bodies of those who were killed about the altar were carried from the steps of the Temple by a river of blood. Totally unable to restrain his men, Titus forced his way through the flames into the Holy of Holies, where even the Jews were not permitted to go, with the single exception of the High Priest. It was still safe from the fire, and Titus at once rushed forth to stay the advance of his men ere it was yet too late. He exhorted them with words, and even sought to quell them with blows; but Roman discipline was at an end. Infuriated by their long and weary toils, transported with success, and excited by the prospect of gold and silver in abundance, and by the reputation which the Temple had long enjoyed of containing incalculable riches, the soldiers poured on without restraint. One who had advanced within the Veil applied a torch to the door, and completed the ruin which others had begun. With a sigh, Titus withdrew from the spot, and left the Temple to its fate.

The destruction of this famous edifice is said by the Jewish chronologers to have taken place in the same month, and on the same day, that its predecessor had been ruined by Nebuchadnezzar; but

the fact is not certain, and looks a little too dramatic to be probable. In any case, however, it is remarkable that so important a structure, devoted not to a military but a religious purpose, should have been twice destroyed by an invading force. But Jerusalem was not entirely won, for the Upper City still remained unconquered. Thither the greater number of the priests had retired; there also John and Simon stood at bay, determined to prolong the contest while they could strike a blow. For the present, Titus contented himself with planting his standards at the eastern gate of the ruined Temple, and offering sacrifices to the gods of Rome. The strength of the Upper City was so great that he hesitated to attack it, and therefore resorted once more to offers of conciliation. The bridge between the Temple and the city, crossing the ravine in which the poorer classes dwelt, had been broken down by the fugitives; but Josephus advanced to the chasm, and held parley with the Jewish chiefs on the other side. He was again dismissed with contempt, and Titus then came forward in person, but with no better result. Had the Zealots been at all disposed to submit, they would probably have been deterred by an incident which happened shortly before. Some priests, who had temporarily shrouded themselves in the ruins of the Temple, abandoned that position when pressed by hunger, and threw themselves on the mercy of the Roman general. They were executed with taunts, and the defenders of the Upper City feared that submission would bring them only disgrace and extermination. On their refusing the proffered terms, Titus at once took measures for razing the whole city to the ground. He might have spared himself the trouble of active operations, for the defenders were at issue with themselves, and given up to the wildest promptings of jealousy, despair, and rage. Hundreds were slain by their own chieftains; many surrendered to the enemy, from whom, in the greater number of instances, they received life and liberty. A Roman attack was repulsed; but resistance was hopeless from the first, as the garrison thought of nothing but rapine and impotent revenge. The blockade was so strict that it was impossible to obtain any sustenance from without; and famine did its work more effectually than Roman science or mutual slaughter.

At length it was determined to abandon the city, and make a frantic attempt to escape through the subterranean vaults, galleries, caves, and passages, which spread beneath the foundations of Jerusalem, and led by many devious ways into the valleys beyond. Headed by John and Simon, many of the citizens sought these gloomy places of refuge. At the same moment, the Romans burst into the city, where few remained to oppose them. All who would not submit were slaughtered, and the buildings were soon involved in flames. The fugitives discovered that, although the caves and passages might afford them a temporary concealment, they would in no way facilitate their deliverance. The exits could not be discovered, and want of food compelled the miserable creatures to emerge once more into daylight. John of Giscala, who was the first to surrender, was sent into honourable captivity in Italy. Simon, who seems to have been disliked both by the Romans and Josephus, was reserved for the triumph, and for death. Of the less important prisoners, some were spared; but the greater number were barbarously slain, or sold into slavery, or sent to work in the quarries of Egypt, or devoted to the inhuman contests of the arena. In the early part of September, 70, after a siege of about five months, all that remained of Jerusalem was destroyed, with the exception of Herod's three towers, and the west wall of the Upper City, which were left standing as a memorial of its site. Nevertheless, the massive substructions of Herod's Temple, and even the foundations of Solomon's, still remain, and during the last few years have formed the subject of interesting investigations by the Palestine Exploration Committee. It is said by Josephus (whose figures, however, are generally open to the gravest doubt) that 1,100,000 people perished in the great siege, and that the prisoners taken during the whole war were 97,000. The pillage of the city, notwithstanding that many of the Temple treasures were consumed in the flames, reached so extraordinary a value that the precious metals throughout Western Asia were seriously depreciated by this sudden influx. The soil of Judæa was sold by auction for the benefit of the Imperial treasury, and a small body of eight hundred Roman veterans, stationed at Emmaus, sufficed to keep the land in awe. The Jews were completely crushed in the very centre of their national and religious life, and thenceforward wandered restlessly over the known world, carrying with them the memory of their wrongs, and the principles of the faith to which they had so desperately clung.



ROMAN SOLDIERS FIRING THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

JOSEPHUS.

CHAPTER XLI.

TITUS AND DOMITIAN.

The Moral of the Jewish War—Conduct of Titus—Jewish Spoils taken to Rome—Further Struggles of the Race—Return of Titus to Italy—His Share in the Government of the Empire—Succession to the Purple on the Death of Vespasian—The Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii—Discovery of the Buried Cities in Modern Times—Fire and Pestilence at Rome—Failure of the Health of Titus—Amiability of his Character—Affection for Berenice—Death of Titus—His Benevolence as an Emperor—Strange Contradictions in the Character of Domitian—His Persecution of Offending Vestals—Measures for the Reform of Public Morals—Edicts against Astrologers and Philosophers, Sumptuary Laws, &c.—Prosperity of Britain—Firm Rule of Agricola—Invasion of Caledonia—Ancient Hibernia—Further Advance of Agricola into the North—Defeat of Galgacus, the Highland Chieftain—Explorations of the Roman Fleet in the Extreme North of Britain—Recall and Death of Agricola—Expedition of Domitian against the Chatti—Exhaustion of the Treasury, and Despotic Proscriptions—Invasion of Mœsia by Sarmatians and Dacians—Successes of Decebalus—Domitian on the Middle Danube—Conquest of the Nasamones—Persecution of the Jews—Revolt of Antonius Saturninus—Suspicion and Cruelty of Domitian—The Banquet of Death—Assassination of the Emperor.

HISTORY presents nothing more terrible than the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. Besides the horrors of the actual contest, the event involved the almost complete extinction, in its ancient home, of a great historic race—the annihilation of a city full of venerable memories, of a Temple the most famous among the religious edifices of the world. No one can forbear from sympathising with a community so sorely tried—so gallantly struggling to save itself from ruin; nor can the vengeance of the Romans pass without indignant condemnation. But when these feelings have received their just acknowledgment, it will still remain for observation that the misfortunes of the Jews were to a considerable extent due to themselves. The factious anarchy of the people preceded the tyranny of their

conquerors. It was the stern determination of the Romans to put down brigandage and murder —brigandage which even invaded the city, and murder which spared not the precincts of the Temple—that mainly incited the revolt. When at length the insurrection broke out, not even the common cause of patriotism, not even the unity of religious faith, could bind the malcontents together. They murdered one another before the Romans could touch them. Always inclined to mutual distrust and violent dissension, the Jews now slaughtered themselves in the face of the enemy. While scarcely needing such instruction, the enemy followed out his bloody lesson to the close. In the Jewish race we see the strange phenomenon of a people devoted to the idea of nationality, yet never able to preserve its independence.

The conduct of Titus throughout the siege, and at its close, was marked by a good deal of inconsistency. Sometimes it was ferocious beyond the ordinary limits of warlike cruelty even in those days; at other times, it was generous and considerate to an unusual degree. The latter feeling appears to have been the more permanent, for Titus was not naturally inhumane, though probably liable to gusts of passion, and too much under the influence of purely Roman ideas of predominance and dictation. When, shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, several Jews were burned to death at Antioch on a charge of plotting to set fire to the city, and when it seemed not unlikely that the bad example would extend to other parts of the Empire, Titus interposed with the remark, "The country of the Jews is destroyed; it would be hard to allow them no home to retreat to. Leave them in peace!" It is said that, on revisiting Jerusalem, he was touched with pity at the sight of so much devastation. The demolition had been carried out by one Terentius Rufus, during the absence of Titus on a tour through Syria. But, wherever the latter went, his eye encountered spectacles of misery. Gangs of captives blocked the roads, and acts of deliberate

THE ARCH OF TITUS, ROME.

cruelty were committed at Cæsarea Philippi and Berytus, where the birthdays of Domitian and Vespasian were celebrated by games in which hundreds of the prisoners were killed in gladiatorial combats, or in encounters with wild beasts. It should be recollected, however, that these massacres, atrocious as they were, formed part of the ordinary amusements of the Roman people.

When the Temple was taken by assault, the principal sacred vessels were carried off by the priests to the subterranean chambers, but were afterwards given up by some, who offered them as the price of their lives. The candlestick with seven branches, the golden table for the shewbread, the silver trumpets which announced the Year of Jubilee, the chest which contained the Book of the Law, and the vessel of incense, were taken by Titus to Italy, and borne before him in his triumph. Some years later, an arch was erected at Rome to commemorate the conquest of Jerusalem, and in the sculptures of this monument (which still remains) appear representations of the Jewish trophies, together with figures of captives, and an emblem of the victor's apotheosis. Even now, it is said, no Jew will walk beneath the Arch of Titus, or pass it with other than averted eyes. The medals of Vespasian are surrounded by the legend "Judæa Capta," and exhibit a figure of the national genius weeping beneath a palm-tree. But the fall of Jerusalem did not entirely destroy the spirit of the Jews. The fortresses of Machærus and Massada still resisted, though in vain. The former capitulated to save the life of a popular leader, named Eleazar, who had been seized by the Romans. In the case of the latter, the people immolated themselves rather than surrender: two women and five children, who had taken refuge in a cavern, were all whom the conquerors found alive when they entered the place. Disturbances were fomented in Egypt by some of the assassins who had fled from Judæa, and at Cyrene, on the edge of the Libyan Desert, by a man named Jonathan, who was burned alive at Rome, in 73, after 3,000 Jews had been put to death in Cyrenaica.

After the capture of the Temple, Titus was saluted Imperator by his troops, and, on a subsequent visit to Memphis, was so imprudent as to wear a diadem at some religious ceremonial. These facts were doubtless reported to his father; a rumour spread that he secretly aimed at making himself master of the East; and Vespasian recalled him from Judæa. Titus was adored by his soldiers, and they begged that he would either stay with them, or not venture back without them. But he refused to place himself in a position of antagonism to the Emperor, and, hastily returning in the summer of 71, presented himself unannounced in the palace, with the brief and soldier-like exclamation, "Here am I, father!" If Vespasian had previously felt any suspicion of his son, it was now entirely removed. He acknowledged his services with befitting honours, and admitted him to a share in the government of the Empire. Suetonius says he was allowed to write letters in the name of the Emperor, and even to draw up the Imperial edicts. Several high functions were successively conferred on him during the reign of Vespasian, and his power was almost equal to that of his parent. His character appears to have undergone some deterioration at this time, and he is accused of acting violently and corruptly on several occasions. Yet he is also said to have remonstrated with his father on some arbitrary measures of taxation which Vespasian had considered necessary for the repair of his exhausted finances; and it may be that both statements are true, for, as we have remarked, the character of the prince was full of contradictions. On the death of Vespasian, the 23rd of June, 79, he was quietly succeeded by Titus, who, whatever his personal faults, was so popular with the Romans as to be fondly called by them "the delight of the human race." That section of the human race which looked with eyes of passionate regret towards Jerusalem was certainly no partaker in this delight. But when the Romans talked of the human race, they meant only themselves; and it must be added that they were not the only nation which has been guilty of the same egotism.

The new Emperor had not succeeded to the purple more than two months, when a calamity occurred which seems as familiar to us at the present day as it did to the Romans at the time itself. This was the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which took place in August, 79. Vesuvius had doubtless the character of a volcano in remote ages; but for centuries it had been quiescent, and it is celebrated by Virgil for its soft and pastoral beauty. The action of subterranean fires must, nevertheless, have been proceeding in the depths of the mountain, and, in the year 63 of the Christian era, Pompeii was shaken by a terrible earthquake. Both Pompeii and Herculaneum lay under the shadow of Vesuvius, being situated on the shores of the Bay of Naples, which, in the ancient Roman world, formed a portion of Campania. Consequently, both were exposed to any eruption of the volcano; but the period of disturbance had passed so long that no one associated the thought of death and ruin with that luxurious

region. All the charms of land, and sea, and climate, had met on the enchanting coast of the Neapolitan bay; and these attractions were heightened by the neighbourhood of many ancient cities, originally established by Greek colonists, and still presenting the graceful features of Hellenic life. Mythology itself had consecrated the land with associations dating back to the primitive days of Hercules, who was said to have founded, not merely the city which bore his name, but Pompeii as well. The vivacious Greek blood yet beat in the veins of the people, mingled though it was with the blood of Oscans, Samnites, Etruscans, and Romans; and the language of Homer and of Pericles was still the tongue most commonly heard along the shores of Campania. The Romans were not blind to the beauty of these seductive retreats. Pompeii and Herculaneum were the favourite places of resort of the Senatorial nobility. Here they built and ornamented their villas after the Greek fashion, and spent their hours of idleness and repose in indulgences which, however reprehensible from a moral point of view, lost much of the grossness and vulgarity attaching to the festivals of Rome itself.

It happened fortunately for modern times that the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius was described with considerable fulness by a very competent observer—Pliny the Younger. His uncle, Pliny the Elder, was residing in his villa on the Misenian promontory when the awful catastrophe occurred. The promontory is situated about twenty miles from Vesuvius, and the summit of the mountain is clearly seen across the Bay of Naples. On the morning of the 24th of August, the elder Pliny perceived a cloud of unusual form and character rising from the distant cone, and spreading out laterally from a slender stem, like the figure of a pine-tree. Such an appearance would have attracted the attention of any man, but especially of a man such as Pliny, whose love of knowledge was an absorbing passion, and who is chiefly known to modern times as the author of a Natural History full of learning, of varied observation, and of amazing credulity. Shortly afterwards, urgent appeals for assistance arrived from the dwellers about Vesuvius. Pliny was at that time commander of the fleet, and he directed that some of his largest vessels should be got ready, and steered to the chief points of danger, with a view to saving the people whose houses were situated on the lower slopes of the mountain. He himself set sail in a light Liburnian cutter, and proceeded across the bay, which was now terribly agitated. The approach of night showed more clearly the appalling nature of the calamity; for what had been the darkness of smoke during the intense light of a Neapolitan noon became the glare of fire when darkness had descended from the zenith. The philosopher passed the night at the house of a friend living at Stabiæ, but towards morning was roused by his attendants, who reported that the court-yard was being rapidly filled with ashes. Frequent shocks of earthquake added to the horror of the moment, and the darkness produced by the unnatural smoke and vapour was so intense that it was necessary to kindle torches to light the fugitives on their way. Their design was to reach the shore, and embark on one of the ships; but the waves were so tumultuous that all the vessels had departed. Pliny was corpulent, and afflicted with a difficulty of breathing: soon getting wearied, he lay down on the ground, and refused to move any farther. The greater number of his companions continued their flight; but two of the servants remained with their master until he was overpowered by the sulphurous blasts from the volcano. Three days later, his body was found by his nephew, without any marks of violence, and presenting the appearance rather of sleep than of death.

Pliny the Younger was only eighteen at the time; but in two letters addressed to Tacitus he has given the details of this great convulsion. The writer had refused to accompany his uncle across the bay, but observed the phenomenon from Misenum, and the particulars of his relative's death he collected from the reports of others. The effect of the eruption was extremely capricious; for, while Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed, several places between them were almost untouched. This is attributable to the shifting of the wind, which carried the fire and cinders sometimes in one direction, and sometimes in another, while passing round particular localities. Of the two cities, Pompeii and Herculaneum, the former suffered the least, if we can make any distinction where both were blotted out from existence. Whereas Pompeii was covered mainly with ashes to a depth not greater than fifteen feet, Herculaneum was engulfed in streams of lava, or of liquid mud, to which later eruptions have added, until the total depth now varies from seventy to a hundred and twenty feet. In both cases the cities were so completely covered up that the knowledge of their sites was forgotten in a few generations, and it was not until the year 1706 that Herculaneum was discovered by the sinking of a well in the village of Resina, which revealed the presence of ancient mosaics.

This led to systematic exploration, though not until after the lapse of several years. Even at the present day only a small part of Herculaneum has been uncovered, owing to the fear of ruining the villages built on the surface. Many exquisite works of art have, nevertheless, been brought to light, and in this respect the value of Herculaneum is superior to that of Pompeii. The latter city, however, has been excavated to a large extent, and many of the structures are in an admirable state of preservation. In 1689, some ruins, protruding above the ground in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, were noticed by the curious in antiquities; yet it was unsuspected that a buried city lay below. Not until 1755 were any excavations made; but the work of discovery has been pursued since then with perseverance and success. Our countryman, Sir William Hamilton, who was British Ambassador at Naples in the second half of the eighteenth century, did much towards the investigation of these interesting sites. The Neapolitan Government, and more recently the Government of Italy, have recovered many of the priceless relics of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and we now know far more than our predecessors concerning the daily life, the familiar arts, and the distinctive manners, of Roman antiquity. It has sometimes been supposed that the citizens of Pompeii were assembled in the theatre when the torrent of fiery ashes fell upon them; but this is improbable, as few bodies have been discovered, and it may be reasonably inferred that, the inhabitants had sufficient warning to escape in time.

The reign of Titus was signalised by unusual misfortunes. In the year 80, and therefore very soon after the fatal eruption of Vesuvius, Rome was visited by a terrible conflagration, which, raging for three days, effected an amount of damage not much inferior to the fire under Nero. The Capitol was once more destroyed, and the Pantheon, together with several other public buildings, was seriously injured. This affliction was followed by a pestilence, in which many thousands perished, and which was thought to have been generated by the noxious gases wafted from Vesuvius when in the crisis of its eruption. The religious feeling of the people, which had not yet entirely disappeared, though greatly weakened by a variety of concurrent influences, attributed these frequent calamities to the wrath of the gods; and it was in the hope of propitiating their favour that the dedication of the Colosseum was conducted with extraordinary magnificence. The games, which were of the most varied description, lasted a hundred days, and, at the close, Titus was seen to weep. He had never at any time been strong; it is probable that he was exhausted by fatigue and excitement; but the Roman people sadly recollected that their favourites always died young, and it was thought that the Emperor wept with the consciousness of approaching death. Many believed that he had been present at the banquet during which Britannicus was poisoned, and had tasted of the fatal cup. But the murder of Britannicus had taken place five-and-twenty years before, and it is not likely that a potion taken so long back would still have been operative. The premature decline of Titus was probably due to a constitution originally feeble, to exhausting labours as a soldier, and to subsequent dissipation at Rome. But, whatever the cause, the failure of the Emperor's health was regarded with general dismay; for Titus was the favourite alike of the populace and of the nobles. There was a softness in his character which pleasantly contrasted with the mad ferocity of some of his predecessors. His good nature was sometimes even in excess of reason, and his very faults were of a kind which the Romans were the most ready to forgive. His attachment to Berenice, the sister of Herod Agrippa II., had in it a touch of romance. He could not, consistently with Roman customs, espouse a Jewish princess; but his association with Berenice was almost conjugal in its perpetuity and tender devotion. Nevertheless, when the Roman people, during the reign of Vespasian, objected to the younger Emperor appearing in public with an Oriental consort, Titus, setting his duty above his affection, dismissed Berenice to her own country; nor would he again receive her after the death of his father, when she appeared once more in Rome.

The illness of Titus continued to increase, and he himself began to despair of life. The physicians having failed, he applied to the priests, and sought to propitiate heaven by rites and ceremonies which he had learned in Asia. His constitution had been weakened by the immoderate use of warm baths, and towards the end of his life he went into the opposite extreme by seeking the cold springs of Cutiliæ, in the Sabine country. On his way thither, he drew aside the curtains of his litter, and, gazing sadly towards the heavens, exclaimed that he did not deserve to die. The hand of death, however, was already upon him, and he expired on the 13th of September, 81, at a little less than forty years of age. The circumstances under which he breathed his last are differently stated in various ancient authors, and cannot be determined with any precision. His reign had

STREET SCENE IN POMPEII

lasted not more than two years, two months, and twenty days; but it had been sufficiently long to impress the Roman people with the highest conception of their prince's wisdom and goodness. The Jews, as was natural, regarded him in a very different spirit, and the Talmud has preserved a curious legend concerning the death of Titus, according to which a gnat crept up his nostrils, lodged itself in his brain, and gnawed the vital tissue during seven years of appalling agony. But it is scarcely necessary to add that this story is a myth, arising out of a very natural feeling of anger, coupled with the belief that Jehovah must surely have visited with some awful fate the man who had raised his hand against the sacred Temple at Jerusalem. How far the easy and varying temperament of Titus would have borne the temptations of a longer term of power may be open to doubt; especially as, in his father's lifetime, he seems to have used his opportunities, on some occasions, with little scruple as to the means by which he gratified his desires or his resentments. But it is certain that during his own reign his conduct was not only blameless, but benevolent. On succeeding to the Pontificate, he declared that he would perish rather than destroy; and not one political execution cast a shadow on his rule, although two patricians were convicted by the Senate of conspiracy, and his brother Domitian was constantly intriguing against his authority and his life. To repair the losses caused by the eruption of Vesuvius, and by the conflagration in Rome, the Emperor gave up the proceeds of estates to which there were no heirs, and devoted the ornaments of his palaces to the same purpose. These were acts of munificence which the Roman populace could not forget; and the vices of their monarch disappeared from view in the full sunshine of his beneficence.

VILLA OF THE YOUNGER PLINY.

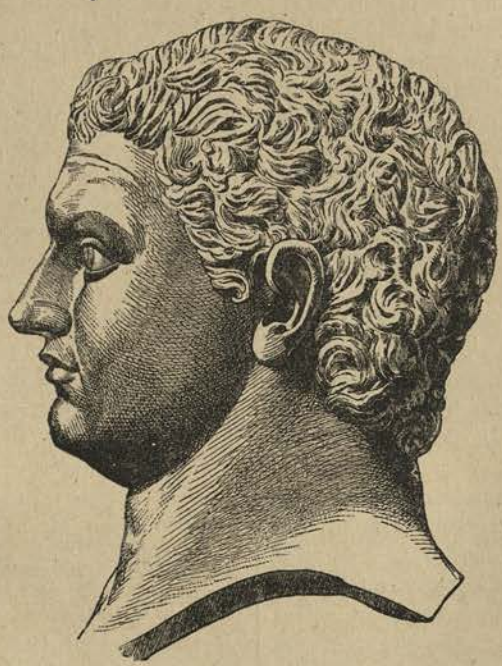
It might have been happy for the Roman world had Titus left a son sufficiently mature to assume the reins of power; but he had no son, and the succession passed to the hated Domitian. Some even whispered that he had hastened his brother's death, either by poison, or by causing him to be immersed in a bath of snow, on pretence of subduing his fever; and it is undoubtedly the fact that he deserted the death-bed of Titus, and

returned to Rome with all speed, to obtain the support of the Prætorians. He feared that the Senate might refuse to acknowledge him; and amongst the people themselves he had few adherents, for his manners were not such as to create a feeling of regard, either deep or superficial. It was not simply that he was profligate; *that* would have done him no injury with the Romans. He was a man of sullen and forbidding habits, prone to solitude, and entirely wanting in the geniality which sometimes accompanies lax morals. Though nearly thirty years of age when he stepped into his brother's place, he had up to that time been known for little else than licentiousness and capricious tyranny. His intellect was respectable, and not only did he patronise literary men, but he was himself a writer of fair abilities. Yet an overmastering desire to exercise Imperial sway vitiated his character from the first, and, being in a position of some authority at Rome before Vespasian could arrive from the East, he seems to have considered that he had in truth succeeded to the purple by that very fact, and that his father and elder brother were unjustly depriving him of his right. After the death of the latter, he openly declared that he had himself bestowed the purple on his two predecessors, and was simply receiving back his own gift to them. This was the secret of his numerous intrigues; and perhaps his long disappointment had something to do with his ultimate despotism.

The character of Domitian was not wanting in those strange contradictions which are discoverable in the temperament of Titus; but the contrast in the younger brother was more deeply marked than in the elder. His sensibility was more extreme and morbid; his cruelties were far worse than anything which can be charged against the conqueror of Jerusalem. In the early part of his reign, Domitian was so horrified at the sight of blood that he proposed to forbid the sacrifice of oxen. Yet, if the gossip of the time is to be trusted, he would amuse his solitude by impaling flies. Certain it is that, as he got accustomed to the ways of despotism, he exhibited a spirit of ferocity which has seldom been surpassed. His cold and imperturbable face enabled him to conceal his deadly intentions until the time had arrived for their execution, and he would then gloat over the agonies of his victims with a personal relish that was foreign even to the heart of Nero. Domitian commenced his reign as a reformer, and may, indeed, have been sincerely desirous of abating the vices which were emasculating the Roman character, though upon the tacit understanding that his own vices were to remain unpruned. He came of Sabine stock, and the Sabines were a rough, simple, and virtuous race, with whom the old traditions of Italian manhood still remained in force. Though unable to vanquish his own bad habits, he may not have been insensible to the profound necessity of bringing back the Roman people to the faith and practices of an earlier time. He began, therefore, by an inquiry into certain irregularities imputed to the Vestals. The strictest chastity was enjoined on those priestesses, and Domitian had reason to believe that in some instances it had been forgotten. The punishment for such a violation of an old religious law was the interment of the offender while yet alive; but the sentiment of later times had so far improved upon the sternness of an earlier date that the popular conscience revolted from this frightful penalty. Two Vestals were found guilty, and permitted to kill themselves, while their paramours, instead of being scourged to death, as the law enjoined, were merely banished. But shortly afterwards a third offender was discovered in the person of a Vestal named Cornelia. Domitian was a superstitious as well as a cruel man. He believed that the misfortunes from which Rome had lately suffered were due to the vices that had remained unpunished. He had made a compromise in the cases of the two previous sinners; but here was a third defying the injunctions of religion, and tempting the wrath of heaven. Though protesting her innocence, Cornelia was enclosed in a vault with a small portion of bread and a flask of water, and the alleged seducer suffered the extreme rigour of the ancient law.*

* "When a Vestal was found guilty by the College of Pontiffs, she was condemned to death without having the right of appeal to the people. As nothing but death could atone for her crime, and as it was, nevertheless, not allowed for any mortal to lay hands on the priestess of Vesta, she was buried alive in a subterraneous vault in the Campus Sceleratus, near the Colline Gate. The mournful solemnity on such occasions was this:—The guilty Vestal was laid on a bier, tied fast with leather thongs, and covered in such a manner that not even the sound of her voice could be heard. In this position she was carried, as it were in a funeral procession, accompanied by her friends and relations, amidst the dead silence of all the people, to the place of execution near the Colline Gate. On her arrival here, she was relieved of her bands; the Pontifex Maximus, with uplifted hands, said a mysterious prayer, and then conducted the veiled Vestal to the ladder which led into the tomb. The executioner took her down, and drew up the ladder; and during this process the Pontiff and the other priests turned away their faces. In her tomb the Vestal found a couch, a lamp, and some bread, water, milk, and oil. The tomb was closed, and covered over with earth to a level with the rest of the ground."—*English Cyclopædia*, Art. "Vestal."

Having thus asserted the purity of the Vestal Virgins, Domitian proceeded to enforce the laws against adultery. Other forms of incontinence were treated with great strictness, and it cannot be denied that in some respects Domitian threw the shield of his power over the miserable victims of a corrupt society. Yet, at the same time that he thus punished depravity, and endeavoured, though in a rigid and mechanical spirit, to restore more virtuous habits, he himself practised the very sins he denounced, and, except in his deference to religious injunctions, was in no respect distinguished from the most abandoned noble, or the most cynical scoffer. In his own private life a debauchee of the worst character, Domitian was a Puritan as regarded public manners. He revived the laws of some of his predecessors against the singers and dancers at the theatres —persons of low birth and debased morals, whose influence, nevertheless, was so powerful that factions arose in favour of this or that popular favourite, and the peace of Rome was compromised by the sanguinary contentions of frivolous partisans. The performances of these mimes were forbidden in public, though ballets in private houses were still permitted. Edicts were likewise issued against the astrologers and philosophers;—against the former, as persons too apt to prophesy the deaths of monarchs, or impending changes in dynasties; against the latter, as a class of independent citizens, whose remarks were not always welcome. Even such trifling matters as the dress and behaviour of the people were regulated by this pedant; and sumptuary laws were enforced, to counteract the decline of wealth which now began to be manifest in Italy, in Greece, and in Asia Minor, and in consequence of which the productions of the soil, in several ancient seats of civilisation, were materially reduced.



TITUS.

Some of the chief external events of Domitian's reign occurred in Britain, where prosperity had been again established after the death of Boadicea, and the suppression of the formidable revolt which she had headed. There had been a mutiny of the Twentieth Legion in the year 69; but this was speedily suppressed, and, on the whole, there was no happier portion of the Roman Empire than the remote island which Julius Cæsar was the first to enter. Even in the time of Boadicea, Londinium, according to Tacitus, was famous for "her vast concourse of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty;" and although this seat of traffic was temporarily ruined during the period of the troubles, it soon recovered its prosperity with the return of peace. The south-eastern parts of the island became thoroughly Romanised; but the remoter districts were still peopled by barbarian tribes, who frequently made incursions into the neighbouring colonies, and spread terror and destruction wherever they came. In 78, Cneius Julius Agricola, who in the previous year had been appointed to the Consulship, and to the government of Aquitania, was sent by Vespasian to complete the conquest of Britain. This remarkable general, the father-in-law of Tacitus, who wrote his life, was born in the colony of Forum Julii, in Gallia Narbonensis, on the 13th of June, 37. His education had been conducted in the old Greek city of Marseilles, and from his mother—one of the noblest specimens of the better kind of Roman matrons—he derived those principles of virtue which distinguished his after life. He had twice before been in Britain, but only in subordinate capacities. Being now invested with full powers, he acted with promptitude and decision, and in the first year of his command subdued the Ordovices in North Wales, and crushed the remains of insurrection in the Isle of Anglesey. The conquest of the Brigantes was completed in 79, and the Imperial rule was then extended to the territory between the Tyne and the Solway Frith. Beyond that line were the wild tribes of the Caledonians and Meatæ, and to guard against their incursions Agricola erected a series of forts. He then turned his attention to the more southern parts of the island, where he did much towards the

further extension of Italian habits and tastes among the native Britons. The Roman religion followed the introduction of Roman manners; and the refinements of Roman luxury—perhaps also the degradations of Roman vice—were not slow to strike their roots in British soil.

Encouraged by his previous successes, Agricola, in his third campaign, which was in the year 80, advanced to the narrow isthmus between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, where he erected another line of forts against the Caledonian Highlanders. Caledonia was the name given by the Romans to the north of Britain; at a later date it appears to have been accepted as the appellation of a separate country. In the summer of 81 Agricola allowed his troops to repose, and even the year 82 was devoted to completing the work already commenced, rather than to any new enterprises. From the Mull of Galloway, the Roman general beheld the shores of another island, almost entirely unknown to the ancients, and to which, as yet, we have had no occasion to refer. By Aristotle, Ireland is included with the sister country under the general name of the Britannic Isles, though he also gives it the specific name of Ierne; but in Cæsar's Commentaries the western land is called Hibernia, and the term Britannia is confined to the larger island, which before had been called Albion. At a very early period, Ireland was known to the mariners of Southern Europe by the title of the Holy Island, and it may perhaps have been one of the seats of Druidism. In the writings of Pytheas, a Greek of Massalia, or Marseilles, Ireland is again called Ierne, which appears to be an adaptation of the native name Erin (the western isle), and is probably the origin of the Latin Hibernia, though the meaning of that term has also been supposed to be "Winter Land." The population of the country was mainly Celtic, and belonged to the Gaelic rather than the Cymric division of the race. What degree of civilisation may have existed among the people in the first Christian century it is impossible to say, for our information with respect to Ireland in the ancient world is almost none at all. It is probable, however, that the inhabitants consisted of primitive tribes, mostly engaged in pasturage, for which occupation the green valleys of the country were singularly fitted. As he gazed across the narrow channel on this little-known and almost mythical land, Agricola was tempted to undertake its conquest, especially as he was assured that a single legion would be sufficient for the exploit. The Caledonians, however, were threatening his lines, and he considered it advisable to anticipate their attack.

Returning to the eastern coast of Britain, and drawing supplies from his fleet, Agricola advanced still farther north in the summer of 83, and probably got as far as the Grampians. The campaign was one of no little difficulty and danger; for the Caledonians (a people allied, perhaps, rather to the Hibernians than to the Britons) harassed the invaders in flank and rear, and the Ninth Legion was very nearly cut off in its camp. The seventh and last campaign—that of 84—resulted in a great victory over the Caledonians under their leader, Galgacus. The seat of this important action is not known with certainty; but it is unquestionable that Agricola pushed his way far into the modern kingdom of Scotland. The battle was fought with great heroism on both sides, and Galgacus appears in the pages of Tacitus as a champion worthy to defend the independence of his country. The barbarians were defeated; but the tribes farther north still remained unsubdued, and Caledonia never became a portion of the Roman Empire, though the southern parts of what we now call Scotland were included in the dominions of the Cæsars. Agricola, however, did not entirely renounce the hope of subduing the whole land, and, in order to obtain information touching the coasts, directed his fleet to proceed to the extreme north, and from time to time strike terror among the marine populations. The vessels gained the Pentland Frith, sighted the Orkney Islands, and were perhaps within view of the Shetlands. That they circumnavigated Britain is very improbable, nor is it certain that Tacitus means to affirm that they did; but it was something to have penetrated so far into the obscure and terrible North—to have seen the Ultima Thule of the ancient poets. Having accomplished thus much, they returned southward along the eastern coast, and were finally drawn up for the winter in the Frith of Forth. This famous voyage gave the Romans their first absolute assurance that Britain was an island. The insular character of the country had, indeed, been generally asserted; but when the forces of Agricola were toiling through the wilds of Caledonia, and saw a perpetual succession of hills beyond hills rising before them, they may have doubted the accuracy of the previous information until their own ships returned with the report that they had actually rounded the northern point of the island, and seen the wide seas stretching far away. Agricola, who had been sent out by Vespasian, and whose achievements had

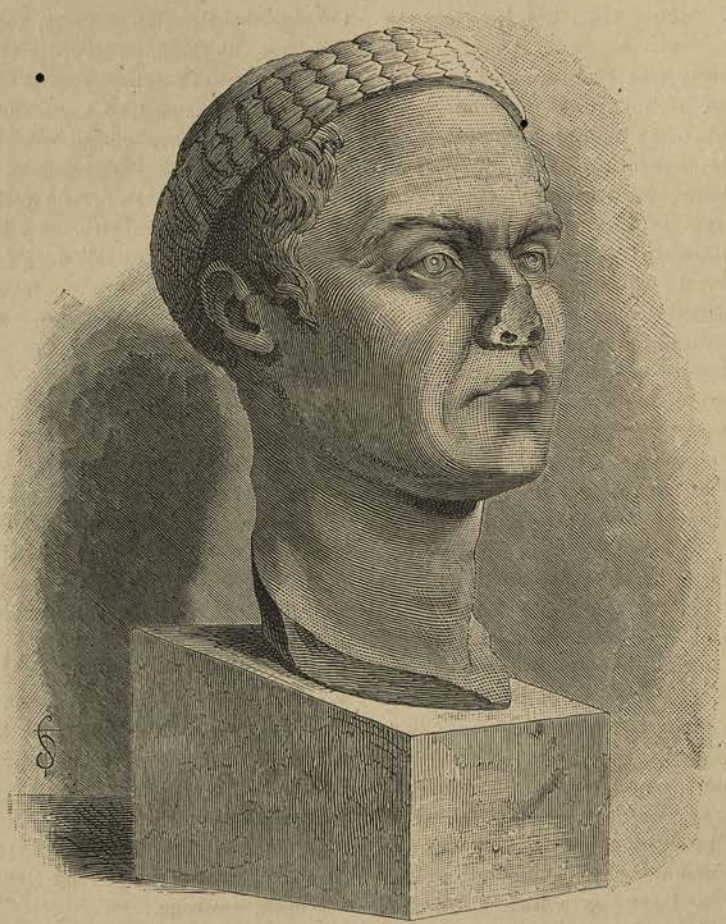
extended through the whole reign of Titus, and were still continued under his successor, was recalled by Domitian in 85. The new Emperor was jealous of his commander's successes, and feared that he might return at the head of his victorious legions, and usurp the supreme power. Though treated with marked neglect, Agricola behaved with uncomplaining loyalty, and, retiring to a life of privacy, died in the year 93, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the tyrant.

The Emperor himself was ambitious of warlike distinction, and had never forgotten the vexation he suffered when, after having been appointed to the Roman armies operating against Civilis in the reign of Vespasian, he learned, on reaching Lugdunum, that the war was concluded by the submission of the Batavian chieftain. In the year 83, Domitian resolved to find for himself the opportunity he coveted, and, collecting a large and well-appointed army, he advanced against the Chatti. The expedition was of no great importance; but it was attended by success, and the Chatti concluded a treaty which ensured the tranquillity of those regions for a considerable time. Early in 84, Domitian was back in Rome, where he met with a reception which can hardly be regarded as genuine, or as other than an enforced compliment to one who had the power to demand it. Some there were, on the other hand, who declared that the alleged victory was an invention, and that the captives were bought or borrowed for the occasion. But, although there had probably been no serious fighting, it seems disingenuous to deny that the Emperor had re-established the security of a distant province, and bound the Chatti with the chains of an agreement which they were not inclined to repudiate. Domitian now assumed the surname of Germanicus, and it was his success in Germany which gave him courage to recall Agricola from Britain. His feelings towards that commander were doubtless characterised by personal jealousy; but, apart from this meaner sentiment, it was not unnatural that he should feel some distrust of a soldier who for seven years had enjoyed almost complete independence in a remote island, who was popular with his own men, and who might have repeated the insubordination of a Galba, an Otho, a Vitellius, and a Vespasian.

Peace had now become a necessity for the Empire, since the public exchequer was exhausted. Under these circumstances, Domitian did that which despots in want of money are apt to do. He listened to denunciations of the noble and wealthy, and confiscated their property on the plea that they were disaffected. But the commonalty were at the same time gratified by the establishment of new games, called the Capitoline, in honour of the great temple and citadel of Rome, then just restored after the fire in the reign of Titus. The persecution of the opulent relieved the Emperor's necessities in some degree, yet still left him in a state of comparative embarrassment. Owing, doubtless, to poverty, rather than lack of ambition, he declined to interfere for the protection of certain German clients of the Empire who had been oppressed by neighbouring tribes. Yet he may also have considered that the Germans, by fighting among themselves, were dissipating those energies which would otherwise have been used against the Empire. By far the larger part of Germany was entirely free from Roman dictation, and the stubborn courage of the race had been so unmistakably proved on many previous occasions that Domitian may well have doubted the wisdom of any further advance into a land of forests, peopled by a race of heroes.

The frontier of the Rhine, however, was less troubled than that of the Danube. The Mœsians, settled on the right bank of the stream in its lower courses, repeatedly menaced the Thracian territory, while Mœsia itself, shortly after the death of Nero, was harassed by a body of Sarmatians named Roxolani, who are sometimes regarded as the ancestors of the modern Russians. These marauders were driven back by Mucianus, the powerful supporter of Vespasian; but the land was shortly afterwards entered by the Dacians, a people whom the Greeks called Getæ, and who appear to have been a tribe of Scythians, inhabiting the vast uncultivated plains, between the mouths of the Danube and the Tyras, in which the army of Darius the Persian nearly perished. The strength, courage, and ferocity of the barbarians were subjects of wonderment both to the Greeks and the Romans, and, having acquired for themselves a kind of sanctuary, or place of assemblage, in the mountains of Western Dacia, they were able to conduct frequent expeditions into more southern lands. The Romans drove them back on their first appearance in Mœsia; but in the beginning of Domitian's reign they reappeared in force, under the command of a chieftain who had the name of Decebalus, meaning, it is said, "the strength of the Dacians." The legions were defeated, and for some years the province was ravaged by these fierce invaders. Domitian himself went there in 86, but soon returned to Rome, leaving the command in the hands of

Cornelius Fuscus, who, rashly crossing the Danube, was worsted and slain by Decebalus. His successor, Julianus, was more fortunate; yet, when peace was concluded in 87, such favourable terms were granted to the Dacian chief as to leave little doubt that the Romans were glad to conclude the war on the first decent pretext. At the same time, the Emperor conducted an expedition against the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians, dwelling on the banks of the middle Danube, whom he chastised for their refusal to aid him with succours for the Dacian war. Of these operations we know very little, and Tacitus asserts that in Mœsia and Dacia, in Germany and Pannonia, the Imperial arms were covered with disgrace and misfortune. In January, 91, however, Domitian claimed a triumph in respect of Germany and Dacia, and lesser honours as regarded the Sarmatians. It is probable that he had preserved the frontiers of the Empire, though he had done nothing more; and even that had been accomplished without any brilliant achievements. In the south, the Nasamones, a savage people of the Numidian desert, were crushed on attempting to revolt; and the court poet, Silius Italicus, flattered the Emperor by asserting that his exploits were equal to those of Hercules and Bacchus.



DOMITIAN. (*From a Bust in the British Museum.*)

Several years before, the Senate had appointed Domitian Censor for life, and had designated him for ten successive Consulships. Thus strengthened in his powers, he rapidly advanced upon the dangerous road of despotism. The Jews underwent a severe persecution, in which it is possible that some Christians were included, though, if so, it was because they were confounded with the Jews, and not on account of their own opinions. Some Roman nobles, including Flavius Clemens, the first cousin of the Emperor, were punished for favouring Jewish ideas in religion, and Domitilla,

the wife of Clemens and niece of Domitian, was banished, after her husband had been put to death. This was in the last year of the reign; but for many years the Jews had been acquiring a moral and intellectual power in the capital of the Roman Empire, which, if it gratified some, alarmed and offended many. Even as early as the days of Nero, Seneca observed of these Asiatic strangers (if we can rely upon a fragment quoted by St. Augustine) that, though conquered, they gave laws to their conqueror. At the same period that the religion of Moses was thus proscribed, the worship of Isis and of Cybele was once more naturalised at Rome. The Isiac cult had been introduced into Italy at a much earlier period, but had excited such general reprobation among decent livers by the excessive debauchery with which it was associated, that the rites were frequently forbidden. By an edict of Tiberius, the images of Isis were thrown into the Tiber; but the worship reappeared in later reigns, and Juvenal was disgusted with its impurity. From the time of Domitian, the religion of Isis obtained a great hold on the Roman people, from its union of mysticism with licentiousness, and it was not until the triumph of Christianity that it finally died out. The rites of Cybele were equally objectionable, and equally popular.

Some time after the Dacian war, and probably as late as 93, a formidable revolt was headed by Antonius Saturninus, the commander of the troops in Upper Germany, who is thought to have acted as a champion of the Senators. After being saluted Imperator by two of his legions, Saturninus invited the aid of the Germans beyond the Rhine; but, before any such assistance could be obtained, Norbanus, the legate of Domitian in Gaul, attacked the rebel with such promptitude and decision that his forces were defeated, and himself slain. The conspiracy appears to have been widely spread, and Domitian issued a series of proscriptions, by which he hoped to rid himself of secret enemies. The soldiers were so much distrusted that the military chest was sent away from the camp, and the army was shortly afterwards reduced in numbers. Domitian was thoroughly alarmed at his narrow escape, and became more sanguinary than ever. Numerous men of eminence, in the world of politics and of intellect, were put to death on frivolous pretexts, and it was a favourite sport of Domitian to appear in the Senate-house simply that he might watch the agonies of the accused and the suspected. It is added that he personally interrogated them when arrested, holding their chains in his hand for his greater security. On one occasion (according to Dion Cassius), he invited a number of Senators to a banquet, at which the room, the tables, and the seats were coloured black, and set out in funereal fashion. At the head of each man's couch was a column like a tombstone, on which his own name was carved; a sepulchral lamp swung above it; and fragments of food, such as were commonly presented to the dead, were offered to the guests by boys whose skins had been blackened, and who danced about with horrid movements, and in awful silence. This, however, was only a jest, though a very cruel one, as the victims had every reason to believe the performance serious; but what might have simply excited disgust and indignation, had it been done by a private man, was capable of inspiring the deepest terror when the jester had power to carry out his grim conceit at any moment that he pleased.

The last days of the tyrant were rendered frightful by accumulated apprehensions, springing at once from superstition, and from a reasonable conjecture of what men were compassing. A conspiracy was formed against Domitian in the early autumn of 96, and on the 18th of September in that year a number of men, headed by a freedman of Clemens, named Stephanus, proceeded to the palace, when Stephanus entered the chamber of Domitian, and attacked him with a sword. The Emperor fought desperately for his life; snatched at the assassin's weapon, and cut his own hands to the bone; thrust his bloody fingers into the eyes of his assailant, and beat his head with a goblet. At the same time, he raised loud cries for help; but they were answered by the entrance of the other conspirators, and Domitian was speedily despatched. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years, distinguished by extravagant cruelty, by servile fears, and by growing decrepitude; and the affairs of the Empire entered on a new stage with his successor.

CHAPTER XLII.

NERVA AND TRAJAN.

Change in the Character of the Empire under Nerva—Commencement of a Happy Era—Disposition of the New Emperor—Reforms tending to the Establishment of Confidence—Magnanimity of Nerva—Trouble with the Prætorians—Death of Nerva, and Succession of Trajan—Origin and Previous Services of the Latter—His Pacification of the Rhine Frontier—Entry into Rome and Early Measures—Honours paid to Trajan—Expedition against the Dacians—Successes of the Romans North of the Danube—Campaign of 102 A.D.—Capitulation of Decebalus—Trajan again in Rome—Renewed Invasion of Dacia—Great Military Works—The Stone Bridge over the Danube—Victorious Advance of the Roman Forces—Defeat and Death of Decebalus—Splendour of Trajan's Forum at Rome—The Column of Trajan, and its Sculptures—Dacia formed into a Roman Province—Lasting Influence of Rome on its Populations—Operations of Cornelius Palma in Arabia Petræa—The Rock-hewn City of Petra—General Characteristics of the Government of Trajan—Persecution of Christians in Bithynia—Views of Pliny the Younger and Trajan on the Subject of Religious Toleration—Moderate Counsels of the Emperor—Early Rise of Heresy and Theological Bitterness among the Christians—Minute Superintendence of Trajan over all Affairs of State—Provision for Children—Exposure of Infants, and Checks upon the Practice—State of the East—Expedition against Parthia—Trajan at Antioch—Terrible Earthquake in the City—Apocryphal Story of Ignatius, the Christian Bishop—Advance of Trajan to the Euphrates—Reduction of Armenia and the Caucasian Country—Conquest of Adiabene—Trajan on the Persian Gulf—Vain Aspirations—Insurrections in the Rear of the Invaders—Disastrous Retreat—Jewish Risings in Various Quarters—Death of Trajan at Selinus.

SUCCESSIVE revolutions in the Roman State since the death of Tiberius had proved the stability of the Empire by showing that, whomsoever might be assassinated, or whatsoever military rising might introduce a new sovereign or a new dynasty, the political forms originated by Julius Cæsar, and matured by Augustus, were capable of perpetuity, and adapted to the requirements of the people. All men saw that the old Republic was dead beyond the hope of revival. Excepting for a moment after the murder of Caligula, there had been no attempt to restore the ancient system. The Empire was a reality, and would not give way before an archaic tradition. But it was also seen that the Cæsarism of the previous sixty years needed reformation. It was far too military—far too despotic. The Emperors had been made by the soldiery; sometimes by the Legions, at others by the Prætorian Guards. The Senate now determined to enter on a different course. The members of that august and venerable Council conferred the sovereign power, rendered vacant by the death of Domitian, on one of their own body—a Senator of good family, of liberal education, and of more than average ability. Marcus Cocceius Nerva had twice been Consul—in 71 and 90 A.D.—before his appointment to the Principate; and several of his ancestors had enjoyed positions of importance in the Roman State. He is occasionally mentioned as the first example of a Roman Emperor of foreign extraction, one of his ancestors having, about a century before, come over from Crete. But, as the family had been settled at Rome for some generations, and had originally belonged to Italy, the foreign element in Nerva seems very slight.

The predecessors of the new prince, from Julius to Domitian, are generally called, by way of eminence, "the Twelve Cæsars;" but the title of Cæsar belonged equally to the whole line of Roman Emperors. Nevertheless, a real distinction is observable between most of the Emperors before, and some after, the present time. The Princeps now acquired, to a considerable extent, the character of a constitutional monarch. He was recognised as the head of the State—not simply as the head of the army, or the accident of a revolution. With Nerva began a series of five Emperors, under whose beneficent sway Rome enjoyed a large measure of prosperity for eighty-four years. It was a period of which Gibbon has remarked that no other in the history of the world can show so great an amount of human happiness. If it be said that this is an exaggeration, it may be sufficient to reply by challenging the production of any era, equally long, which can surpass or rival it with respect to the same extent of the world's surface, and the same proportion of its races. Roman civilisation had attained its ripeness, without being yet in its decay. The gathering of so many countries under one central Power ensured the repose of half the ancient world. Some of the worst features of Paganism had been softened by philosophy, by comparison with other creeds, and by the benignity of knowledge. It might almost have seemed as if the era of humanity and wisdom, as opposed to that of force and dogma, were about to dawn. But old evils remained; new evils had yet to come; and humanity missed the fulness of its fair and rational life.

The Senate made an excellent choice in Nerva,

and the Prætorians, though distrusting any ruler not created by themselves, forbore from opposition. The new sovereign was sixty-five, if not seventy, years old, and therefore of known and settled habits, which his remaining days were not likely to alter. His infirmities were, indeed, in excess of his age; but this fact only rendered it the more unlikely that he would give way to the promptings of ambition. Though not without the vices common to most Roman nobles, he had marked amiability of nature and dignity of character, and, from the first, was sincerely determined to rule in accordance with the laws. On the other hand, he showed no base compliance with the vengeful feelings of the Senators, and refused to proscribe the adherents of the fallen Emperor. The mangled body of Domitian was removed from the chamber of death by the care of an old nurse, and privately buried, without any splendour or parade, in the temple of the Flavian family. The statues of the deceased despot were cast down, and his name was effaced from the public monuments. Many persons were recalled from banishment, and the delators were punished, though with moderation. At once instituting a number of reforms, with a view to the restoration of public confidence, Nerva abolished trials for Majestas (offences against the dignity of the Emperor), and enacted that the evidence of a slave should not be received against his master, nor that of a freedman against his patron. The latter arrangement seems characterised by unfairness, and was doubtless capable of great abuse; but persons of high position had so often been betrayed by their followers, from purely interested motives, that some satisfaction to the fears of the upper classes was perhaps imperative. Furthermore, Nerva made a vow in the Senate that not one of the Fathers should be put to death during his reign; and so faithfully did he keep this oath that when two Senators conspired against his life, he simply told them that he had discovered their design, and even placed himself in their power at a public spectacle.

But Nerva did not confine his solicitude to the wealthy and noble. The poor were conciliated by a division of land, and by a public provision for their children. At the same time, the expenses of the palace were largely retrenched, and the sports of the amphitheatre kept within more reasonable limits. If Nerva was not decidedly popular (which he could hardly have been, considering his age, and the quiet gravity of his character), his rule was very generally accepted as beneficent. The Prætorian Guards, however, were dissatisfied with the new Emperor, because he did not punish the assassins of Domitian. Some of the principal of the late conspirators were seized and executed by those arrogant and insubordinate troops, and Nerva was compelled to take immediate steps for the vindication of his authority. He wrote to Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, then commanding on the Rhine, and required him to appear at Rome, to assert the power of the law against a military faction. Before he could receive a reply, Nerva convened the citizens at the Capitol, in October, 97, and announced to them that he had adopted Trajan as his son, and his associate in the Empire. The Senate acquiesced in the appointment, though it seemed to carry with it something like a right to establish the principle of hereditary succession. The Prætorians were overawed by the mere fame of Trajan, and the peace was not disturbed. Nerva, however, did not long survive this arrangement. He died on the 23rd of January, 98, about sixteen months after his accession, leaving behind him a character as a sovereign which was long remembered with esteem.

Trajan was by birth a Spaniard, being a native of Italica, the present Alcalà del Rio, situated not far from Seville. A Roman colony had been founded at Italica by the elder Scipio Africanus, and it is probable that the family of Trajan was descended from one of the settlers. But very little is known about the origin of this Emperor, as the Ulpian and Traïan Gentes, to both of which Nerva's successor belonged, were equally obscure. The father of the future sovereign was a general of distinction, who fought against the Parthians and the Jews, and was in command of the Tenth Legion at the storming of Joppa. He had at one time been Consul at Rome; at another, Proconsul of Asia; and it is believed that, surviving the elevation of his son to the purple, he received an apotheosis after his death. Though doubtless fully Romanised in all the more important respects, the younger Trajan retained a certain provincial feeling in some matters, and always wore his hair long, after the Iberian fashion; on which account, Eutropius calls him by the additional name of Crinitus. When adopted by Nerva as his son, the name of that Emperor was made to precede his own; and it was with the reflected credit of both races that he assumed the purple. He was at that time in his forty-fifth year, if, as seems likely, he was born in the autumn of 53. He had received a military training from early youth, and the greater part of his life, up to the present date, had been passed in the army. Nevertheless, he had occupied various civil posts, and his abilities as an administrator were equal to his courage and skill as a soldier. In the reign of Domitian, he was appointed to the command in Lower Germany, and effectually

repressed the turbulent tribes beyond the Rhine. Manifestly, he was the fittest man to assist Nerva in the difficult task of controlling the Prætorians.

Trajan accepted without hesitation the proud position of Roman Emperor; but he did not hurry to the seat of government. A year elapsed before he quitted the Rhine; and during that interval he founded the colonies of Ulpia Trajana, on the western bank of the stream, and Aquæ, together with some others, on the eastern side. He also built a bridge across the river at Mayence, and made a mound and ditch from the Rhine to the Danube, thus enclosing an angular space of outlying territory which had for many years been occupied by a mixed population, who held the land in consideration of a yearly tribute, whence the district was called the Tithed Lands. Not until 99 A.D. did Trajan enter Rome; but he at once ingratiated himself with the people by his condescension and affability, and by the absence of vaunting parade with which he made his appearance in the capital. Without lowering the dignity of his office by an undue familiarity, he lived after the fashion of a private Senator. His wife Plotina, and his sister Marciana, acted in a similar spirit, and the etiquette of the palace was conducted with simplicity and decorum. While yet in Germany, Trajan had promised in a despatch that he would never harm the person of a Senator; and this undertaking he renewed by word of mouth after he had arrived at Rome. But, whenever sternness appeared to him necessary, he could act with the resolution of a soldier. The mutineers of the Prætorian Guards, who had defied the authority of Nerva, were severely punished, and the paid informers of Domitian, whom the late Emperor had treated with leniency, were hunted down, and condemned either to death or exile. If we are to believe the account given by Pliny the Younger in his celebrated "Panegyric" on Trajan, pronounced in the year 100, on the third anniversary of the Emperor's Tribunitian power, these wretched men were persecuted with a ferocity which even their crimes cannot justify. They were dragged in chains through the circus with every kind of insult, and those selected for banishment beyond the seas were put on board the craziest ships in the stormiest weather, so as to leave them little chance of seeing land again.

One secret of the power of Trajan lay in his popularity with the army. He ventured, and with no bad effects, to reduce by one half the usual donative to the soldiers, though the withholding of a money gift by Galba had cost that Emperor his life. Even the Prætorians did not murmur, and Trajan boldly handed the dagger of office to the Prefect of the Guards, with the words, "Use this for me, if I do well; if ill, against me." He was, in truth, generally popular. The Senate bestowed on him the epithet of Optimus, or "the Best"—a title previously associated with religion, and one which was not to pass from Trajan to his successors. In later times, it was usual for the Senate to salute each new Emperor with the exclamation, "May you be happier than Augustus, and better than Trajan!" But this did not confer the title of honour which had been regarded as not too lofty for the fourteenth of the Imperial sovereigns. Trajan was certainly not a faultless man. He is accused of being given to excess in wine, and his morality was no better than that of his contemporaries. But he was for the most part just and benevolent; his government was at once strong and forbearing; and the Roman world enjoyed a period of rest and felicity under his equable sceptre.

The first war of Trajan's reign was against the Dacians. The feeble meddling of Domitian on the banks of the Danube had done little more than compromise the reputation of the Empire in that part of the world; and Trajan resolved to secure a frontier which was so important to the safety of the neighbouring provinces. A further inducement to the war was found in the mines of gold, silver, and iron which were known to exist in the country about to be attacked. The enterprise, however, was attended by great difficulties; for Dacia was covered with woods, marshes, and mountains, and the progress of an invading army was beset with dangers. As yet, the barbarians had been dealt with in a very feeble and unsatisfactory manner, and they had been in the habit, during the winter months, of crossing the frozen Danube, and ravaging Mœsia. But the time for these exploits was now over. Trajan fully comprehended the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, and made his preparations on a befitting scale. He brought together nearly 80,000 veterans from the Danubian provinces and the Rhine, and in 101 assembled them at Segestica, whence a flotilla carried them down the Save to its confluence with the Danube. The line of that great stream was thus secured on its southern shore, and Trajan then made preparations for crossing at two points—one above, and one below, that portion of the river (about thirty miles in length) which rushes through a wild mountain gorge, formed by the southern spurs of the Carpathians and the northern buttresses of the Balkans. At the points selected, bridges of boats were thrown across the channel, and roads starting from both were at once begun, by which the

mountains and valleys of Dacia were speedily penetrated. The invading army crossed the Danube in two divisions by the two bridges, and reunited, according to the programme of operations, at the pass called the Iron Gate, the key of the Maros valley, where the chief towns of the enemy were situated. The gorge was then forced, and the Romans established themselves in the royal city of Zermizegethusa.

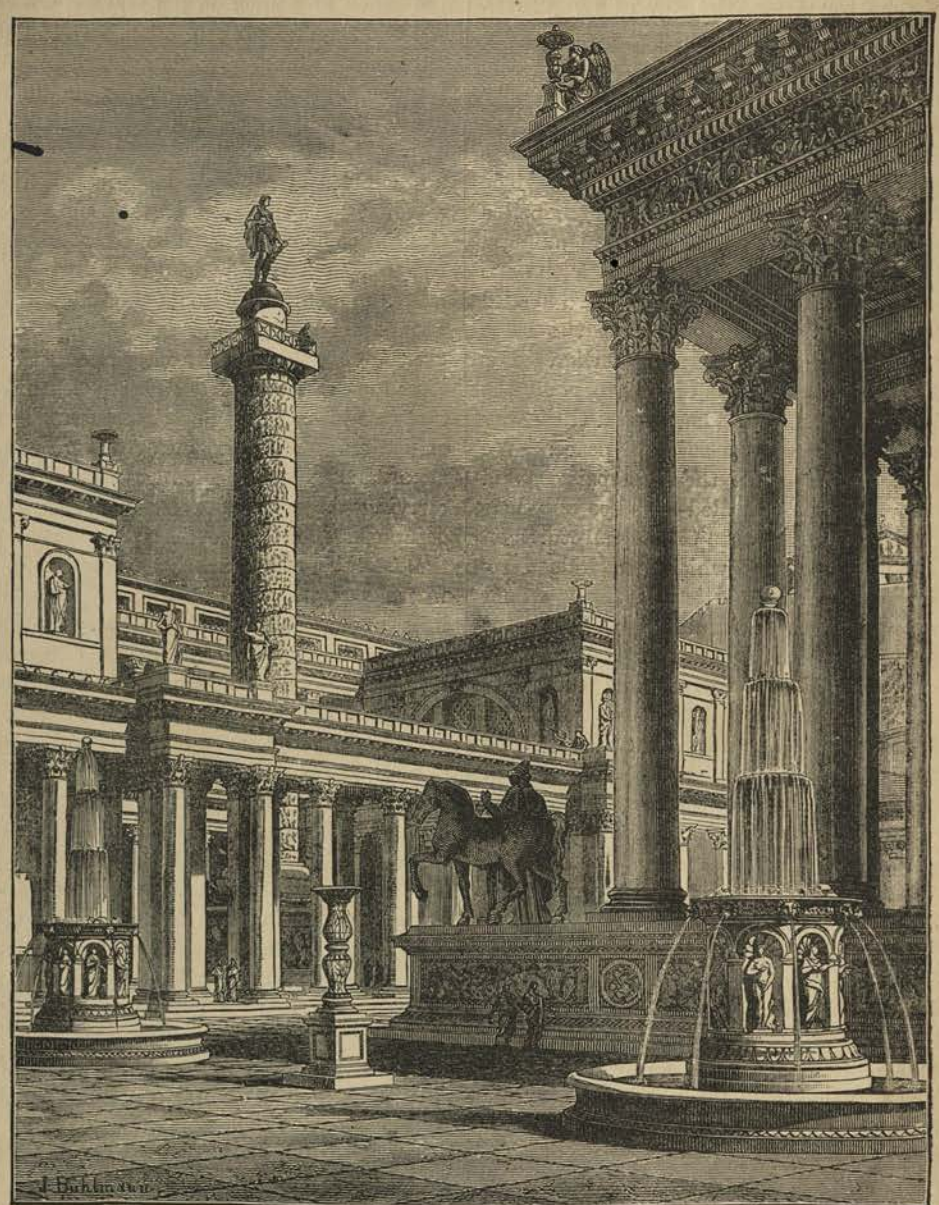
The second campaign, in the year 102, was attended by still more important results. The Dacians fought with resolution, but were compelled to retreat up the valley of the Maros, and suffered a great reverse at Tapæ, a place of which the site cannot now be fixed. The barbarians were headed by their chieftain Decebalus—perhaps the same who resisted Domitian twelve years earlier. His stronghold was within a circle of hills beyond the Maros; and when the legions had forced their way into the enclosure, Decebalus sued for peace. We have very few details as to these campaigns, and historians have been compelled to piece out their imperfect records by reference to the sculptures on Trajan's column at Rome, which are indeed remarkable for their minute particularity. It would seem, however, that the capitulation of Decebalus was unconditional; that the Dacians delivered up their arms, surrendered fugitives and deserters, destroyed the fortresses which had not yet been taken, and restored to the Romans an eagle lost by one of their previous commanders. The Dacian leader paid homage to the Emperor in person, and concluded a treaty, by which he bound himself to regard the friends and enemies of the conqueror as his own. Trajan celebrated a triumph on his return to Rome in 103, and the rejoicings were accompanied by gladiatorial shows on a large scale. The victor now received the surname of Dacicus; but his dignity underwent some abatement when his personal liking for one of the public dancers induced him to permit the return of those performers to the theatres. Trajan, however, never affected any tone of severe morality, and the mass of the Roman people were not urgent in requiring it. On the other hand, his attention to public affairs was exemplary. Not only did he originate measures of great liberality, but he watched over their execution. Day after day he was to be seen dispensing justice in the Forum of Augustus, or other public places; and even his tendency to excess in wine does not seem to have blunted his penetration, or obscured his sense of right.

The peace with Dacia was but short-lived, for the natives of that country recovered their spirits as soon as the Roman legions had withdrawn. The strongholds were repaired; arms were collected, alliances were concluded with neighbouring tribes, and a powerful horde crossed the Theiss, and made an attack on the Iazyges, whom Trajan had taken under his protection. In 104, therefore, the Roman Emperor again appeared on the Lower Danube, and made preparations for another expedition. In the previous year he had completed certain military roads of immense extent, which now enabled him to move his forces with the utmost rapidity. At the gorge of the Danube, just below Orsova, some remains of these works are yet to be seen, in a scar which, for a distance of a few miles, indents the face of the cliff, and forms a terrace about five feet in width. On the cliff overhanging the path, an inscription, still traceable after the lapse of nearly eighteen centuries, proves that this piece of engineering was really the work of Trajan. The roads thus driven through the mountains of that region gave great facilities for carrying the new campaign into districts not yet occupied. The site of Trajan's stone bridge over the Danube was formerly supposed to be at Gieli, where vestiges of a bridge are yet visible; but it is now believed that the structure erected by the architect Apollodorus, at the command of the Emperor, stood at a point where, just below Orsova, the Danube issues from the gorge of the mountains. The river is at this part 1,300 yards in width, so that the length of the bridge was very considerable. The piers were of stone, and sufficiently massive in their construction to resist the pressure of floods and the action of ice; but the upper part was of timber. A hundred and twenty years later, when Dion Cassius, the historian, was Governor of Pannonia, the superstructure had long been overthrown; but a number of piers, corresponding with Dion's account, are traceable near the village of Severin when the water is unusually low, and a representation of the bridge —apparently very complete in all respects—is to be seen on the Trajan column.

It was not until the completion of this work, in 106, that Trajan ventured on any decisive operations; but in the meanwhile he turned the interval to good account in collecting forces and stores, and in effecting arrangements with neighbouring tribes. Decebalus was anxious as to the event, and endeavoured, first by offers of capitulation, and afterwards by treacherous plots, to avert the fate which he too surely anticipated. At one time he entrapped a distinguished Roman officer named Longinus, and sought, by threats of putting him to death, to secure favourable terms for him-

self. But Longinus, in the true Roman spirit of an earlier day, contrived to send a message to Trajan, exhorting him to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour; immediately after which, he

valley of the Maros. Decebalus retired before him, defending himself from time to time from behind streams, or among passes of the mountains, until, after being deserted by the mailed cavalry of the



THE FORUM AND COLUMN OF TRAJAN (RESTORATION).

swallowed poison, and expired. When at length the Emperor crossed the Danube, in 106, it was with an immense and well-appointed force. Roads were constructed as he advanced; fortifications were planted wherever they were most likely to secure the country; and Trajan, moving in a north-easterly direction, suddenly descended on the

Sarmatians, and by other allies, he found that further resistance was vain. He retired, as a last resource, into the hill-fort which had long been his stronghold; but this was stormed by the Romans, and the king then fell upon his sword, while the nobles, after setting fire to their houses, terminated their lives by poison. Previous to his

death, Decebalus had concealed his treasures under a heap of stones in the bed of a river, and, that the hiding-place might not be discovered, the captives employed in the work had been slain on the completion of their labours. The secret, however, was in some way revealed to Trajan, and the spoil thus obtained was so immense as to defray the expenses of the war, to furnish gifts for the veterans, to enable the triumph to be celebrated with lavish splendour,

TRAJAN.

and to provide funds for the column of Trajan in a new Forum at Rome.

To prepare a fitting site for this Forum, which, it was determined, should far surpass its predecessors, the ridge between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills was excavated to a considerable depth. The ground thus levelled was covered with buildings of great magnificence. Amongst these were two libraries, one Greek, the other Roman; a Basilica; several porticoes, with gilded cornices, balustrades, and images; an arch of triumph, adorned with figures which were afterwards transferred to the arch of Constantine; a colossal statue of Trajan, seated on his horse; and the noble column in the centre, which has often been imitated since, but never equalled. The height of this pillar (which was executed by Apollodorus) is about 124 English feet, exclusive of the pedestal and statue, and the shaft is composed of twenty-three stones, sculptured in bas-relief with scenes from the Dacian victories. These pictorial representations are carved on a spiral band, encircling the column from the base to the summit, and containing altogether 2,500 figures. That of Trajan himself occurs about fifty times, and all are executed with much spirit. In the lower part of the shaft, the figures are about two feet in height; but their dimensions are enlarged as they ascend, so as to accommodate the sight of the spectator. The Roman dress and manners receive numerous interesting illustrations from these sculptures, while the Dacians and other barbarians appear in their national costumes, which seem to have been correctly discriminated from those of their conquerors. The ashes of Trajan, enclosed in a golden urn, reposed at the base of this column until removed by sacrilegious hands for the worth of the vessel. The statue of the Emperor, which crowned the summit, was in after times thrown down, and in the sixteenth century Pope Sixtus V. replaced it by the image of St. Peter. Of Trajan's Forum, nothing but the monumental column now remains in its completeness. The other buildings appear

to have been destroyed after the fall of the Roman Empire, and their ruins raised the more modern streets to a height of fifteen feet above the ancient pavement. The base of the column was thus hidden from view; but in recent days the accumulated soil and rubbish have been removed, so that the monument now appears in its full dimensions. It is built of white marble; the pavement of the Forum, which has also been partly uncovered, is of the same material; and the splendid edifices which surrounded the open space were doubtless constructed of that brilliant stone, the beauty of which was heightened by the lavish introduction of golden enrichments.

After the second expedition of Trajan, Dacia was reduced to a Roman province, bounded on the north by the Carpathian Mountains, on the south by the Danube, on the east by the Tyras, or Dniester, which divided it from the Sarmatians, and on the west by the Tibiscus, or Theiss, which parted it from the country of the Iazyges. The modern lands thus included are Eastern Hungary, the Banat, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. But Trajan was not satisfied with merely subduing the land and the people; he colonized the territory (the population of which had been greatly reduced by many years of war) with settlers from all parts of the Empire, though chiefly with those of Roman, or at least of Latinised, race. It is a curious and interesting fact that, although this Dacian province was the last to be acquired, and the first to be surrendered, of all the Roman possessions, it still exhibits some of the most striking signs of that Imperial power which, centred at Rome, embraced a large part of the known world in the sphere of its influence. The people of Wallachia and Moldavia still call themselves Roumani, or Romans, and the name of the two provinces, now united in one kingdom, is Roumania. These people employ a language not greatly different from Latin, and the same accents are heard in many parts of Hungary. The Dacian colonies of Trajan were four in number, and the Emperor built in Mœsia the city of Nicopolis ad Iatrum (Nicopoli on the Iantra), where, in 1396, the Hungarians were defeated by Bajazet, or Bayazid, the Turk.

Contemporary with Trajan's campaigns in Dacia were the operations of Cornelius Palma, the Governor of Syria, beyond the south-eastern frontier of that province. This border-land had long been devastated by a number of Arabian tribes, whose principal seats were at Gerasa, Bostra, Philadelphia, and Petra, whose habits were nomadic, and who passed with ease and rapidity from one point to another, committing frequent robberies and murders. The caravan routes between Egypt and the Euphrates were secured by the reduction of the brigand citadels in 106, and the emporiums of Arabian commerce were brought under the rule of Roman officers. The rock-hewn city of Petra, rising like a vision of enchantment out of the wild and rugged mountains of Arabia Petræa, was rebuilt by the conquerors, and attained to great prosperity and renown. Petra was a large and important place in the time of Augustus; it became still more so afterwards, and the splendid edifices which still remain belong to the era of Trajan, or to some later period. They are in the Roman style, and, owing to their situation, no less than to their florid magnificence, strike the traveller with a sense of astonishment and awe. The principal entrance to the town is by a narrow valley, formed by the passage of a small rivulet through the rocks. The length of this valley is nearly two miles, and on each side are numerous tombs, carved out of the cliff. Beyond these are the ruins of a temple and a theatre, also rock-hewn; and further on are the remains of the city itself, situated amongst craggy precipices, and presenting immense ranges of colonnades, corridors, and other architectural features, issuing from the very sides of the mountains. The brilliant and varied hues of the rocks add to the fairy-like beauty of this deserted city, while the purity of the atmosphere has preserved in exquisite perfection the minutest embellishments of the edifices. The whole district, though retaining in the main its Arab population, was attached to the Empire for some centuries, and the people of Petra and Bostra took the date of the Roman conquest for their chronological era.

The seven years from 106 to 113 were employed by Trajan in the peaceful government of his enormous Empire. He treated the Senate with great respect, and allowed it to exercise more power than had been usual since the time of Augustus. The office of Consul, to which it had been customary for the Emperors to be elected annually, he held only five times during his reign of nineteen years and a half. The choice of the people as regards this office was left free; but the resort to bribery was checked by the reinforcement of old laws against that political offence. The Senatorial practice of voting by ballot was abolished, for Trajan wished it to be understood that the Senators were to be under no sort of compulsion in the use of their constitutional powers. Considering all the circumstances of the Roman dominion, and the absolute necessity that had arisen for concentrating in the hands of one man a very large share of power, there could be no better example

of a popular sovereign than Trajan. The generosity of his nature caused him to disregard the numerous conspiracies which from time to time he had occasion to suspect; and his promise to put no Senator to death was faithfully observed. This magnanimity seems to have been duly appreciated by the Fathers; and when Calpurnius Crassus, who had plotted against Nerva, and been pardoned by him, entered into a fresh combination against Trajan, his colleagues doomed him to death, and carried out their sentence without hesitation. Yet the government of Trajan was not wanting in vigour, and in some respects may seem to modern observers to have manifested that quality in excess. Every sort of corporate action amongst the people themselves was regarded with jealousy. Pliny the Younger, when acting as Prefect of Bithynia, proposed to the Emperor to enrol an association of workmen at Nicomedia for the speedier extinction of fires, at the same time giving ample assurances that he would take precautions to prevent possible abuses. Trajan, however, refused to sanction the scheme, which he condemned as opening the door to dangerous conspiracies of a political nature. Under a ruler of less wisdom and a feebler sense of justice, this repression of the popular element might have resulted in gross tyranny; indeed, it is, under all circumstances, a fact to be strongly deprecated. But the nobler qualities of Trajan compensated for the defects in the political system of Rome. Personally, he was economical in his mode of living, so that, although he spent vast sums in the erection of magnificent buildings, and in the development of industrial resources, he was enabled to give the people relief from taxation. His reign, however, was darkened by some misfortunes. Inundations and earthquakes effected serious havoc in the capital itself; the remains of Nerva's palace were destroyed by fire, and the Pantheon suffered from lightning.

Orosius, a theologian of the fifth century, regarded these afflictions as Divine judgments on one who had persecuted the Christians. That similar calamities have not unfrequently occurred in Christian States will probably be accepted at the present day as sufficiently disconnecting the facts from their asserted cause. But it is unquestionable that the professors of the new religion underwent some degree of persecution, in one part of the Roman Empire, during the reign of Trajan. Bithynia was at that time more under Christian influence that any other Roman province. Large numbers of Jews had settled there, and many had yielded to the eloquence of the Apostles. The Governor of Bithynia in the year 112 was the younger Pliny—a great friend of Trajan, with whom he carried on a correspondence which still exists. Pliny was a just and humane man; but to him it appeared that this mysterious sect, professing new ideas in religion, and following usages which were strange to the Pagan intellect, was a danger to the State; and he took measures to repress the movement. When, therefore, any persons were brought before him on the charge of being Christians, he asked them whether such was the fact, and if they admitted it, and thrice persisted in their views, he ordered them to be capitally punished, unless in the case of Roman citizens, who were sent for trial to Rome itself. In a letter to the Emperor on this painful subject, Pliny expresses some doubt as to whether his proceedings were justifiable, and requests specific directions as to how he shall act. Using his natural powers of observation, he saw clearly, what so many others in similar cases have failed to see, that the offensive principles spread in proportion to the attempts to crush them, and that the adoption of a milder policy—such as checking the informers, and forbidding vexatious inquiry into private opinion—was followed by a reaction in favour of Paganism. Still, the fear of a theological heresy developing into a political insurrection was predominant in the mind of Pliny. Neither the Christians nor the Jews would sacrifice to the gods of Rome or the genius of the Emperor: hence the persecution of both, although Pliny admits that he had discovered nothing as to the opinions and practices of the former which was not innocent and praiseworthy, excepting what he describes as an immoderate addiction to a perverse superstition. It may thus be said that, although the persecution was entirely religious from the point of view of the Jews and Christians, it was mainly political from the point of view of their oppressors. The Christians were identified with the Jews, unless where strict inquiry revealed the difference; and as the Jews were rebellious and turbulent in the highest degree, and constantly announced the speedy arrival of a king and a deliverer, the Christians suffered in many instances from the presumed association. Both religious bodies would probably have been left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their faith (since persecution was not a usual characteristic of Paganism), had they not refused to perform certain acts which were considered indispensable to loyalty. But the Roman Emperor and his officials were unable to see that those very acts compromised some of the most essential principles of the Jewish and the Christian faith. The basis of the persecution, as regards the

latter, was not cruelty, nor even intolerance in the usual sense of the term, but sheer inability to understand a new spiritual development, which concerned the conscience of the individual rather than the claims of the State.

In answer to the questions of Pliny, Trajan replied by enjoining considerate measures, by directing that the professors of Christian views should not be sought for, but that, if any should be brought before the tribunals, they should be severely punished, as offenders against the majesty of the law. One thing appears certain—that the authorities were, for the most part, much more liberal and tolerant than the populace. The great mass of the Pagans believed that the recent calamities in Rome and other cities were due to the new religion, which the gods of Olympus resented and condemned. The Government did its utmost to check this exasperation of fanaticism, and there can be little doubt that, but for the restraining hand of the law, bloody riots would have occurred, in which the Christians would have been slain in heaps. Nay, it soon became evident that the Christians required protection against one another. Even at that early date, the body had split up into jarring sects. The bishops claimed the right of excommunicating all who followed their own views with regard to Christian doctrine; and the heretics, in revenge, denounced the orthodox to the magistrates, or to the prejudice and passion of the citizens. The authorities were placed in a position of extreme difficulty, and it required more than the wisdom of a Trajan to encounter such a complication without errors of the most serious kind.

In all other respects, the legislation of Trajan, if mistaken in some particulars, was beneficent in its spirit and intentions. The provinces were administered with care and vigilance, and enjoyed the advantage of great public works as well as Rome itself. The Emperor was consulted on minute subjects of local administration, and appears to have fully accepted the responsibilities of his position. The Roman State, even in the time of the Republic, was always highly centralised; but under Trajan almost every function had to be performed on the initiative of the Emperor himself. One very remarkable feature of his government was the provision which he made for the children of the poor, especially for orphans. The needy, as the reader is aware, had long been provided with grain free of charge, and, in recent times, even wine, oil, and bacon had been added to the public gifts. Nerva made a special endowment for infants; but the plan was imperfectly carried out, and it was not until the reign of Trajan that the system was established as a permanent institution. The chief details of this provision are to be found on the inscribed tablet of Veleia, a plate of bronze discovered in the neighbourhood of Placentia in 1747. "It would seem," says the modern historian of the Empire, "that there was a graduated scale of endowment for male and female children, for legitimate and illegitimate, sufficient for their entire maintenance, and that the whole number of recipients throughout the Italian peninsula might amount to 300,000. This provision was continued up to the eighteenth year for males, and to the fourteenth for females. The number of boys thus supported would seem to have been ten times that of girls; and though the care of the Government might naturally be directed to the one sex more than to the other, the disproportion seems, nevertheless, to point significantly to the fact, of which we have other indications, of the frequent abandonment of female children."* This custom of infanticide was certainly one of the worst features of the ancient world; yet the exposure of infants was not entirely without mitigating circumstances. Many of the unfortunate children thus abandoned by their parents were saved by a class of dealers, who brought them up with a view to ultimately selling them as slaves. The trade was perfectly legal, and indeed was regulated by the State. But in any case the evil was gross and manifest, and it may have been one of the designs of Trajan, in making an endowment for infants, to reduce the temptations to so cruel and demoralising a practice. A principal objection to Trajan's scheme lay in the fact that the necessary expenses were derived from the whole Empire, while the benefit was confined to Italy alone. But, in other matters also, Trajan favoured the peninsula at the expense of the provinces.

In 114, war again broke out—not this time in Dacia, but in the distant East. In the reign of Nero, the Parthians had, by the contrivance of that Emperor, supplied a dynasty to Armenia. Chosroes, the Parthian king in the early part of the second century, had, however, upset the arrangement then effected, and placed his nephew on the throne of Armenia as the successor of Tiridates. This did not suit the views of Trajan, who determined that thenceforth Armenia should be a dependency of Rome, and not of Parthia. Another motive which influenced the Roman Emperor in his Oriental expedition was the unsettled state of the Asiatic dependencies, owing to the spread of Christianity,

*Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, chap. 63.

and the commotions which, as we have seen, followed the propagation of the new faith. On every account it seemed desirable that the sovereign himself should proceed to those remote possessions, surrounded by all the force and majesty of the Imperial legions. Trajan was now sixty-two years of age; but his energies were not impaired, and he considered it necessary to assert the power of Rome against an adversary who had in earlier ages been formidable. As he advanced towards the East, Chosroes, feeling alarmed at what might ensue, sent envoys to meet Trajan at Athens, with assurances that he had deposed the new king of Armenia, and with suggestions as to the future which were far from meeting the views of the Emperor. The presents of the envoys were rejected, and Trajan proceeded on his way. About the close of the year he arrived at Antioch, where he awaited the proper season for commencing military operations.

Early in 115, while Trajan was still remaining in the Syrian capital, a terrible earthquake occurred, which nearly destroyed the city. The Emperor himself had a narrow escape, and was dragged through a window by the help of a man whom popular tradition afterwards reported to be of gigantic stature. So general was the destruction, that the people of Antioch, together with the crowds who had flocked from many parts of the East to pay their homage to the Emperor, were obliged to encamp on Mount Casius in the depth of winter. According to a tradition of the primitive Church, the stay of Trajan at Antioch was signalised by another incident of a tragical character. It is said that Ignatius, the Christian Bishop of Antioch, was brought before the tribunal of the Emperor, and sentenced to be cast to the lions at Rome. But the legend is one of very doubtful authenticity, and is no longer generally admitted among the undisputed facts of history. Again setting forward in the spring, Trajan advanced through Lesser Armenia, and at Elegia, on the Euphrates, summoned to his presence the new Parthian claimant to the Armenian throne—a prince named Parthamisiris, who, entering the Roman camp, laid his diadem at the feet of Trajan, in the hope that it would be at once restored to him. His anticipations, however, were entirely disappointed. He was dismissed under an escort of Roman cavalry, and soon afterwards suffered death. Of all Trajan's acts, this was the one least capable of justification. The unfortunate prince does not seem to have acted in any unfriendly spirit towards Rome, and Armenia might surely have been secured without his destruction. Having reduced Armenia to the position of a Roman province, without encountering the slightest opposition, Trajan moved northwards into those regions of the Caucasus where he had had no Roman predecessor except Pompey. The Iberians, the Albanians, and the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, submitted to his rule, and his triumphant advance brought him to the eastern frontiers of Sarmatia, the western limits of which immense region bordered on the Dacian territory already annexed by him to Rome. Trajan now turned southwards, received the submission of various petty princes ruling in Upper Mesopotamia, and took Nisibis, the capital of Mygdonia, which, when subject to Tigranes of Armenia, had been besieged by Lucullus. He then threw a bridge across the Tigris, and entered the region of Adiabene. The native tribes were conquered as far as Mount Zagros, and Trajan added to his Empire the province of Assyria, the limits of which appear to have been the same with those of modern Kurdistan.

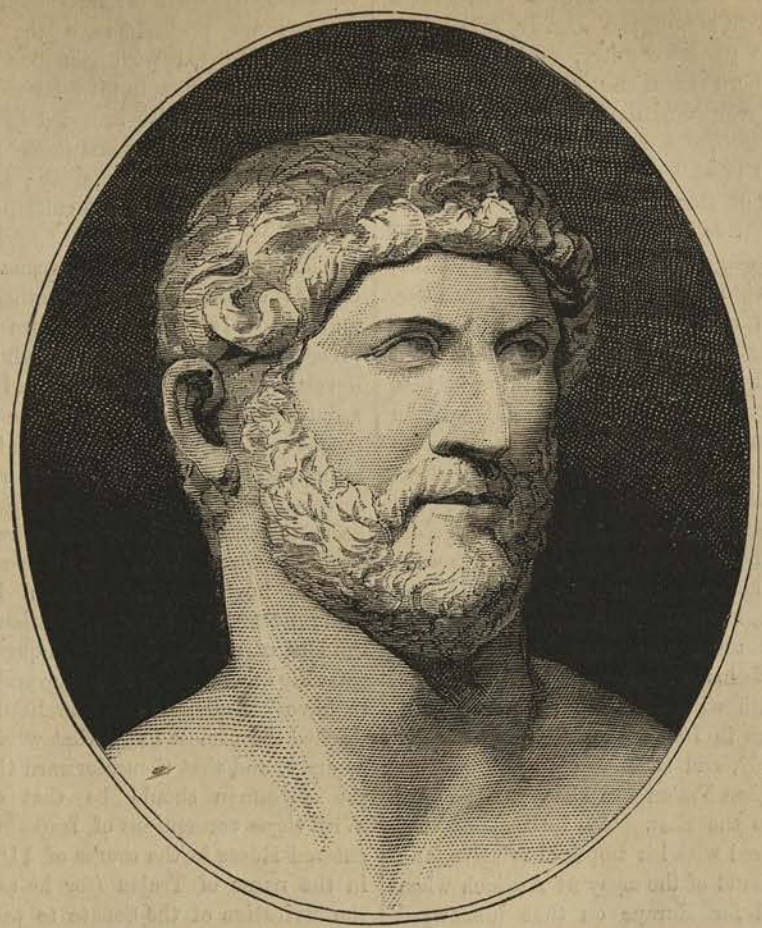
In the spring of 116, a flotilla was sent down the Euphrates to a point where that river makes its nearest approach to the Tigris. The intervening country might, in ancient days, have been crossed by the canals of the Babylonian monarchs; but these were now choked and impassable, and it was necessary to drag a number of light vessels over land, on rollers covered with greased skins. The ships were then launched on the Tigris above Ctesiphon, and the Parthian capital at once opened its gates to the Roman Emperor. Chosroes fled to Susa, and Trajan passed down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf. Here he saw a vessel setting sail for India, and, feeling his imagination kindle under the associations of that historic region, exclaimed, "Were I still young, I would not stop till I had reached the limits of the Macedonian conquest." His dreams of boundless empire, however, were soon cut short by news of an insurrection which had broken out in his rear. Seleucia, on the Tigris, a city with a Greek population, enjoying local privileges which even the Parthians had respected, rose against the invaders, and overpowered the army which Trajan had left there. The city was afterwards stormed by two of the Roman generals, and severely treated; but Trajan reluctantly acknowledged that he could not hold so distant a region, peopled as it was by hostile races. He placed a vassal king on the throne of Parthia, and set out for the west. On his way, he attacked the petty fortress of Atra, on the road from Ctesiphon to Singara, but, being foiled in his attempt to take it, was obliged to withdraw,

after having been wounded by an arrow. The nature of the country, destitute of food and water, the terrible heat of the sun, the violence of the storms, and the clouds of noxious insects which hung over the suffering army, had more to do with this reverse than the gallantry of the foe. A Jewish insurrection in Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica, added to the difficulties of the time; and in Cyprus the Hebrews are said to have slain 240,000 of the native population—for which reason all Jews were subsequently forbidden to set foot on the island, and suffered death even if driven there by stress of weather. The contests in Egypt and the Cyrenaica were characterised by similar atrocities and similar reprisals; and the Jews, wherever they had the opportunity, wreaked their vengeance on the Hellenes, between whom and themselves there was an undying hatred.

On reaching Antioch, in 117, Trajan was sick in body and disappointed in spirit. His blood is thought to have been poisoned in the marshes of Atra; but mortification and fatigue, ensuing on a somewhat advanced time of life, had probably much to do with his ailment. After a short stay at Antioch, he left the bulk of his army there, and proceeded towards Rome. But dropsy soon after supervened, and he died at Selinus, in Cilicia, on the 8th of August, at about sixty-five years of age. His reign had extended over nineteen years and a half—an unusally long period for a Roman Emperor. The Senate honoured his memory with an apotheosis, and consecrated to his worship a temple in the Ulpian Forum.* When at Ctesiphon, his soldiers had saluted him by the name of Parthicus, and new games were now instituted called the Parthian, to preserve the memory of his latest exploit. He had in truth extended the Empire for a brief moment beyond the farthest bounds which it had previously attained; but those bounds receded even before his death, and the epoch of Roman decline began shortly afterwards to be manifest to all the world.

RUINS OF THE OLD CITY WALLS, ANTIOCH.

* The ceremony by which an Emperor, hero, or illustrious man, was raised after death to the rank of a god, was extremely elaborate and solemn. After seven days of mourning by the Senators and others, an effigy of the deceased was burned with great pomp in the Campus Martius, and an eagle was let loose from the middle of the pile, which was supposed to carry the soul of the departed to heaven.



HADRIAN.

CHAPTER XLIII.

HADRIAN, ANTONINUS PIUS, AND MARCUS AURELIUS.

Accession of Hadrian—His Previous Life—Support of his Claims by the Empress Plotina—He obtains the Confidence of the Senate and Army—The Policy of Hadrian Pacific—Relinquishment of Territory Beyond the Euphrates—Acts of Lavish Munificence—Invasion of Dacia by the Roxolani—Conspiracy against the Emperor—Proceedings of Hadrian in Mœsia—Deference to the Senate—Hadrian's Scheme for Inspecting the Provinces—Visits to Gaul, Germany, and Britain—The Emperor at Eboracum (York)—Defences against the Caledonians—Hadrian and Sabina—Visits to Spain, Mauritania, and Parthia—The Province of Africa—Prolonged Stay at Athens, and Renovation of the City—The Emperor at Alexandria—Mental and Spiritual Agitation in the City of the Ptolemies—Disappointment of Hadrian with the Alexandrians—Egyptian Fanaticism and Superstition—The Story of Antinous—Further Travels of Hadrian—Magnificent Buildings at Rome—State of the Jews—Their Futile Attempt at Rebellion—Ceionius Commodus Verus—Arrangements for the Succession—Last Illness and Death of Hadrian—Antoninus Pius Succeeds to the Purple—Conquests in Britain—General Policy of Antoninus—His Noble Character—Death of the Emperor, and Succession of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus—Philosophic Training of the New Ruler—His Book of "Meditations"—Birth of Commodus—War with Parthia—Great Pestilence in Italy—Persecution of the Christians—The Catacombs—War on the Danubian Frontier—Troubles at Rome—Marcus Aurelius in the East—Renewed Outbreak of the Northern Barbarians—Death of the Second Antonine.

TRAJAN had made no precise arrangements for securing the succession to the Empire; but the Senate and the army bestowed the sovereign power on Publius Ælius Hadrianus, a kinsman and ward of the late Emperor, who derived his cognomen from the town of Hadria, in Picenum, one of the eastern provinces of Italy. For a few generations, the Ælian family had been settled at Italica,

in Spain, where a matrimonial alliance was formed with the Trajani; but the family afterwards returned to the parent country, and the future Princeps was born at Rome on the 24th of January in the year 76 of the Christian era. His education was Greek, and, when studying at Athens, he equalled the most learned of the Hellenes in all departments of the human intellect—literary, artistic, and scientific. His disposition was manly, his demeanour singularly gracious and pleasing, and his appearance more than usually handsome. It was perhaps a result of his Greek training that he was the first of the Romans to wear a beard; though it has sometimes been alleged that this was to conceal a personal defect. His warlike experiences began at fifteen years of age, when he served with Trajan in Upper Germany. He afterwards acted as Military Tribune in Pannonia, and, about 98 A.D., received the hand of Trajan's great-niece, Julia Sabina. Several important offices were filled by him in more mature years, and, as Governor of Pannonia, he gave proof of his administrative capacity in the general management of the province, and of his valour as a soldier in the completeness with which he repulsed an inroad of the Sarmatians in 108. Hadrian obtained the Consulship in 109, and succeeded to the government of Syria when Trajan was about to start on his expedition to the East. The fortunes of that campaign he shared with his Imperial relative, and was left in command of the army at Antioch when Trajan departed for Europe on that homeward journey which he never lived to accomplish.

The rapid progress of Hadrian was due, in the main, to his personal abilities; but he doubtless owed something to his blood-connection with Trajan, and still more to the favour of the Empress Plotina. It was she who, when her husband was on his death-bed, repeatedly urged him to designate his kinsman to the succession. The story is that she was long unable to prevail; and that, at last, Trajan was so near extinction that she was obliged, with her own hand, to attach his signature to the letter in which he informed the Senate that he had adopted Hadrian, subject to the confirmation of that august body. Before any intimation of the Senatorial pleasure could reach him, Hadrian secured the support of the troops at Antioch by a double donative, but at the same time flattered the Senate by declaring that he would assume no honours but such as might be legally conferred on him for services performed. The Fathers at once accepted the nomination of the dying Trajan—if, indeed, it was really his, and not rather that of the Empress. The adhesion of the Prætorians was obtained by their Prefect, and, although there were some pretenders to the Empire, whom Hadrian treated with generous forbearance, the new Emperor (now in his forty-second year) found his power generally accepted. Acting in every respect with prudence and decorum, he conciliated both the Senate and the army; and his reverence for the memory of the late ruler produced a favourable impression.

Though an able and courageous soldier, the tendencies of Hadrian were rather political than military. He desired to secure and enlarge the prosperity of the Empire by giving to it a pacific development. Recent events had shown that the acquisitions of Trajan beyond the Euphrates could not be permanently held, and Hadrian resolved to relinquish them. The Parthians repossessed themselves of the territories from which they had just been expelled, and Armenia returned to her former position of doubtful independence. Arabia Petræa, however, was retained by Hadrian, as being necessary to the protection of Syria; but the idea of making further conquests was excluded from the schemes of the new sovereign. He appears to have considered that the Roman Empire had reached the utmost limits that were consistent with security, and that thenceforward the chief work of the statesman should be that of organisation. With these conceptions of Imperial duty, Hadrian entered Rome in the course of 118, and celebrated in the name of Trajan (for he modestly declined the invitation of the Senate to take the credit to himself) a splendid triumph over Parthia. The spoils of the late war were applied to the granting of lavish donations, and to the remission of arrears of taxes in all the Imperial provinces, to the amount of seven millions of English money. The system of giving alimentation to poor children was extended; indeed, there was no class, from the lowest to the highest, which did not share the bounty of Hadrian.

The anticipations of a peaceful reign speedily gave way before an invasion of Dacia by hordes of wild Sarmatian horsemen. Trajan had purchased the forbearance of some tribes beyond the Pruth and the Dniester by the payment of an annual tribute, and a reduction of this sum appears to have been the cause of offence. The Roxolani accordingly crossed the rivers, and swept like a torrent over the plains; dispersing, indeed, before any systematic attack of the Roman legions, but constantly returning, so as to spread havoc and terror through the land. Hadrian had not been many months at Rome before he saw the necessity of advancing in person against these marauders.

His departure gave an opportunity for the outbreak of a conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate him during his absence. In a letter from Illyricum, written, probably, in the early part of 119, the Emperor revealed this design to the Senate, and, by the order of that assembly, the criminals were put to death. They were certain generals, who conceived that their own claims to the purple were greater than those of Trajan's relative. But they do not seem to have enjoyed anything like general support: Hadrian had done nothing to provoke popular discontent, but, on the contrary, everything to avert it. Nevertheless, the conspiracy caused sufficient alarm to induce the Emperor to hasten his return to Italy. He advanced no further than Mœsia, and, having pacified the barbarians by conceding the money payment they required—perhaps even by increasing the former tribute—he departed, leaving the Dacian command in the hands of his legate, Martius Turbo, an officer on whom he felt he could rely. It is stated by Dion Cassius that, before departing, he provided for the security of Mœsia by breaking down Trajan's bridge.

Though doubtless well pleased that his personal foes had been put out of the way by the Senate, Hadrian affected a certain degree of regret that the lives of Senators had been sacrificed for an offence against himself. He had previously given the now customary promise not to sanction the death of any of the Fathers, and he could say with perfect truth that the recent executions had taken place without his knowledge: that he was sincere in describing the fact as against his wish, may well be questioned. On returning to Rome, however, he renewed his former undertaking, and again exhibited in all matters the utmost deference to the Senate. Considering, in the security of the capital, how best he could promote the interests of his immense realm, he determined to visit the provinces in succession, and inquire into the condition of the people, as well as into the trustworthiness of the officials. The habits of Hadrian, though not debased by parsimony, were as plain and simple as his manners were affable. He marched on foot at the head of his legions, generally bareheaded, and preserved strict discipline, both by injunction and example. In the course of these progresses, he inspected camps and fortifications, inquired into rations and clothing, held frequent reviews, and corrected those luxurious indulgences which had for some time past lowered the efficiency both of officers and men. Whatever concerned the well-being of the Empire engaged his attention, and exercised his sleepless vigilance; and this inspection continued through the greater part of a reign which extended over a period of twenty-one years.

The first province visited by Hadrian was Gaul, after passing through which he reached the German territory on the Rhine. The ancient historian, Spartianus, says that "he set a king over the Germans;" but the meaning of the statement is by no means clear, and it unfortunately happens that for this period of Roman history we have only very few and very meagre authorities. It may be, however, that Hadrian recognised the claims of some chieftain to the headship of one of the tribes, and that he relied on his friendliness and gratitude for restraining the communities that bordered on the rampart of Trajan. In the vicinity of the modern town of Salzburg the Emperor founded a colony called after him, and, having completed his examination of Gaul and the bordering lands, crossed over into Britain. An insurrection had recently occurred there, of which we have no details, but which seems to have cost the Romans numerous lives. Yet the Britons were remarkably prosperous under the rule of their conquerors. The mineral resources of the country were largely developed; great industries were already in operation; and fifty towns had been established in various parts of the land. Though held in military subjection, the natives were in other respects left very much to themselves. It is not clear that there was more than one colony of Roman citizens in the whole island there were certainly not more than three. The chief centre of trade was London; but the principal Roman city of the province—that which was in fact its capital—was Eboracum, or York. Here the Prefect was stationed with his official staff; and the presence of so many Romans gave to the surrounding districts a degree of civilisation which was still wanting in the south.

It was at Eboracum that Hadrian paused for a while to make arrangements for the security of the northern frontier. The Caledonians had once more attacked the neighbouring populations, and it was evident that the work of Agricola must be performed over again. Hadrian, therefore, advanced towards the Tyne, and crossed that river at a spot where afterwards arose the town of Pons Ælii (the Ælian Bridge), now Newcastle-on-Tyne. Agricola had erected two lines of forts across that part of the island—one from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith, the other from the Frith of Forth to the Clyde. It seems probable that the Caledonians had surmounted the latter of these obstructions, and advanced as far south as the former; and Hadrian considered that the country between the Tyne and the Solway Frith presented the best opportunities

of defence, though he was determined to preserve the more northern line as well. In the vicinity of the Tyne he erected a continuous rampart, with a fortified station at every fourth or fifth mile. This is the great military work popularly known as "the Picts' Wall," the famous collieries at the end of which long gave a distinctive name to a species of coal now entirely exhausted. The length of the rampart was a little more than sixty-eight miles, and remains of the stone wall and the embankment are still to be seen along the course of the rivers Tyne and Eden. The works altogether are very elaborate, and consist of several distinct lines, one behind another, with intermediate ditches. Whether the whole of this system of defence should be attributed to Hadrian is a matter which has long divided archæologists. Some give him the credit of having designed and carried out the entire scheme; others, on the contrary, believe that he did no more than erect the stone wall, with its forts, standing northward of the other works, which, according to this view, are to be attributed to his predecessor Agricola, and to his successor Severus. However the fact may be, it is certain that Hadrian performed enough to add very materially to the safety of the threatened province, and that he left the island with a reasonable conviction that the progress of civilisation among the Britons would not be stifled by the irruption of barbarian tribes.

During his stay in Britain, which seems to have commenced in 119, and ended in 120, Hadrian is said to have been accompanied by his wife, Sabina. This is the more remarkable, as the Emperor and Empress lived in a state of mutual antagonism. Each, probably, had reason to complain of the other; yet Hadrian entertained a proper regard for the dignity of the Empress, and disgraced his Prefect, Septicius Clarus, and his secretary, Suetonius Tranquillus, the well-known biographer of the first twelve Cæsars, for showing her disrespect. After quitting Britain, Hadrian passed through Gaul, and entered Spain, where he did much to restore the well-being of a province which must have possessed peculiar interest for him, on account of family connections. Crossing the Mediterranean, he then entered Mauritania, and, by his personal interference, put an end to certain disturbances by which the dependency had been agitated. This must have been in 121; in the following year, he appeared in the vicinity of Parthia. Chosroes, the Parthian monarch on whom Trajan had made war, was again showing an unfriendly disposition, and the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire were anticipating renewed trouble. To Hadrian it appeared not improbable that a personal interview with the Asiatic sovereign would remove all misunderstandings; and so well did he succeed that Chosroes desisted from his designs, and exhibited a friendly spirit, which ensured peace between the two Empires throughout the whole of Hadrian's reign. Satisfied with what he had accomplished, the Emperor now turned homeward, passing through Asia Minor, and touching at some of the Ægean islands on his way to Athens. The historic city of Attica detained him for some months; but, in the spring of 123, he departed for Rome, which he reached after a brief visit to Sicily. At the capital he did not stay long, but soon left for the province of Africa, where the people attributed to his presence the welcome advent of a copious rainfall, such as had not visited their land for a period of five years.

The second progress of Hadrian began in the year 125, and lasted to 134, though it is probable that some occasional intervals were spent at Rome. For more than half this period the Emperor dwelt at Athens, the place where he had received his education, where he had made his philosophic friendships, and to which he always looked with sentiments of admiration and respect. His great desire was to restore the city of Pericles to its former grandeur; and certainly there was occasion for some master-hand, which should efface the ruins of neglectful ages, and once more set the intellectual capital of Greece on a footing worthy of its ancient renown. Many grand buildings yet remained; but they needed repair, and the habitations of all but the rich were miserable in their filth and squalor. The Ilissus was an open sewer, ending in a marsh; the surrounding country was destitute of water, grass, and trees, and sent up clouds of dust which frequently obscured the sun. During his six years' residence at Athens, Hadrian so completely restored one quarter of the city that it received the distinct name of Hadrianopolis. The Emperor also undertook the completion of the great temple to Jupiter Olympius which Pisistratus had commenced. Numerous statues of the Emperor, the votive offerings of states and sovereigns, were among the decorations of this magnificent edifice, which shone with gold, with marble, with ivory, and with painting. The grateful Athenians bestowed on their benefactor the title of Olympius, and he, in return, treated their city with all the reverence that was due to the possessor of such splendid antecedents. His intercourse with the philosophers was frequent, and doubtless cordial; for Hadrian was himself a man of intellect, filled with an intense curiosity as to all forms of moral

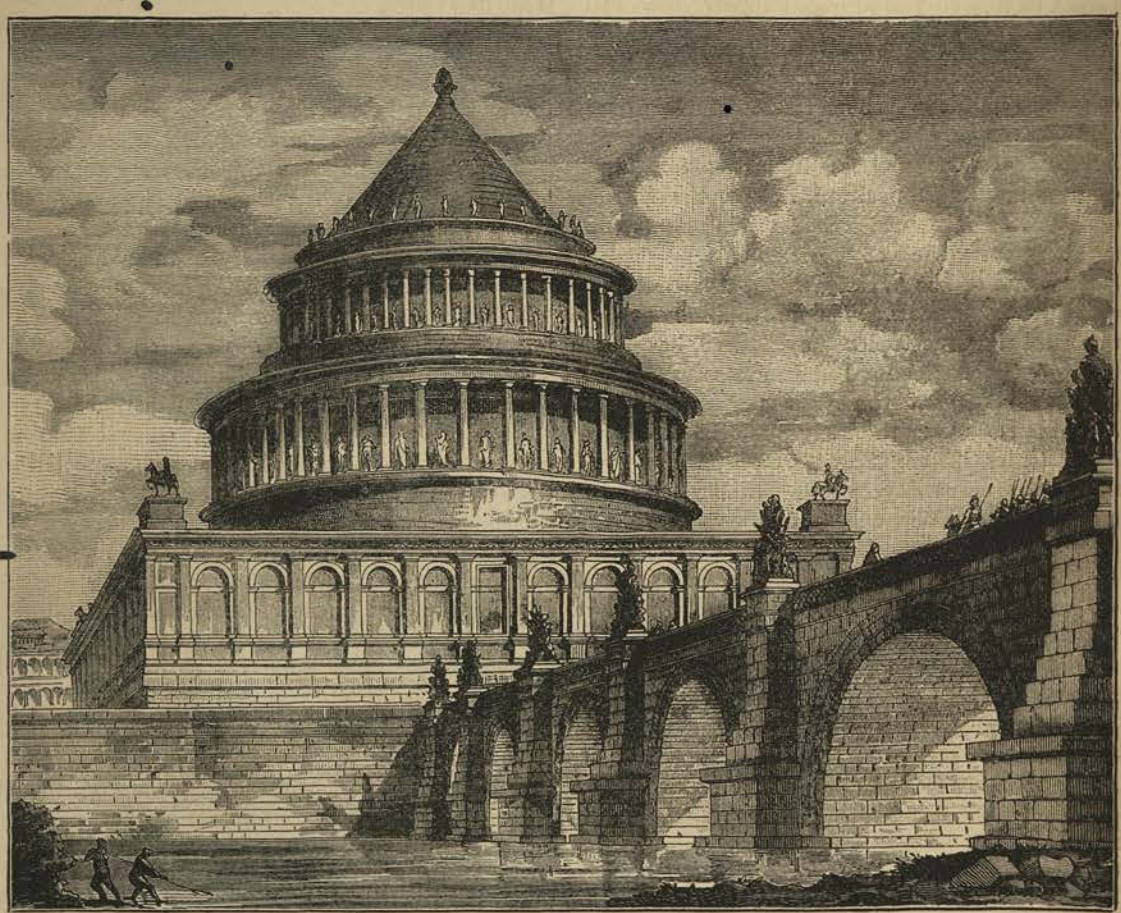
speculation. He had been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, and, while at Athens, listened with respect to the Christian orators, Quadratus and Aristides. The professors of the new faith were viewed by Hadrian in no unfriendly spirit; and this may have been attributable to the expositions of Christian doctrine which, during his residence in Hellas, he had heard from the lips of two Athenian sages.

Quitting Greece after his prolonged stay, Hadrian went to Egypt in 131, and took up his abode at Alexandria, a seat of learning and philosophy not inferior to Athens itself. It may even be said to have offered, in some respects, still greater attractions to the restless inquirer; for, owing to its geographical position, and to the singular admixture of races which had taken place within its circuit, every kind of spiritual thought, both of the East and of the West, was to be found represented in its schools. The prevailing views on moral and religious topics may, indeed, have been those of Greece; but Judaism was powerfully represented also, and the systems of Syria, Persia, and India had made themselves felt in the city of the Ptolemies. There, likewise, Christianity had attained a vigorous development, and the mystical ideas of the Gnostics, which aimed at spiritualising the whole of life, boasted many followers, whose enthusiasm may have indirectly influenced some who were not actually converted to their views. The time was one of profound agitation on all matters touching the relation of the soul to its Maker, and the mystery of the visible universe. The philosopher Apollonius of Tyana, who had lived in the previous century, was supposed to have worked numerous miracles, and in a later age was regarded as a rival to the founder of Christianity. The remarkable life of this teacher, written by Philostratus, contains, in the midst of many idle and fantastic tales, evidence of a noble nature, endeavouring to raise the Pagan world to a higher level than it had long occupied. Dion Chrysostomus (the "Golden-mouthed"), who lived under Domitian and Trajan, had passed from city to city, preaching a pure morality, and a sense of the divine in man, which distinguishes him from the crowd of rhetorical sophists to whose ranks he had once belonged. The moral discourses of Plutarch, and even the general character of his biographies, had shown how true a note of tender wisdom was consistent with the creed of Greeks and Romans, when once the essence was delivered from the tyranny of the form. All these currents, and many more, were powerfully operative at Alexandria; and it can easily be understood with what interest such a man as Hadrian entered that brilliant city.

His experience, however, did not equal his anticipations. Writing, some time after, to Servianus, he said:—"I have now become fully acquainted with that Egypt which you extol so highly. I have found the people vain, fickle, and shifting with every breath of opinion. Those who worship Serapis are in fact Christians, and they who call themselves Christian Bishops are actually worshippers of Serapis. There is no chief of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian Bishop, who is not an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and a conjurer. The Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by one party to worship Serapis—by the other, Christ." The authenticity of this letter is not quite beyond question, nor is it easy to see what the writer meant by his identification of Christianity with the worship of Serapis. But the passage is interesting, as containing the views of an intelligent observer on the seething fermentation of belief and thought which at that time made Alexandria the most remarkable city in the Roman world. Hadrian entered into unrestrained intercourse with the various sects then congregated in the Ptolemaic capital, and, treating them with his usual liberality, increased the salaries of the public teachers. His munificence was also displayed in the erection of many grand buildings; but he never liked the Alexandrians, and the people regarded him with an equal want of cordiality. Nor were the native Egyptians of the country districts any more agreeable to the Emperor, who found in them a degree of fanaticism and credulity which disgusted his philosophic mind. Not long before his arrival, though the exact date is uncertain, the people of Ombos and of Tentyra had been engaged in a ferocious contest with reference to some religious question; and it is said that the disputants, in the fury of their mutual hatred, even proceeded to the extent of cannibalism. The mixture of races in Egypt had led rather to exasperation than to tolerance, and Romans had been forbidden to reside in the country, lest they should add to the conflict of nationalities and of rival creeds.

So great was the turbulence of the Alexandrians that they insulted the Emperor himself, and exhibited the most striking ingratitude for the generosity which he had shown towards their city. They even wounded his feelings in a direction where they were particularly sensitive. Hadrian was much attached to one of his court pages, a Bithynian youth named Antinous, whose extraordinary beauty, both of form and feature, has

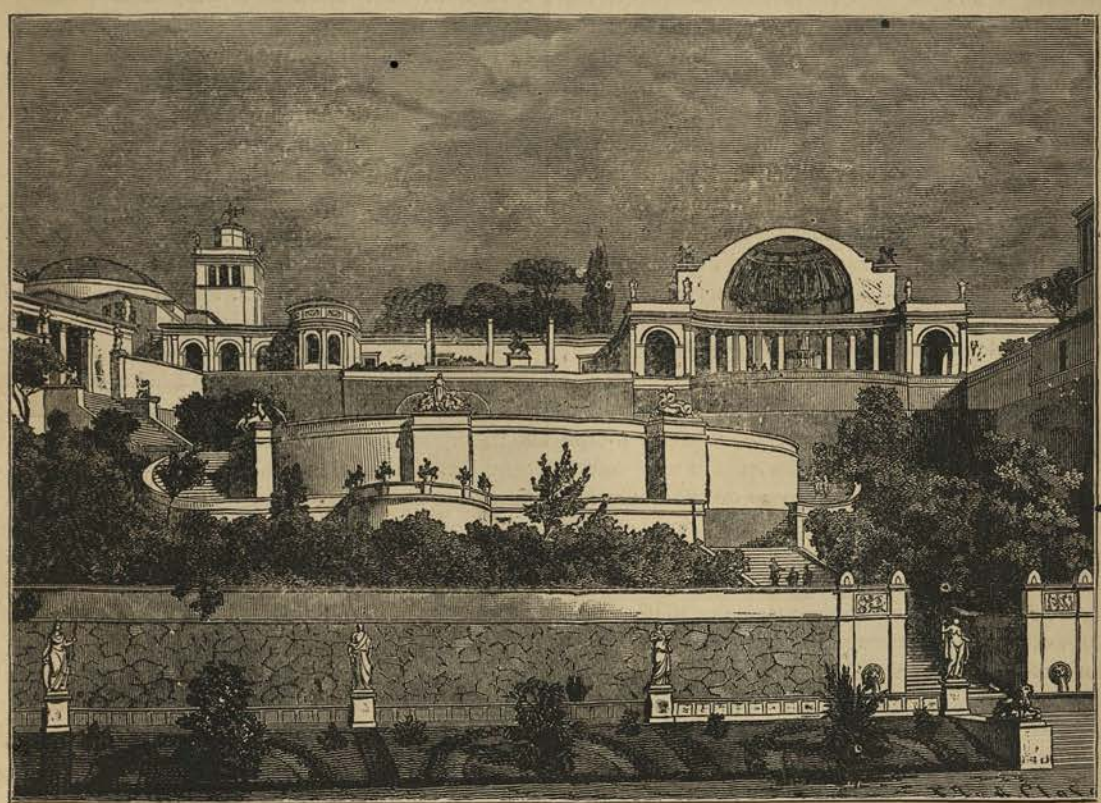
been preserved to us in innumerable statues. While in Egypt, Antinous met his death in some mysterious way which has never been satisfactorily explained. Some say that he fell accidentally into the Nile; some that he voluntarily drowned himself in that river, because an oracle had declared that a great danger impending over the Emperor could be averted only by the sacrifice of the object dearest to him; others that he was killed in order that Hadrian might consult the entrails of his favourite for those mysterious signs which were supposed to reveal the future. The second of these causes is the most probable; but in any case Hadrian professed to be deeply affected by the death of his young friend. The Alexandrians, nevertheless, treated his feelings with ribaldry, and the historian Vopiscus has preserved a letter from the Emperor, referring to this treatment in terms which reveal how sharply it had pained him. "I have given these people," said Hadrian, "everything they asked for. I have confirmed all their ancient privileges, which they could not help acknowledging in my presence. But no sooner had I turned my back than they lavished every kind of insult on my friend Antinous." The devotion of the Emperor to the memory of the young Bithynian was shown in many ways. He built a city in Egypt to his honour, which he called Antinoöpolis; erected a temple in his name, and alleged that his soul had been changed into a constellation which about that time appeared in the heavens. In after days, the worship of Antinous became one of the accepted religions of Paganism, and even obtained so large a hold on numerous persons as to appear, for a brief season, as a rival to Christianity itself.*



RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN, NOW THE CASTLE OF SAINT ANGELO.

* A very interesting study of Antinous—especially of the circumstances attending his death, and of the influence exercised by his worship—appears in the "Sketches and Studies in Italy" of Mr. John Addington Symonds (1879).

Glad to escape from Alexandria, Hadrian proceeded up the Nile in 132, and visited Thebes; after which he left Egypt for Antioch, where he was treated with as much disrespect as at Alexandria. A revengeful man would have let loose his soldiery upon the place: Hadrian contented himself by making the beautiful metropolis of the Seleucidæ a dependency of Tyre. He now proved his friendship to the Parthian king, Chosroes, by restoring to him his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan in the campaign of 116; then, returning homewards through Asia Minor, he marked his progress by the restoration of many ancient towns. The winter of 133–4 was passed by Hadrian at Athens, and in the latter of those years he once more took up his residence at Rome, where he spent the brief remainder of his life in the prosecution of legal reforms, the foundation of a Roman university, which he called the Athenæum, and the erection of magnificent buildings, the most remarkable of which were the Mausoleum or Mole of Hadrian (intended for his own remains, and reared on the northern side of the Tiber), and a temple to Rome and Venus. A portion of the Mausoleum exists to the present day, though sadly defaced and time-worn, in the massive circular tower of the Castle of St. Angelo, the citadel of modern Rome. The Tiburtine villa of Hadrian, now entirely destroyed, was another work of extraordinary size and splendour. It was eight miles in circuit, and contained within its limits a variety of buildings, together with immense gardens, portions of which were laid out so as to imitate the Vale of Tempe.



HADRIAN'S VILLA AT TIBUR.

Peace was certainly the general characteristic of Hadrian's reign; but to the Jews must be attributed one stormy episode of war. After the fall of Jerusalem, a school of Rabbis settled at Tiberias, on the Lake of Galilee, where they gave themselves to the study of the Masora, or unwritten tradition, and of the Cabala, a body of mystical doctrine, derived by an abstruse process from the Hebrew Scriptures. There, in time, arose the commentaries of the Mischna and the Gemara, which the later Israelites valued so highly, and which together form the Talmud; and there the spirit of the race was cherished in misfortune. The result was seen in the sanguinary risings of the

Jews under Trajan, which have been already described; and, after an interval of some years, the same troubles broke out afresh under Hadrian. The head of the new movement was a certain Rabbi Akiba; but the chief warrior was a man of gigantic size and strength, named Bar-Cochebas, the "Son of the Star"—an allusion to the star of Jacob predicted by Balaam. The rising is said to have been caused by edicts of the Emperor dealing very severely with the Jews, and by his project of erecting a temple to the Capitoline Jove on the summit of Mount Moriah, in Jerusalem; but the sternness of Hadrian may have been provoked by the violence and insubordination of the race. In 131, Bar-Cochebas proclaimed himself the Messiah, and, gathering about him 200,000 armed followers, occupied the site of Jerusalem, and was acknowledged as king. Some victories were at first obtained over the Roman troops; but the tide soon turned against the insurgents, and Julius Severus gradually wore out the Jews by a series of operations conducted with great skill and judgment. The final stand was made at the fortress of Bethar, near Beth-horon; and when this stronghold was taken, in 132, the rebellion collapsed. The Romans appear to have acted with great barbarity to the vanquished, and the destruction of life was doubtless enormous. Under the name of Ælia Capitolina, Hadrian established a Roman colony on the site of Jerusalem in 133, and, while Christians were allowed to conduct their religious worship there, and a fane to Jupiter rose on the ground once occupied by Solomon's Temple, the Jews were forbidden to enter the city.

The last years of the Emperor's life were disturbed by rumours of Senatorial plots. It is said that the naturally suspicious disposition of Hadrian increased upon him as he grew old, and that he acted with cruelty towards those whom he regarded with distrust. When the Empress Sabina died, rumour asserted that she had been poisoned; but for this statement, and similar reports, there is no conclusive authority. The general tenor of Hadrian's reign is certainly opposed to such accusations; but the question is one on which no precise opinion can be pronounced. Hadrian was childless, and, as it was necessary to provide for the succession, lest Rome should be again plunged into anarchy, the Emperor, in 135, adopted as his son Ceionius Commodus Verus, a young noble of distinction, but addicted to profligate habits, and gifted with no very marked ability. The sensuality of Verus had a frivolous and whimsical character; but his appearance was dignified, and his delivery impressive. When appointed to the command in Pannonia, he acquitted himself with average capacity, and it is possible that the responsibilities of power might have strengthened and developed his better nature. He did not live, however, to obtain the position for which Hadrian had designated him. His life was prematurely terminated on the 1st of January, 138, and he was buried in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The Emperor now adopted for his successor Titus Aurelius Antoninus, a man of great powers, of noble character, and of ripe age, as he had already passed his fiftieth year. Antoninus being himself childless, Hadrian required that he should nominate two heirs, and for this purpose indicated his nephew, Marcus Annius Verus (afterwards the philosophical Emperor, Marcus Aurelius), and Lucius Verus, the son of him who had but recently departed.

The malady of Hadrian rapidly increased in violence after the performance of this act. His physicians could do nothing to alleviate the intensity of his sufferings, and, with that proneness to mystical superstition which appears to have lain deep within his nature, notwithstanding his philosophic habits, he sought assistance of astrologers and diviners. Some of the ancient historians, whose tone was always bitter towards Hadrian, allege that, in the bursts of passion to which he now gave way, he put innocent persons to death out of mere caprice. In these moments of pain, weariness, and agitation, or rather, perhaps, in some brief interval of tranquillity, he addressed a few verses to his departing soul, which show at once the speculative nature of the man, and his unsatisfied longings. Despairing of relief, he sought to hasten his death, and implored his attendants to despatch him, either by the sword or poison. His disease was probably dropsy; but in any case it was incurable, and he died on the 10th of July, 138, in his sixty-second year. The character of Hadrian will have sufficiently appeared from the foregoing account of his reign. It was full of contradictions; but so was the age which it reflected as in a microcosm. Hadrian but seldom abused the opportunities which fortune had placed at his disposal; perhaps less frequently than his detractors allege. The good of the entire Empire, and not simply the predominance of the metropolis, was the ideal which he constantly kept before him; and the Roman world was the richer for his broad and equable benevolence.

The successor to Hadrian acquired the name of Antoninus Pius in consequence of the affection which he showed towards his adoptive father after the death of that great ruler. The Senators, believing the report that in his last illness Hadrian had doomed several of their number to death, opposed

the usual deification; but Antoninus succeeded in overcoming their scruples. The paternal ancestors of the new Emperor had belonged to Nemausus, in Gaul (the modern Nismes); but he himself was born at Lanuvium, now Lavinia, in Latium, a few miles south of the Alban Lake. Both his father and grandfather had been Consuls; his mother also was a person of distinction; and his family connections speedily introduced him to high offices of state. The Consulship was held by him in the third year of Hadrian's reign, and he was afterwards named one of the four Consulars by whom justice was administered in Italy. The Prefecture of Asia gave him experience in provincial government; and Hadrian exercised a wise discretion in designating him for the Imperial office when his own career should have closed. Unlike his nephew, Marcus Aurelius, whose natural bent was almost entirely towards philosophic inquiry, Antoninus Pius was a man of plain business habits, who considered that the chief end of life was to act, rather than to debate on subtle theories of duty. Yet so far was he from objecting to the favourite studies of Aurelius that, although the youth was then not more than seventeen years old, he soon associated him in the government, and gave him the hand of his daughter, Annia Faustina. The nephew, the son-in-law, and the adopted son, wrote in after years a noble panegyric of Antoninus Pius, of whom he said:—"In my father I noticed mildness of manners and firmness of resolution, contempt of vain-glory, industry in business, accessibility to all who had counsel to give on public matters, and care in allowing every one his due share of consideration. . . . . He looked to his duty only, not to the opinion that might be formed of him."*

Departing entirely from the example of his immediate predecessor, Antoninus Pius never quitted the neighbourhood of Rome during the whole three-and-twenty years of his reign. His tendencies were peaceful, yet not to a culpable or effeminate degree. Wars frequently took place on the remote frontiers of the Empire; but they were conducted by the generals of the sovereign, not by the sovereign himself. In Britain, Lollius Urbicus threw up a new earthen rampart, called the Vallum Antonini, from the Clyde to the Frith of Forth. The Roman occupation of our island was now extended to the further of the two isthmuses which break those northern parts, and the district between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus was soon filled by Romanised colonists. In a very different direction to that of Britain, the Roman power was equally acknowledged. Beyond the river Phasis, on the eastern shores of the Euxine, a king was imposed on the Lazi; the Parthian designs on Armenia were held in check; and the representatives of Antoninus mediated between the Scythians and the Greek communities beyond the Chersonesus Taurica. Several barbarian chieftains went to Rome to tender their submission to the Emperor; but Antoninus, like Hadrian, saw the impolicy of increasing his dominions. We can hardly question his wisdom in so deciding; yet history uniformly teaches that when a conquering race ceases to conquer, the time of its own humiliation is not far distant. This is a melancholy truth, but one which it is impossible to doubt, or to explain away. The intermediate period, however, may be one of great placidity and happiness; and such was the case with the Roman Empire under the sway of Antoninus Pius. His reign was marked by scarcely any incidents of importance. Notwithstanding the responsibilities of his office, this admirable prince encountered but little of that opposition which the most exemplary goodness does not always avert. His rule was paternal in the best sense of the word. Even in the collection of legitimate taxes, instructions were given to spare the needy and unfortunate. Informers were repressed; the salaries of inefficient officers underwent reduction, and considerate Governors were retained many years at their posts. Though far from indifferent to the old religion of Rome, Antoninus was actively benevolent towards the Christians; while in all his private relations he appears to have been absolutely blameless. Moral, self-restrained, temperate, kind, and cheerful, he lived a pattern life under circumstances sorely trying to any human being. His habits were so extremely simple that his robe, it is said, was woven by the handmaids of his wife. That wife, unhappily, was not worthy of her husband. Her manners were licentious; yet, when she died, three years after the accession of the Emperor, he raised a temple in her honour, and celebrated games in commemoration of her apotheosis—a stretch of generosity which seems open to comment. Still, even this exemplary prince was not entirely without enemies. In a time of dearth, the people pelted him with stones, and some conspiracies against his life were discovered, but treated by him with the forbearance of a serene and lofty nature. His life was prolonged until his seventy-fifth year, when an attack of gastric fever, with which he was seized at his favourite residence of Lorium, in Etruria, brought his days to an end on the 7th of March, 161.

* Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Book I., chap. 16.

Shortly before he breathed his last, Antoninus Pius ordered the insignia of Imperial sovereignty to be carried to the chamber of his adopted son, who had for nearly three-and-twenty years assisted him in the active work of government. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was now a little under forty years of age, and his original tendency to philosophic reverie had been sufficiently corrected by long experience in the actual toils of State. The family of this great and good Emperor had formerly been connected with Spain, like those of Trajan and Hadrian; but it was doubtless of Roman origin, and the great-grandfather of the future prince had attained to Prætorian rank at the capital. It was at Rome that Marcus Aurelius was born, on the 20th of April, 121. While yet a child, he was introduced at court, where he so strongly attracted the regard of Hadrian that he was made a Knight at the age of six, and a Salian priest (one of those appointed to take charge of the sacred shields of Mars) at eight. He was so remarkable for truthfulness that the Emperor said he should be called, not Verus (True)—his original name—but Verissimus (Most True). The marriage of Aurelius with his first cousin, Annia Faustina, did not take place until seven years after the accession of Antoninus Pius, viz., in 145; and in the meanwhile his studies, both as a philosopher and an associate ruler, were carried on without interruption. The sect to which he attached himself was that of the Stoics, and his conduct was chiefly modelled on the precepts of Epictetus, a Greek of Phrygia, who lived in the first century of the Christian era, and, after having been a slave to one of the freedmen of Nero, took rank among the noblest teachers of his time. The works of Epictetus were the inseparable companions of Marcus Aurelius, and the influence of this humble preceptor—a man who glorified poverty by the moral grandeur of his life—is visible in the writings of his august disciple. The distinctive dress and strict discipline of the Stoics were adopted by Aurelius in his twelfth year; but the austerity of the sect was softened in the future Emperor by a benignant disposition, by a wide observation of the world, and by intimate acquaintance with the practical business of life. The celebrated book by which Aurelius is known to literature, and which is generally described as his "Meditations," though the more literal translation of the title would be "An Address to Himself," or "Self-communings," is written in Greek, and has been translated into most modern languages. It is one of the best specimens of Pagan morality that we possess, and exhibits the mind of the Emperor in a beautiful and attractive light. A soul pure, brave, mild, and truth-loving, devoted to the good of humanity, and animated by a reverential sense of the Divine nature, speaks to us in those ever-living pages. It is interesting to find that, amongst the many instructors of Aurelius, was Sextus of Chæronea, a grandson of the humane and gentle Plutarch.

The philosophic Emperor conferred on his adoptive brother Verus an equal share of the Imperium, and, in the very year of his accession, became the father of a son, who, for the first time in the history of the Roman Empire, was actually "born in the purple," to which he ultimately succeeded. This was Marcus Aurelius Commodus, the last of the Antonines—a degenerate scion of an illustrious house, who disgraced his predecessors by his vices and cruelty. The reign of Aurelius was, on the whole, unfortunate. We see in it the commencement of that positive decline of power which for some time past there had been reason to apprehend, but which, from this date onwards, proceeded with increasing impetus. The Parthians once more became aggressive, and a body of Roman troops at Elegia, on the Euphrates, was destroyed by the warriors of Vologeses III. Thence the victorious horsemen spread all over Syria, and, had it not been for the vigour and resolution of Avidius Cassius, who was in command there at the time, and who possessed a good deal of the antique spirit formerly associated with his name, the province might have been lost to Rome. The Emperor had appointed his colleague, Verus, to the conduct of the war; but Verus was an indolent profligate, and he lingered, first in Apulia, and afterwards at Antioch, where the licentious practices of the grove at Daphne proved far too attractive to him. The real command was therefore left in the hands of Cassius, who conducted a series of brilliant campaigns from 162 to 166. After many desperate actions, the Parthians were driven back, and gladly purchased peace by the restoration of Mesopotamia, which, after being annexed to the Empire by Trajan, had been relinquished by Hadrian. During the course of the war, Cassius sacked Seleuceia (which had aided the enemy), burned the royal palace at Ctesiphon, and entered Babylon. At the same time, Statius Priscus, who held the command in Cappadocia, invaded Armenia, and took Artaxata. It is certain that none of the honours of these campaigns belonged of right to Verus; but he claimed them on his return to Rome, and he and Aurelius celebrated a joint triumph for victories in which they had not been personally concerned. The

latter refused in the first instance to adopt this course, but gave way to the persuasions of Verus, who had married his daughter. The excessive amiability of Aurelius towards his unworthy associate betrays a weakness in his character which, it is to be feared, is visible in other directions as well. Yet his wisdom and benevolence are radiant above all. The people were conciliated by the justness of his rule, and the Senators by the deference which he paid their body.

The legions employed in the Parthian war brought back with them to Europe, in 167, the germs of a terrible pestilence, which had followed them along their line of march, and now devastated whole provinces. The great physician Galen, who was in Rome at the time, and had charge of the young prince Commodus, has given an account of the malady, and his details are supplemented by those of other writers. In some parts of Italy, villas, towns, and lands were left without inhabitants or cultivators, and populated districts relapsed into wilderness. The devout among the Pagans attributed this affliction to the culpable toleration of the Christian heresy; the Christian writers of a later time said it was due to the persecution of the true believers. At the present day, it will doubtless be very generally referred to neglect of sanitary laws. Unhappily, however, it appears to be the fact that, under the mild and benevolent rule of Marcus Aurelius, the Christians were oppressed rather than protected. Two persecutions are said to have taken place during this reign, in the first of which it is alleged that Justin Martyr, a Samaritan convert of Greek origin, was beheaded at Rome, and that Polycarp, one of the Apostolic Fathers, who is reported to have been a disciple of St. John, was burned alive at Smyrna. Both circumstances, however, are involved in some doubt, and in truth we know very little about either Polycarp or Justin. The other persecution was some years later; but there is a complete want of certainty with respect to the dates of these outbreaks of fanaticism. Some of the worst sufferings of the Christians were at Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul, where Pothinus, Ponticus, and Blandina, died for their devotion to the faith. It would seem that the rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian, forbidding the authorities to seek out the Christians, and threatening the informers with punishment, had of late been disregarded, though there is no proof that they had been formally annulled.

The actual complicity of Aurelius in these distressing events is a difficult and painful question. It may, of course, be urged with considerable pertinence that a ruler possessed of such large powers must be held accountable for all the acts of his subordinates. But, as we are unable to fix the exact years of the persecutions, we cannot say whether they may not have occurred at times when the Emperor, being engaged in the numerous frontier wars of his reign, was ignorant of the facts. Certain it is that no unquestionable edict of his, directed against the Christians, can be adduced, and that all we know of his character is opposed to the supposition of tyrannical cruelty. He had, it is true, no admiration of the new believers. In his book of self-communings, he speaks of their "obstinacy" in encountering death, and hints that their courage was characterised by "noise" and "ostentation."* But this does not prove that he actually devoted them to death, though it is possible that, owing to the weakness of character we have observed in him, he may not have sufficiently checked the zeal of others. Appended to Justin's plea for Christianity, which is still extant, is a letter from Aurelius, expressed in a spirit favourable to the heretics; but it has been thought that this was only in consequence of certain successes recently obtained over the barbarians, which were attributed to the prayers of Christian soldiers. It is right that every argument and every statement with respect to the early persecutions should be impartially heard; but we should be especially careful not to form rigid opinions on a subject which passion, sentiment, and legend have conspired to obscure.

We may probably refer to about this period the first use of the Roman Catacombs as places of concealment, secret worship, and burial. These vast and labyrinthine caverns, which extend several miles under the suburbs of Rome, in the vicinity of the Via Appia, are supposed to have been first dug out by the Jews, to whom the Roman custom of burning the dead was abhorrent. The primitive Christians, during the several persecutions, availed themselves of a subterranean world where they felt comparatively secure; and to the present day we see their tombs, their inscriptions, their frescoes, their altars, and their rude chapels. But the greatest resort to the catacombs was in the third and fourth centuries, rather than in the second century. After the establishment of Christianity, these gloomy crypts continued to be visited, out of reverence to the martyrs whose bones lay there; but, on the relics being removed, the catacombs fell into neglect in the ninth century, and were forgotten until their accidental re-discovery in 1578.

The frontiers were still menaced by hordes of

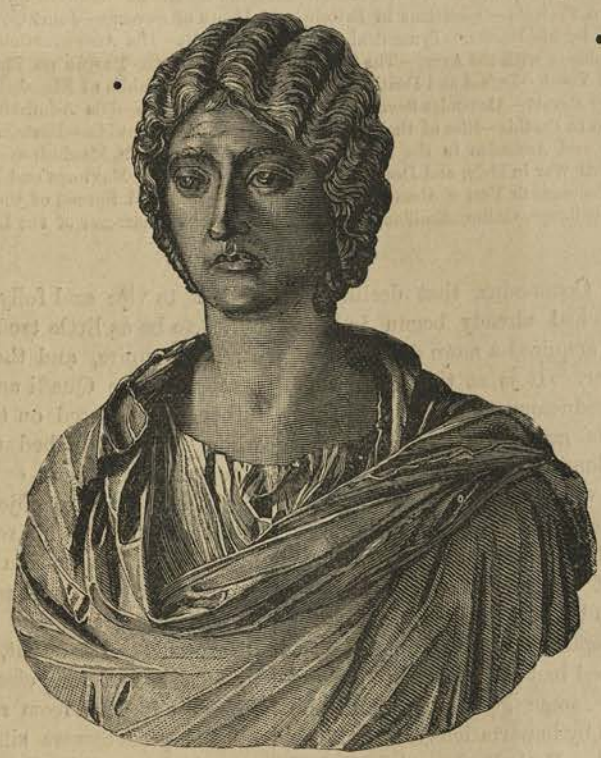
* Meditations, Book XI., chap. 3.

barbarians, and the growing weakness of the Empire was shown by the frequent resort to money payments as a means of staving off attack. The whole line of the Danube was imperilled, and a Scythian people, called the Alani, whose chief seat was at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus, had recently passed round the northern shores of the Euxine, and joined the European tribes. In a later age, these people formed one of the numerous savage communities which broke up the Roman Empire; but for the present their power was only beginning to be formidable. To restore the authority of the Empire on the Danube was the first task undertaken by Aurelius after the conclusion of the Parthian war. He and Verus departed for Aquileia in 167, after the performance of grand religious ceremonies at Rome; but the legions had been so much thinned by the late pestilence that it was found necessary to enlist slaves and gladiators to fill the ranks. The plague, however, continued; inundations and earthquakes added to the calamities of the time; and the forces were reduced as fast as they could be augmented. The Julian Alps were crossed in 168; but, any further advance being for the moment impracticable, the army retired into the Venetian territory, where Verus died of apoplexy in the early part of 169. Although the efforts of Aurelius were no longer hampered by the indolence and luxury of his late colleague, very little was accomplished. The genius of the Emperor was in truth unfitted for military exploits; yet there can be no question that he devoted himself to his duties in this respect with all the conscientiousness of his nature. The war lasted five years, and was waged against a combination of many frontier tribes, who were at least united in their hostility to the Empire. The sufferings of the Romans were great, especially in the winter season, when the Danube was frozen, and the legions could retain their footing only by standing on their shields. In the year 174, however, the Guadi were defeated in a great battle, which both Pagan and Christian writers allege to have been characterised by a miraculous interposition on behalf of the Imperial troops. The attacks of the barbarians were somewhat checked by this success, but the danger was very far from being finally removed. In 175, the Emperor was summoned from the Danube in consequence of a conspiracy into which the Empress Faustina had

MARCUS AURELIUS.

entered with Avidius Cassius. The latter was soon put to death by his own officers; but the Emperor behaved with generosity to his family and accomplices.

Aurelius was now in Pannonia, where he sent for his son Commodus, and designated him for the Consulship; after which he set out for the East, accompanied by his faithless spouse, who soon died at the foot of Mount Taurus. Again exhibiting that amiability which he seems at times to have pushed too far, Aurelius, following the example of his adoptive father, solicited the Senate for divine honours to Faustina, and perpetuated her memory by the Faustinian Institution for orphan girls. Proceeding to Antioch, he took measures for restoring order to the Syrian province, and then passed on to Alexandria, where, with an entire abnegation of all Imperial state, he attended the lectures of the professors. In returning to Italy, he stayed for a while at Athens, and caused himself to be initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries. He was back in Rome by the close of 176, but in the following year was again summoned to the field by renewed irruptions on the Danube. Commodus, who had just received the Tribunitian power, and celebrated his nuptials with Crispina, accompanied his father to the war, the events of which are involved in great obscurity. It is probable that some successes were obtained, but subsequent events prove that they coul not have been very important. Aurelius was exhausted by constant labours in the prosecution of wars which had yielded little in recompense for the hardships they entailed. The most reflective of rulers had been unable to enjoy the philosophic calm and leisure which he valued above all things, except the prerogatives of benevolent and generous action. But the placidity which was denied to him in life, now came to him in death. He expired at Sirmium, the capital of Pannonia, or at Vindobona, the modern Vienna, on March 17th, 180, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. It is stated by Dion Cassius that Commodus hastened his father's end by the administration of poison; but this imputation is so frequently made in Roman history that we are perhaps justified in disregarding it. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that, in the case of Commodus, it derives some probability from the atrocious character with which the last of the Antonines disgraced his throne.



JULIA DOMNA.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE DECLINE OF ROME.

Deterioration of the Roman Nature—Character of Commodus—Early Acts of his Reign—Attempted Murder of the Emperor—Commencement of his Tyranny—Wars on the Frontiers—Pestilence, Famine, Plots, and Tumults—Presumption and Superstition of Commodus—Design to Murder the Consuls—Assassination of the Emperor—Succession of Pertinax—His Previous Services and Noble Character—Just and Beneficent Nature of his Rule—Military Revolution, and Murder of Pertinax—The Empire purchased by Julianus—Succession of Septimius Severus—His Struggle with Pescennius Niger in the East—Battle with Albinus in Gaul—Renewed Persecution of the Christians—General Character of the Rule of Severus—Power of the Prætorian Prefects—Operations in Britain, and Death of Severus—Joint Government of the Emperor's Two Sons—Murder of Geta by his Brother—Tyrannical Edicts of Caracalla—His Assassination in Mesopotamia—Succession of Macrinus—His Unpopularity with the Army—The Syrian Legions confer the Purple on Elagabalus (Heliogabalus)—Origin and Disposition of that Youth—Defeat and Death of Macrinus—Oriental Habits of Elagabalus—His Growing Unpopularity, and Death in a Military Revolt—Alexander Severus Succeeds to the Throne—His Admirable Qualities—Turbulence of the Prætorians—Revolution in Parthia—Rise of the Persian Dynasty of the Sassanidæ—Eastern Wars of Alexander Severus—Revolt of Maximinus, and Accession to the Throne—Barbarian Tyranny of Maximinus—Unsuccessful Movement of the Gordians in Africa—Civil War in Italy, and Death of Maximinus—Reigns of Maximus and Balbinus, of the Third Gordian, and of Philip—The Thousandth Year of Rome—Reign of Decius—Rise and Spread of the Goths—Defeat and Death of Decius—Reigns of Hostilianus, Gallus, Æmilianus, and Valerian—Noble Character of the Last-named—Increasing Power of the Barbarians.

UNDER the rule of Commodus, that decline of Roman power which had already begun in the latter days of Trajan acquired a more definite and unmistakable character. It is at this point that Gibbon, after an introductory sketch of previous reigns, commences his great work; and thenceforward we see the dominion of the Romans becoming progressively weaker, until it finally succumbed to barbarian assaults. The original character of the people had deteriorated, owing partly to the over-confidence of too much success, partly to vicious indulgence, and partly to the admixture of foreign races in the population of the Imperial city. The true Roman blood had in fact been to a large extent exhausted for some generations, and the citizens were recruited by importations from half the countries of the world. Both Rome and Italy had long ceased to furnish more than a very small proportion of the armies which upheld the Empire. Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Britons, Thracians, Africans, and Orientals, carried the eagles to battle, and won new victories for the masters who had subdued them. But the masters themselves had lost the stern vigour of an earlier day. The Roman nature was softened and enfeebled, and the grasp was beginning to relax upon a sceptre which only a giant's force could wield.

On succeeding to the purple, Commodus was a youth in his nineteenth year, handsome, lively, and, though prematurely licentious, not yet remarkable for the cruelty which he afterwards exhibited. He had had an excellent example in his father; but the sons of philosophers are not always philosophic. Perhaps he had heard too much of virtue and self-restraint, and, by a not-unusual reaction, abandoned himself to vice and folly. At any rate, he determined to be as little troubled as might be with the cares of empire, and therefore at once concluded peace with the Quadi and Marcomanni, whom his father had resisted on the Danubian frontier, but whom he now bribed to submit. Returning to Rome at the earliest opportunity, he resumed his habits of profligate enjoyment, but, for about the first three years of his reign, conducted the government with moderation and success. On the frontiers he was well served by officers of ability and courage, and the citizens had no cause for discontent. It ought, doubtless, to have been noted as a suspicious circumstance that the youthful Emperor forbore from repeating the vow, made by all his predecessors since the time of Domitian, that the lives of the Senators should be held sacred. But for a while the actions of Commodus evinced a clement and even generous spirit, and he might possibly have gone on as he had begun, but for an untoward incident. One evening in the early part of 183, he was attacked by an assassin in a dark passage of the amphitheatre. The man rushed upon him with the exclamation, "The Senate sends you this!" The blow, however, was avoided, and the miscreant seized; when a strict examination revealed the fact that the conspiracy had not been formed in the Senate, but originated with the Emperor's own sister, Lucilla, the widow of Lucius Verus, who was jealous of the influence naturally exercised by the Empress Crispina. The suspicions of Commodus were in this way directed against the Senate, and the sleeping tiger was now aroused within him. From that time forth, the history of his reign, as far as his own personality was con-

cerned, is little else than a record of bloody persecutions, shameless debaucheries, and frivolous exhibitions in the amphitheatre. Commodus seems to have taken Nero as his model in some respects, though with a leaning rather to violent than to artistic displays. It is said that he contended as a gladiator more than seven hundred times, and that he entertained the people with shows of extreme cruelty, in which he was himself an actor.

The public events of this reign were not very numerous or important. The barbarians were held in check upon the frontiers of Dacia, and an irruption of the Caledonians across the wall of Antoninus was repelled by Ulpius Marcellus in 184. Gaul and Spain, on the other hand, were so weakly governed that several of the cities were plundered by bands of deserters from the army. In Italy, the pestilence was again felt with great severity; a famine in 186 necessitated special measures of relief; and in 191 Rome was visited by a serious fire. Plots and tumults were of frequent occurrence, but for several years failed in their object. Meanwhile, Commodus continued to act like a madman. He asserted his own divinity, and required that it should be recognised. At the same time, he offended purely Roman feeling by his patronage of Oriental superstitions, and officiated as a priest at the licentious ceremonies of Isis, Anubis, Serapis, and Mithra. To dazzle and amaze the populace, he powdered his hair with gold-dust, so that, when he appeared in the sunlight, his head seemed to be invested with a halo of beams. Such follies tended to lower the dignity of the office he held, while his capricious barbarity created a general terror, and his immoral life outraged public decorum by its extravagant grossness. The end, however, came at length on the 31st of December, 192, when the Emperor's favourite mistress, a Christian named Marcia, successfully carried out a plot against his life. Commodus had resolved to slay the Consuls-elect, to assume their functions himself, and to march to the Capitol as a gladiator in the midst of gladiators. From this detestable and fantastic design Marcia and others endeavoured to dissuade him. In an access of wrath, he set down their names in a list of intended victims. According to a somewhat apocryphal story, which has been related also of Domitian's end, this list was picked up by a child while the Emperor was sleeping, and carried in sport to Marcia, who at once entered into combination with the others. However obtained, the knowledge of their danger roused the menaced persons to speedy action, and, on returning from the amphitheatre the same evening, Commodus received a cup of poisoned wine from the hands of his mistress. The drug was slow in its operation, and Marcia called in a celebrated wrestler, who strangled the Emperor as he lay in a dull stupor.

The death of Commodus was attributed to apoplexy, and the people were too much pleased with their deliverance to be inquisitive as to its cause. Supreme power was now conferred on Publius Helvius Pertinax, the Prefect of the city, a Senator of Consular rank, and a general of great distinction. Pertinax was of humble birth and obscure family, and in early life had gained his living by the manufacture of charcoal. It is even thought that he was originally a slave; if not, he was at any rate the son of one who had been manumitted. Nevertheless, he received a liberal education, and was for some time engaged in teaching the Greek and Latin tongues in Etruria. Afterwards entering the army, he displayed great military aptitude in many parts of the Empire, and, at the time of his elevation to the Principate, was well versed in public affairs, owing to the numerous civil posts which he had formerly held. His character was sedate and virtuous, and the offer of Imperial power was at first refused. Being at that time in his sixty-sixth year, Pertinax may really have felt unequal to the onerous task; but the popular demand for his services was so great that, after some hesitation, he gave way. During his brief tenure of the Imperial office, he did much to justify the confidence of the citizens. Those who had been banished by Commodus were recalled from exile, or released from prison; the denouncers of imaginary crimes, whom the late Emperor had again called into existence, were severely punished; the public expenditure was reduced, and oppressive taxes were remitted. Commerce was delivered from the restrictions which had stifled its vigour; and the uncultivated lands of Italy and the provinces were granted to those who undertook to improve them, and who were further encouraged by an exemption from tribute during ten years. The treasury had been emptied by the reckless extravagance of the late sovereign; but Pertinax obtained means for his reforms by selling the statues, plate, horses, arms, and other valuable objects, collected by Commodus.

The Empire had abundant cause to be satisfied with the administration of Pertinax, and he appears to have been deservedly popular; but the Prætorian Guards, though they had received their dues from the new Emperor, disliked him as a monarch opposed to that turbulent violence by which their own supremacy was maintained. They

accordingly raised a sedition against the ruler whom all else admired and venerated. On the 26th of March, 193, a few hundred of these licentious soldiers marched towards the Imperial palace, and, with arms in their hands, threatened the head of the State. Pertinax had been warned of his danger, but, with the courage of an old soldier, refused to fly. He remonstrated with the mutineers, and appeared to be making an impression on them, when one of their number, a German, threw his spear at the Emperor, and struck him in the breast. Seeing that his hour was come, Pertinax covered his face with his mantle, and was praying the gods to avenge his murder when the atrocious act was consummated. The head was cut off and paraded before the people, and the Prætorians then put up the Empire to sale by auction. It was purchased by Didius Julianus, a wealthy and ambitious Senator, who, to obtain this discreditable honour, undertook to pay each of the Guards a donative equal to about £200 of our money.

Never in all history, perhaps, was there so infamous a transaction, and the legions in the provinces were as much disgusted as the citizens of Rome. Three different candidates for the purple appeared in Britain, in Syria, and in Illyricum. The last of these was the celebrated Septimius Severus, who was fortunate in being nearer to the capital than the others. By forced marches, he and his legions could arrive at Rome in ten days, and the consciousness of this fact had weight with the Prætorians and their adherents. Advancing to Interamna, a city of Umbria, not more than seventy miles from Rome, Severus despatched from that spot a demand for the punishment of those who had assassinated Pertinax. The Senate accepted Severus, who was indeed a man of ability and repute; and he at once entered Rome without encountering any opposition. Didius Julianus was beheaded on the 2nd of June, 193; the Prætorian Guards were disbanded; and Pertinax received the honours of a splendid funeral, and an apotheosis. The new Emperor was born of a noble family at the Roman settlement of Leptis, in Africa. He was a man of education and of military genius, sumptuous in his tastes, but addicted to magic arts, and not incapable of great cruelty when it appeared necessary to the success of his designs. His position was one of difficulty and danger, for he had two rivals in Clodius Albinus, who commanded in Britain, and Pescennius Niger, who held power in Syria. The former was so popular with his soldiers that Severus considered it advisable to purchase his support by conferring on him the titular dignity of Cæsar, with a promise of succession to the Empire.

Thus delivered from the fear of attack in one direction, the new Princeps marched in the other against his Eastern rival. Pescennius Niger had the control of a formidable army, and had also obtained the support of several Asiatic kings beyond the Roman frontier. Severus, however, overthrew his lieutenants, first at the Hellespont, and afterwards at Nicæa, in Bithynia; and the general himself was defeated at Issus, in Cilicia, where Alexander the Great had obtained a brilliant success over Darius III. In this encounter Niger was killed, and the whole East submitted immediately after. Crossing the Euphrates in the following year (194), Severus reduced some of the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, and then proceeded to Byzantium, which still held out. The resistance of the Thracian city was prolonged and desperate; but in 196 famine compelled its surrender, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. The victorious Emperor now declared that Albinus was engaged in a plot against his life, and, marching into Gaul, he defeated him in a great battle at Lugdunum, in 197. It is said that 150,000 Roman troops were engaged on each side; but the accuracy of such figures is always doubtful, and it can only be affirmed that the struggle was one of unusual magnitude. Again turning towards the East, Severus attacked Parthia in 198, captured Ctesiphon, and received the homage of neighbouring kings. Another persecution of the Christians took place after his return to the capital in 202, and it was on this occasion that the celebrated "Apology" of Tertullian was delivered. The military successes of the Emperor were commemorated by a triumphal arch, which was dedicated in 203, and which still excites the admiration of modern visitors to Rome.

In the repression of his enemies, Severus had exhibited unrelenting cruelty; but his government, when once founded, was characterised by many excellent features. His rule was, indeed, despotic, and based almost entirely on military force; but it was for the most part just and humane, and, with the re-establishment of peace, prosperity once more sprang up in all the Roman provinces. The Prætorian Guard had been disbanded immediately after the accession of Severus to the sovereign power; but a similar body, four times as numerous as that which it displaced, was speedily created. A force of 50,000 troops, recruited from barbarian races, held the Imperial capital in awe. These men were pampered by extravagant pay, and by numerous honours and indulgences which fed their pride and

undermined their vigour. Their Prefect soon became the most important officer of the realm. He acquired a command over the finances and the administration of the laws, and wielded the authority of the Emperor whenever the latter was not himself present. The first of these ministers under Severus was the Emperor's favourite, Plautianus, whose rule extended from 193—the commencement of the new reign—to 203. The daughter of Plautianus was married to the son of Severus; but the minister was ultimately put to death for a plot against his Imperial master. His successor was the illustrious Papinianus, whose legal works formed a school of Roman jurisprudence which boasted many eminent pupils. Papinianus has been described as the greatest of all lawyers, and he appears to have been a man of unswerving honesty and high moral worth; but of his influence over affairs during the reign of Severus we have no precise records.

Severus remained at Rome for nearly seven years, during which the Empire was at peace; but in 208 he was summoned to Britain by the renewed assaults of the Caledonians. He took with him his sons Caracalla and Geta, two young men who were in constant and deadly feud with one another, and whom he feared to leave behind. The Emperor was now elderly, and so crippled by gout that he was obliged to ride in a litter at the head of his army. Nevertheless, he compelled the submission of the mountaineers, and, having repaired the rampart across the island called the Picts' Wall, departed for Eboracum (York), where he died on the 4th of February, 211, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of nearly eighteen years. He had already conferred on his sons Caracalla and Geta the dignity of Augustus, which gave them a species of Imperial power; and they now succeeded to the entire conduct of affairs. The army proclaimed both brothers Emperors of Rome; but the arrangement was one which could not possibly last. The young men had inherited the violence of their father, rather than the virtues of their mother. Julia Domna, a native of Emesa, in Syria, and the wife of Septimius Severus, was celebrated not merely for her beauty, but for her amiability, her culture, and her strength of mind. She is said to have favoured Christianity; at any rate, she was a lover of literature and philosophic speculation. On the accession of her sons to the purple, she endeavoured to influence them in a manner favourable to the well-being of the Empire; but their headstrong natures and mutual dislike could not be appeased. The real name of the elder was Bassianus, but after his father's accession to the Principate he was called Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: the appellation of Caracalla was a mere nickname, given him by the soldiers on account of his wearing a long Gallic dress. Septimius Geta was the younger brother, and his rank was held to be somewhat less than that of Marcus, though the administration of the Empire was shared equally.

A speedy rupture was inevitable, and the only wonder is that it did not come sooner. When, however, it at length occurred, a tragic incident brought the life of Geta to a sudden and violent termination. He was murdered by some centurions at the instigation of Caracalla, and in the presence of his mother, on the 27th of February, 212. In the terror and agony of the moment, Julia Domna endeavoured to protect Geta in her arms, but was herself wounded by the infuriated troops. Caracalla suffered from the fires of a tortured conscience, and required of Papinianus to compose an apology for the murder. That great lawyer and upright man, however, refused to perform such an office, and Caracalla put him to death, together, if we may believe the accounts, with 20,000 persons who were vaguely described as the friends of Geta. About a year later, Caracalla left Rome, to which he never returned. He wandered about from province to province, especially those of Asia, and at every place rendered himself infamous by extortion and cruelty. The affairs of the Empire in other localities were directed by Julia Domna, whose justice and benevolence formed a powerful contrast to the crimes of her son. One of the worst acts of Caracalla was a massacre which he ordered at Alexandria, in consequence of some allusion by the citizens to the assassination of his brother. This indiscriminate slaughter he viewed and directed from the temple of Serapis, when, having satisfied his vengeance, he left Egypt for Syria and Mesopotamia.

It was a vicious result of the precepts of Severus that his son depended almost entirely on the support of the army. Caracalla had been taught to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment, and he accordingly oppressed the mass of the people, that he might provide his guards and legionaries with wealth and luxury. The Emperor was addicted to foreign superstitions; and, while on a pilgrimage from Edessa to the Temple of the Moon at Carrhæ, was slain by Martialis, a soldier who had been refused the rank of centurion, and who now acted on behalf of the Prætorian Prefect, Opilius Macrinus. The latter was incited to the commission of this deed by the prediction of an African soothsayer, who had

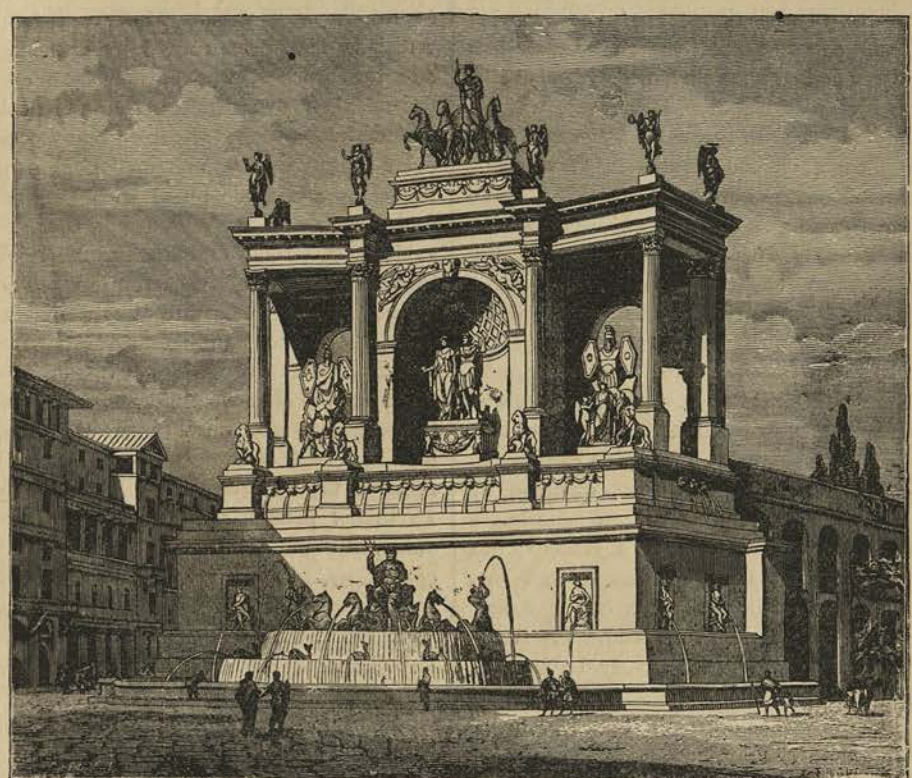
declared that Macrinus and his son were destined to rule over the Empire. The death of Caracalla took place on the 8th of March, 217, and Julia Domna committed suicide immediately after. One remarkable feature in the reign thus bloodily concluded was the extension of full Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the realm. The act looks like one of generosity; but it proceeded, in truth, from a purely mercenary feeling. The fratricidal Emperor was in want of money wherewith to maintain his extravagant gifts to the soldiers; and, as Augustus had imposed on all Roman citizens a succession-duty of five per cent., Caracalla perceived that, by increasing the area of citizenship, he might indefinitely augment his resources.

CARACALLA.

Macrinus did not long enjoy the power obtained by an act of treachery. Though he showered liberal donatives on the troops, they regarded him with disfavour, as a man of questionable courage; and, as he had no higher position than that of a knight, the Senate looked with jealousy on his elevation to supreme power. With extraordinary want of prudence, Macrinus provoked the army by instituting a number of military reforms. The legions in Syria conspired among themselves, and, after a few partial mutinies, discovered a candidate for the purple in the family of Severus. Julia Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, had been ordered by Macrinus to leave Antioch, where she resided. Accompanied by her two daughters, each of whom was a widow with an only son, Julia had taken refuge at Emesa, where one of her grandchildren became High Priest of the Sun. The Syrian legionaries, on beholding this youth, fancied that they recognised in his features a resemblance to Caracalla, who had always been popular with them. Mæsa scrupled not to affirm that the boy was really a natural child of the late Emperor, and the soldiers hailed him as their sovereign on the 16th of May, 218. The name assumed by this infamous person was Elagabalus (in its Hellenised form, Heliogabalus)—a term derived from the Syrian god in whose temple he officiated; but his original name was Bassianus, and, on succeeding to the Empire, he adopted, like Caracalla, the illustrious appellations of the second Antonine. It is doubtful whether, at the time of his succession, Elagabalus was fourteen or seventeen years of age; but, judging from the vices by which he was already distinguished, the latter seems more likely. He was at any rate very young, and his training was the worst conceivable for the position to which he was now advanced. Familiarised with Syrian superstition and Syrian depravity, luxurious, indolent, and capricious, he lacked every one of those qualities which are necessary to Imperial rule, and was entirely out of harmony with Roman, and even with

European, ideas. He was neither a soldier nor a statesman, but a priest of the worst order —the priest of an obscene idolatry, such as Asia might tolerate, but even Pagan Europe would abhor. His personal beauty, which is described as considerable, was debased by the arts with which he set it off; and his portrait, sent forward from Nicomedia, where he wintered, disgusted the Romans by revealing to them a youth ridiculously painted, and dressed in effeminate and Oriental garments. For the moment, however, he was popular with the soldiers, who hoped to obtain from him those gifts and indulgences which were necessary to their sensual ease. Yet it was questionable for a time whether Elagabalus would be able to maintain the high position which events had thrust upon him. At the head of a considerable force, Macrinus marched from Antioch to Emesa, to decide by arms who should exercise supreme power in the Roman world. Had he exhibited more courage, he might possibly have prevailed; but, being seized with a panic, he fled precipitately from the contest, and was pursued into Bithynia, where he was slain on the 7th of June, 218.

The youthful Emperor ascribed his good fortune to the Sun-god whose worship he conducted; and he determined that the deity of Emesa should be exalted above all others in the world. On arriving at Rome, he caused the black conical stone which was the symbol of the favoured god to be carried through the streets with extraordinary pomp. The ways were strewn with gold-dust; the shapeless idol, adorned with precious gems, was drawn in a chariot by six milk-white horses;



FOUNTAIN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS, ROME.

and the sacrifices were celebrated in a temple which had been raised on the Palatine Mount. The worship of Astarte was also introduced into the same temple, and the marriage of the two deities was conducted there with the utmost solemnity and magnificence. These extravagances annoyed the Romans, who found their own venerated divinities set aside for others of Oriental origin, whose worship was nothing better than an excuse for debauchery. The personal habits of Elagabalus were equally reprehensible. Corrupt as the Romans often were, they but seldom descended to the depths of ignominy which marked the conduct of the young Emperor. To these causes of offence was to be added the insulting fact that this master

of the Roman world was a Syrian of doubtful origin, who flaunted before the citizens in the robes of an alien priest, with a tiara on his head. After a while, even the soldiers were offended with their choice, and attention was directed to the virtuous life of the prince's cousin, Alexander. Julia Mæsa, the grandmother of both, persuaded Elagabalus to adopt Alexander as his successor, and to dignify him with the title of Cæsar. This was done in the year 221, and Alexander soon acquired the regard of the soldiery. His growing popularity excited the distrust of the reigning monarch, and a report that the new Cæsar had been murdered caused a mutiny, which Elagabalus punished with great rigour. The result was an insurrection of the Prætorians, by whom the sovereign, his mother, and his dissolute favourites, were murdered on the 13th of March, 222. The body of the Syrian priest who had disgraced the title of a Roman Emperor was thrown into the Tiber, and history has confirmed the judgment which the Senate and the populace pronounced upon his vices and his shame.

Alexander, who now ascended the throne, and adopted the name of his great-uncle Severus, was a young man of noble character and excellent abilities. He was born at Arca Cæsarea, in Phœnicia, and came of Greek race, qualified by Oriental birth and surroundings. In none but a political sense can he be considered a Roman; but he had studied the Latin language, and was devoted to Roman traditions. His day was divided between religious observances and the transaction of business, varied occasionally by literary conversation and physical exercise. The direction of political affairs was to a great extent left in the hands of his mother, Mammæa, and he was also assisted by a State Council of sixteen Senators, presided over by the great jurist, Ulpian; but he had serious difficulties to encounter in the turbulent opposition of the Prætorian Guards, who resisted the Emperor's attempts to restore to their body the discipline it had long forgotten. These insolent soldiers kept Rome in a state of riot for three days, and soon afterwards murdered their new Prefect, Ulpian, in the palace itself, and in defiance of the sovereign's efforts to save him. The well-known historian, Dion Cassius, who became one of the ministers of Alexander Severus immediately after his accession, was threatened with death by the Prætorians, who demanded his head as a punishment for his devotion to the cause of military reform. Alexander did not yield to the clamour of his mutinous troops, but, on the contrary, appointed Dion his colleague in the Consulship. The position of the latter, however, was so fraught with peril that the Emperor advised him to retire from Rome, and pass the time of his Consulship in Campania.

The insubordination of the body-guard still continued, and Alexander Severus was scarcely able to keep it within bounds. After a few years, the restless spirit of these haughty soldiers was diverted by a new movement on the Eastern frontiers. The Parthians had for some generations been losing their military virtues, and their power as a governing race. The royal house of the Arsacidæ had been ruined by internal discords; and the Romans, who at one time could hardly defend their own against the Oriental warriors, had of late defeated them on many occasions, and even captured their metropolis more than once. Macrinus had made peace with Parthia; but the realm was now so exhausted that its Persian subjects saw their opportunity for re-establishing the independence of an earlier day. The Persians —members of an Aryan stock, which regarded itself, not without reason, as vastly superior to its Turanian conquerors—had long brooded on the glories of the old sovereignty which contended with Greece, and afterwards with Macedon, for the dominion of the Western world. They were also faithful to the religion of Zoroaster, which the Parthians persecuted; and, finding a leader of enterprise and ability, they rose against their oppressors. The person thus springing into notice was Ardeshir, called by the Greeks and Romans Artaxerxes. He was the son of an officer named Babek, and the grandson of one Sassan, from whom the dynasty which he founded was called that of the Sassanidæ. This chieftain alleged that he was descended from the Achæmenid kings of Persia; and, being powerfully supported by his countrymen, he gained a series of successes over the Parthians. The result was that the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was destroyed in 226, and that Artaxerxes established a royal house which continued to rule over Persia until 651. Fire-worship was now restored throughout the realm, and the king, after visiting every portion of his immense dominions, demanded of Rome the restoration of those provinces which had been taken from the Parthians. The requisition was of course refused, and Alexander Severus led an army into the East in 231. The war which ensued is surrounded by dense obscurity, and has been made the subject of very contradictory statements. The probability seems to be that neither side won any great advantage over the other, and that both were weakened by a number of indecisive engagements. Peace was ultimately concluded

between the belligerents, but on what terms it is impossible to say.

When Alexander returned to Rome, in 233, he claimed a complete victory, and was allowed to celebrate a triumph; but the general opinion of the army was unfavourable to his military reputation, and troubles arose shortly after among the German tribes, which were apparently excited by the opportunity presented by the growing weakness of the Roman legions. The head of the mutiny was a soldier named Maximinus, originally a Thracian peasant, who, many years before, during the reign of Septimius Severus, had astonished the Emperor and his troops by marvellous displays of strength and endurance. The father of this savage was either a Thracian or a Goth; his mother was one of the Alani. The barbarians who were ultimately to overthrow the Roman Empire were now about to furnish it with a sovereign. Having, while still a young man, been allowed to enter the Roman armies, Maximinus rose through various gradations, until, under the rule of Alexander Severus, he was entrusted with the discipline of recruits upon the Rhine. In this position he developed the qualities of a traitor, and upbraided the troops with submitting to the vexatious discipline of an effeminate Oriental, instead of following the lead of a true soldier. The discontent thus kindled burst into flame after the arrival of Alexander at the camp. On the 19th of March, 235, Maximinus was saluted by the troops as Imperator. The deserted monarch fled to his tent, but was speedily despatched, together with his mother.

The government of Maximinus was a military despotism of the rudest and harshest description. The new Emperor was a barbarian soldier, and professed to be indifferent to any other reputation. Those who ventured to murmur were subjected to prolonged tortures, or sent into exile, and the whole Empire was afflicted by a legion of spies and informers. Though his reign lasted for some three years, Maximinus never once visited Rome, but remained with the camp, occasionally removing with his troops from the Rhine to the Danube. His power was supported entirely by the sword, which he wielded with vigour and success. The demands of his soldiers were satisfied by general confiscation; and not merely were the cities exhausted by forced contributions, but the statues of gods, heroes, and illustrious monarchs, were violently rent from the temples, and converted into coin. The stupor resulting from these measures gave place to a rebellion which broke out at Tysdrus, a city of Africa Proper, situated not far from the coast. The Proconsul of the province at that time was Marcus Antonius Gordianus, a descendant of the Gracchi and of Trajan, and himself remarkable for learning and taste. Although more than eighty years of age when the movement began, in February, 238, he was proclaimed Emperor by the troops; and his son, then forty-six, who through his mother was descended from Antoninus Pius, was associated with him in the sovereign power. The Senate, though standing in great fear of Maximinus, ratified the choice of the soldiers, and it was hoped that the golden days of the Antonines might be on the eve of returning. The anticipation, however, proved baseless. While the Senators were deliberating on the defence of Italy, Capellianus, the Governor of Mauritania, marched against Carthage, where the Gordians had fixed their court. The younger of the two Emperors went forth to meet the enemy, but was defeated and slain; the elder killed himself in despair; and Carthage submitted to Capellianus in the ensuing month of March.

The Senate had already proclaimed Maximinus, his son, and his adherents, enemies of the realm, and the Italian youth were being disciplined, under the direction of twenty Consular Senators, to resist the invasion of the tyrant, when news arrived from Africa that the Gordians were no more. Matters looked extremely grave, especially as it was known that Maximinus was on his march from Sirmium, in Pannonia. In this emergency, the Senate conferred the purple on Clodius Pupienus Maximus and Cælius Balbinus—men well acquainted with the conduct of affairs; at the same time, the rank of Cæsar was bestowed on Marcus Antonius Gordianus, a grandson of the elder Gordian, who had perished in Africa. In the course of April Maximinus crossed the Alps, and laid siege to Aquileia. Here he made but little progress, and the severity of his discipline excited discontent among the troops, who were already suffering from want of necessaries in a land which had been wasted by the enemy. The feeling of exasperation presently drew to a head, and the Thracian savage was slain in his tent, in May, 238. The citizens of Aquileia and the besieging force now made common cause. The latter swore fidelity to the Senate, and to the Emperors Maximus and Balbinus, and a brief calm fell on the distracted realm. The two Emperors and the youthful Gordian entered Rome in triumph; but, while the people hailed them with shouts of joy and welcome, the Prætorians observed an ominous silence. Balbinus, who as a poet was inclined to take a flattering view of human nature, believed that the future was secure. Maximus, a soldier, and a

man of rugged experiences, confessed that he dreaded the hatred of the army, and foresaw the effects of its resentment. In the very next month, during the celebration of the Capitoline games, a troop of desperate men from the Prætorian camp broke into the palace, seized on Maximus and Balbinus, stripped them of their garments, and dragged them through the streets of Rome, until, mangled with repeated wounds, they were at length slaughtered. The triumphant soldiery then fixed on Gordian, a boy of only twelve, as their future sovereign; and Rome, together with the provinces, quietly sanctioned a nomination which they had neither the power nor the courage to resist.

The reign of Gordian extended over six years, but we know scarcely anything of what occurred during that period. It would seem, however, that the youthful Emperor proceeded to the eastern frontiers to resist the progress of the Persians, who had seized on Mesopotamia. The ancient credit of the Roman arms was apparently well sustained by the sovereign's minister, Misitheus; but, in the prosecution of these labours, his life was suddenly cut short, perhaps by poison. He had an enemy in an Arab adventurer named Philip, who, in March, 244, headed a mutiny of the soldiers, and put Gordian to death. The Imperial power now descended upon Philip, who, on entering the capital, was favourably received by the obedient Senate and the obsequious people. Four years later—on the 21st of April, 248—Rome celebrated her millennium, that being the thousandth year of her existence as a city. The history of those ten centuries, which it has been the business of this volume to trace, was unquestionably the most varied, interesting, and important of any that the world had ever known. The greater portion of the Western world, including that part of Asia which lay west of the Parthian dominions, had in the course of ages submitted to the rule of the Imperial city, and the civilisation of Greece had been extended by the conquering sword of Rome. But decay had now deeply entered into the enormous fabric of the Empire. Romans and Italians were at the mercy of every barbarian adventurer who could make himself popular with a licentious and unpatriotic army; and it was a circumstance of deep humiliation that so interesting an anniversary should have been held under the auspices of a triumphant Arab. The religious ceremonies were of a peculiarly solemn and impressive nature, and were of course conducted in accordance with Pagan rites; yet it has been asserted that Philip was a Christian, and there is a tradition that he did penance for the murder of Gordian, and received absolution. The fact, however, is doubtful: if he joined the Christian community at all, it was probably not until the latter end of his life. His death occurred in battle, in the year following the millennial celebration. The legions of Mœsia and Pannonia rose in rebellion, and, under the command of a Senator named Decius, an Illyrian by birth, who had been sent to crush the movement, defeated Philip near Verona in the autumn of 249. The Emperor perished in the conflict, and his son was soon afterwards put to death at Rome by the Prætorian Guards. Decius then succeeded to the Principate, and during his brief reign distinguished himself, according to Pagan writers, by the excellence of his administration. Another great persecution of the Christians, however, occurred during this period, and one of the victims was Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, of whom the sovereign is reported to have remarked that he would sooner brook a second Emperor by his side than such an ecclesiastical functionary at his capital. The Bishops of other cities were either slain or exiled, and the see of Rome remained vacant from the 20th of January, 250—the day on which Fabian suffered martyrdom—to the election of Cornelius, on the 4th of June, 251. For thirty-eight years previous to 249—except during the brief tyranny of Maximinus, when they were cruelly used—the Christians had enjoyed a period of considerable happiness. Their worship was public and unrestrained; they freely elected their ecclesiastical ministers; and they were permitted to purchase and hold lands for the use of their religious communities. During some reigns, distinguished professors of the faith were admitted to the palace; and Alexander Severus (a Phœnician by birth, and therefore perhaps inclined to Oriental ideas) placed the statue of Christ in his domestic chapel, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana. But all this was now changed, and the Christians fell once more beneath the rage of offended power.

Decius had not long been settled on the Imperial throne when, in the course of 250, he was summoned to the Danube to encounter an inroad of the Goths. Up to the present date, we have heard little of this remarkable race; but they now take rank among the greatest forces of the world. In a subsequent age, it was they who mainly shattered the Roman power, and established some of the greatest of the modern kingdoms. We must therefore step aside for a moment, and consider their origin and development in the forests of the North.

The Goths were undoubtedly a German people. A Gothic writer, named Jornandes, living in the sixth century, preserves a tradition of the Ostrogoths, that the race originated in the peninsula of Scandinavia; but it is evident that their first seat as a distinct tribe was south of the Baltic, although some of their number may have crossed that sea, and penetrated to more northern regions. At the commencement of the Christian era, the chief settlements of the Goths were in the north-eastern parts of what we now call Prussia, and along the western bank of the Vistula. Thence they moved in a south-easterly direction, and by the beginning of the third century had reached the vast plains north of the Euxine, and were beginning to threaten Dacia. Their tribes were now so numerous that they were separated into two great divisions—the Ostrogoths, or Goths of the East, and the Visigoths, or Goths of the West. By a curious coincidence, the Visigoths penetrated into the country formerly occupied by the Thracian Getæ—a similarity of name which has led to much speculation, and which possibly indicates some distant connection between the two peoples. The original Gothic race was doubtless mingled with others in its progress from the Baltic to the Euxine; yet we can hardly doubt that the leading characteristics of so vigorous a people were maintained in all their strength and activity.

In the reign of Philip, these wandering barbarians, who lived either in huts or in movable tents, and were therefore ever ready for the march, crossed the Dniester, and ravaged Dacia and Thrace. Many of the Roman soldiers, finding the bonds of discipline relaxed, took service under the northern savages, whose power seemed greater than their own. The Danube was then crossed without opposition, and Mœsia suffered from the rapacity of its invaders. If bribed to retire, they very soon returned, and in 250 an immense body of Gothic warriors passed the great river, and laid siege to Nicopolis, in Lower Mœsia. It was these invaders whom Decius marched to repel. They retreated before him to the southern side of Mount Hæmus, in Thrace, where the army of the Roman Emperor was overwhelmed by a sudden attack. Decius escaped with the remnant of his forces, and the Goths resumed the siege of Philippopolis, which they had before commenced. After a gallant resistance, the city was taken by storm, and 100,000 persons are said to have perished in the sack. In the meanwhile, however, Decius had recruited his forces; and when the Goths, decimated and worn out by their exertions, attempted to recross Mount Hæmus, they found their passage barred by the Roman legions. An offer to restore their prisoners and booty, as the price of a safe retreat, was refused by Decius, and a severe action was fought in 251 at an obscure town of Mœsia, called Abrutum, or Forum Trebonii. The fortune of the day seemed likely to be on the side of the Romans, for the first and second lines of the barbarians were broken through. But the third line occupied a strong position behind a morass, and the assailants were shattered in their attempts to cross this fenny ground. The body of the Emperor was never recovered, and his elder son, on whom he had shortly before conferred the title of Cæsar, met his death in the same fatal encounter.

After this catastrophe, Hostilianus, the younger son of Decius, received the honorary title of Augustus; but the command of the army passed into the hands of Gallus Trebonianus, one of the generals of the late Emperor, who effected a discreditable peace with the Goths, by promising them an annual bribe. The Roman people were not yet so entirely lost to a sense of their ancient dignity as to regard with indifference the conclusion of terms which placed them at the mercy of a barbarian horde. But it might well have seemed that their city was the victim of some tremendous destiny; for a pestilence broke out soon afterwards, in which Hostilianus perished, and which lasted, in various parts of the Empire, for fifteen years. The undertaking whereby the animosity of the Goths had been temporarily assuaged, invited the attacks of other tribes; and the whole of the northern barbarians now perceived that the weakness of the Empire laid open its riches to their grasp. The Illyrian provinces were devastated; Rome itself feared for its safety. The Imperial power was in the hands of Gallus Trebonianus; but the defence of the frontiers was entrusted to Æmilianus, Governor of Pannonia and Mœsia. That energetic commander pursued the barbarians beyond the Danube, and was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers on the victorious battle-field. Gallus, whose conduct had been characterised by pusillanimity, saw that he must make an effort to retain his power, or abandon it altogether. He advanced to meet his rival, and had reached the plains of Spoleto, in Umbria, when his soldiers rose in mutiny, and slew him, together with his son Volusianus, in May, 253.

His successor was not more fortunate. While engaged in negotiations with the Senate, a rival arose in the person of Publius Licinius Valerianus, an elderly noble of distinction, who had been charged by Gallus to bring the legions of Gaul and

Germany to his aid. Valerian resolved to avenge his late master, and, being proclaimed Emperor by his troops, marched to Spoleto, where he confronted the legions of Æmilianus. His own forces were so greatly superior to those of his opponent that the latter immediately deserted their chosen sovereign, whom they murdered in August, 253. Feeling the need of assistance in so difficult a position, Valerian divided the Imperial power with his son Gallienus, a vicious and apathetic young man, whose inferior qualities acted as a clog upon the virtues of his father. For many years, the latter had been noted for his liberal principles, his irreproachable life, his wisdom and experience. Respected by the Senate, and popular with the citizens, he seemed the likeliest man to restore the authority of the Roman State, or at least to arrest its decay. When the Emperor Decius determined to revive the office of Censor, which had at one time exercised considerable influence as a check on public immorality, the Senate unanimously resolved that Valerian was the person best fitted for such a post. In most respects, he was equally qualified for the much higher position of Emperor; but he had already passed the full vigour of life, and his choice of Gallienus as a coadjutor indicated a defect of judgment which was not slow in producing unfortunate results. The joint reign marks a period of great and increasing calamity; and it was now that Rome began clearly to perceive that the barbarians on her frontiers formed a power with which her own was scarcely competent to deal.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE BARBARIANS, ZENOBIA, AND THE RECOVERY OF THE EMPIRE.

The Franks and the Alemanni—Invasion of Gaul, Spain, and Mauritania by the Former; of Italy by the Latter—Victorious Progress of Sapor I., King of Persia—Disastrous Expedition of Valerian against him—Treacherous Capture and Death of the Roman Emperor—Surrender of his Army—Inroad of the Persians into Syria and Western Asia—Palmyra and its History—Odenatus, Prince of the Saracens—His Quarrel with the Persians—The Three Naval Expeditions of the Goths of the Chersonesus Taurica—Plunder of Colchis, Asia Minor, and Greece—The Barbarians discomfited in Illyricum—Character of the Emperor Gallienus—Partition of the Empire among the so-called Thirty Tyrants—Postumus in Gaul—Death of Odenatus, the Palmyrene—Zenobia makes herself Queen of the East—Her Remarkable Character—Troubles in Illyria and Northern Italy—Death of Gallienus—Disasters of his Reign—Accession of Aurelius Claudius—His Experience, Judgment, and Equity—Defeat of the Alemanni and the Goths—Death of Claudius, and Succession of Aurelian—Renewed Movement of the Goths—Their Settlement in Dacia—Defeat of German Tribes in Italy—Rome defended by the Walls of Aurelian—Position of Zenobia in the East—Expedition of Aurelian against her—Siege and Capture of Palmyra—Barbarous Treatment of the Inhabitants—Ruins of the City—Gaul reunited to the Empire—Triumph of Aurelian—Later Years of Zenobia—Sedition in Rome—Murder of Aurelian, followed by Six Months' Interregnum—Brief Reign of Claudius Tacitus—Succession of Probus—Repulse of the Northmen—An Adventurous Voyage—Erection of a Wall between the Rhine and the Danube—Suppression of Rebellions—Assassination of Probus—Rule of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian—Expedition of Carus to Persia—His Death by Lightning—Supposed Murder of Numerian—The Purple conferred on Diocletian—Defeat and Death of Carinus—Character of Diocletian—Division of the Empire amongst Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius.

VALERIAN was scarcely settled on the throne when he had to encounter the assaults of two Germanic races which, in their new development, now appear for the first time on the historic stage. These were the Franks and the Alemanni—the "Freemen" and the "All-men," for such are the meanings of the names. The Franks boasted of their freedom, to distinguish themselves from the Germans who had compromised their independence by accepting Roman protection and Roman manners. The Alemanni (unless the received etymology of their name is mistaken, as some suppose) wished the world to understand that there was not one of their nation who did not show the spirit of a man. Under the general appellation of Franks were included the tribes of the Sicambri, the Bructeri, the Chatti, and some others, who had resisted the power of Rome when at its height, and whose seats were on the Lower Rhine and the Weser. Southern Germany, towards the valley of the Danube, was the home of the Alemanni, who were distinguished from the other Teutonic tribes by wearing their hair done up in a knot on the crown of the head. Both Franks and Alemanni proved troublesome in the reign of Valerian. The former broke into Gaul in 254, and the Emperor's son, Gallienus, was sent to oppose them. Avoiding the dangers of the field, he kept a luxurious court at Treves, while the real work of the war was performed by Cassianus Latinius Postumus, who appears to have won

some victories over the invaders, and delivered Gaul from their presence. Nevertheless, a large number of Franks traversed the whole of that country, and crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, where they sacked the Roman capital of Tarraco (Tarragona), and devastated the surrounding lands. This state of things continued for twelve years; at the end of which time, the Franks seized some vessels in the Spanish ports, and passed over into Mauritania, where their wild, uncouth appearance, strange tongue, and fair complexions excited the utmost astonishment in the Africans. The ravages of the Alemanni (the Suevi of Cæsar) were committed in Italy itself. In 255, vast hordes of these barbarians made their way through the passes of the Rhætian Alps, and, advancing as far as Ravenna, struck terror into Rome. They were strenuously, and to a great extent successfully, resisted by Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, afterwards Emperor, who, about 259, restored peace to the distracted province. But it was found necessary to allow the Northmen to settle on the plains south of the Alps.

For the present, the Persians were a greater peril than the European barbarians. The renovated monarchy of the East was showing all the vigour of a new career, and Sapor I., the successor to Artaxerxes, who died in 240, had added Armenia to his dominions, and captured the Roman garrisons of Carrhæ and Nisibis, on the eastern side of the Euphrates. Though old, Valerian resolved to march in person to the defence of his Asiatic dominions, and in 260 arrived in Mesopotamia, with his army worn out by a long and toilsome march through countries desolated by the Goths. Famine and pestilence had reduced the strength of the expeditionary force to so great an extent that Sapor obtained an easy victory (aided, it is said, by the turpitude of Macrianus, the Prætorian Prefect), and Valerian, who had consented to an interview with the Persian sovereign, was treacherously taken prisoner. Sapor acted with the furious insolence of an Asiatic despot. Whenever he mounted his horse, he set his foot on the neck of the unfortunate Roman, and it has been affirmed that Valerian was flayed alive. This, however, is doubtful. It is more likely that he died of fatigue, grief, and shame; but it would seem that, after his decease, his skin, stuffed with straw and coloured red, was preserved for ages in

RUINS OF PALMYRA.

one of the Persian temples, where it was insultingly shown to all Roman ambassadors. When the legions found their sovereign in captivity, they laid down their arms. They had made a gallant though ineffectual attempt to cut their way through the Persian hosts, and Valerian, previous to his capture, had vainly offered a large sum in gold to be allowed the disgraceful privilege of retreat. Nothing remained but to surrender, for the Romans had never acted on the old Spartan principle of fruitless self-immolation. Sapor then appointed a fugitive from Antioch, named Cyriades, to the throne of the Cæsars; and this ignoble wretch led the Persians across the Euphrates to the city which he had already outraged by his crimes, and which now fell before the sudden inroad of Sapor's cavalry. Pillage and massacre disgraced the stay of the invaders, and Antioch was nearly ruined by its unprovoked misfortune. The conqueror next overran the whole of Syria and Cilicia, and, bursting through Mount Taurus, destroyed Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia. His object was not to enlarge the bounds of his empire, but to enrich his treasury. Wherever he went, he plundered; and, on returning to his own dominions, he left a desert in his rear.

While exulting in all the confidence of success, Sapor underwent a reverse which he could little have anticipated. In the arid expanse of the Syrian Desert, about midway between the Euphrates and Damascus, lay a green oasis, embowered in palm-trees, which the Hebrews called Tadmor, and the Greeks Palmyra—names having the same signification, and referring to the umbrageous groves which there break the level of the parching sands. To the west and northwest, this island of fertility in an ocean of barrenness was sheltered by hills, and, being well supplied with water, was used from the earliest times as a halting-place for caravans pursuing their way from the Syrian coast to the inner regions of Mesopotamia, Persia, and India. The city of "Tadmor in the wilderness" was originally built by Solomon, to whom the Phœnicians, as the greatest merchants of that age, may have pointed out the site. Tradition states that the place was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar; but, if so, it was afterwards restored, for Marc Antony, when in Syria, marched to surprise it, in the hope of obtaining a rich booty—an expectation which was disappointed by the forethought of the people, who had previously transported their possessions beyond the Euphrates. In a later age, Palmyra became the emporium of the East. The citizens trafficked equally with the Parthians and the Romans, and it was through this seat of trade that the produce of India entered the Roman world.

The position of Palmyra, lying between the two rival Empires of Rome and Parthia, rendered it advisable that the inhabitants should form an alliance with one or the other; and their territory became a free State under the protection of Rome. The city was highly favoured by Hadrian and the Antonines, and at that period of its history was famous for the splendour of its buildings and the opulence of its people. When the Roman Empire began to decline, a powerful principality grew up under the shadow of the desert palm-trees. The population consisted of Syrians and Arabs, and the authority of their chiefs was recognised by the wandering tribes of the desert, who now began to be generally known as Saracens—a term applied to all the Arabian tribes after the time of Mohammed, thus acquiring an importance scarcely surpassed in history. The derivation of the word has led to many conjectures, of which one of the most striking is that which identifies the Saracens with brigandage. But we hear little of the name until the epoch we have now reached, when the title, "Prince of the Saracens," was borne by Odenatus, the ruler of Palmyra, and husband of the magnificent queen, Zenobia. Odenatus was well inclined to pay court to Sapor, and, after his brilliant successes in Syria and Western Asia, despatched to him a train of camels laden with rich presents. This very fact was regarded by the arrogant and despotic Persian as an act of presumption, and Odenatus saw that, as he could not have Sapor as a friend, he must deal with him as an enemy. His horsemen, therefore, hovered about the rear of the Persians as they were returning from the pillage of Cappadocia, in 262, and inflicted upon them heavy losses before they could repass the Euphrates.

At the very time when the Roman Empire was thus harassed by the Persians in one direction, it suffered from the Northmen in another. The Goths who had acquired the southern parts of Sarmatia carried their arms into the Chersonesus Taurica (now the Crimea), where they speedily furnished themselves with a naval force. Setting sail from the coasts of the peninsula in 253, they shaped their course in a south-easterly direction, and appeared before the city of Pityus, in Colchis. Here they were for a time repulsed, but, returning in greater force, destroyed the town. Thence they proceeded to Trapezus (Trebizond), an ancient colony of the Greeks, which they surprised and sacked in 258, despite the double walls by which it was guarded. The excellence of the defences was

in truth the very cause of the city's misfortune; for the thoughtless and voluptuous inhabitants believed their position to be impregnable, and took no measures to repel attack. The barbarians, to whom this negligence was soon apparent, managed to scale the walls during the night, and a general massacre ensued. Laden with sumptuous booty, and accompanied by innumerable captives, the Goths departed in triumph, ravaged the whole province of Pontus, and, when sufficiently satisfied with the results of their enterprise, returned unmolested to the Chersonesus Taurica, where they had previously destroyed the Greek kingdom of Bosphorus, and established a dominion of their own. They did not, however, long remain quiet, but, collecting a still larger fleet, proceeded to the south-west. The rich cities of Bithynia were conquered and despoiled; some were burned in sheer wantonness; and when the Goths retired to the maritime town of Heraclea, where the fleet had been appointed to wait for them, they were attended by long trains of waggons, containing the booty collected from many ancient seats of wealth.

The third naval expedition of the same marauders took place in 262, when, having sailed through the Thracian Bosphorus, and sacked the ancient town of Cyzicus, on the southern side of the Propontis, they passed the Hellespont, directed their course towards Greece, and cast anchor in the port of the Piræus. The only defenders of Athens were a band of 2,000 men, commanded by Dexippus, to whom we are indebted for a history of the war, now existing only in fragments. These men had been hastily brought together, and consisted as much of peasants as of soldiers. They were well commanded, however, and animated by a courageous spirit. Taking up a position in a mountainous and woody district, they astonished the invaders by the vigour and pertinacity of their attacks. It was hoped that the Roman fleet would come to their assistance; but no such help appeared, and all the shores of Greece were ravaged by the insatiable and merciless Northmen, who sailed up the Adriatic, and menaced Italy itself. The barbarians, however, had by this time exhausted themselves by the fury of their exploits, and the extravagant fits of debauchery with which they rewarded their toils. The day of success had gone by; and Gallienus, who was now sole Emperor of Rome, his father being dead, took measures for resisting the threatened danger. He persuaded the Heruli —a savage tribe which had hitherto accompanied the Goths—to take service under himself. Naulobatus, the chief of this nation, was invested by Gallienus with the Consular dignity—an honour never before conferred on any barbarian; but his support was worth purchasing. The Goths, who had arrived in Illyricum, fell back towards the east. Some returned by land to Mœsia; others, recrossing the Ægean, ravaged Asia Minor on their way to the settlements they had established on the Euxine. Their three naval expeditions had been attended by incalculable ruin and misery. All Western Asia, and the adjacent parts of Europe, had been desolated and impoverished by these insolent hordes; and amongst their greatest acts of destruction must be reckoned the burning of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which had already suffered from seven calamities in earlier times.

The government of Gallienus was distinguished by weakness and incapacity. The Emperor himself was a man of varied abilities; but he had not the particular faculty which is required of every absolute ruler, and without which an Empire such as Rome cannot be upheld against attack. Indolent and careless, he seemed to regard the misfortunes of the State as matters of no account, and, while the land was suffering from poverty and apprehension, indulged in luxury, or gave his mind to the study of philosophic problems. In moments of exasperation, he would show a fitful energy, characterised as much by cruelty as by valour; but, for the most part, his conduct resolved itself into a species of languid sensuality, united with a taste for intellectual pursuits, such as might have fitted him for a professor, but did not aid him in his duties as a sovereign. The general weakness of the Empire, as thus administered, occasioned the rise of several pretenders in the provinces. The number of these aspirants to power is extremely uncertain; but they are vaguely described as the Thirty Tyrants. Several were men of virtuous character, who seized the helm in their particular localities because the central authority of Rome had ceased to exist. Spain, Gaul, and Britain were for a time under the separate government of Postumus, who confirmed his power by killing Saloninus, the son of the Emperor, but who was himself slain by his own soldiers, after obtaining great successes against the Germans. The capital of the western realm was at Treves, on the Moselle; and it is believed that the magnificent archway at that city, called the Porta Nigra, or Black Gate, was erected under the sway of Postumus, though it may possibly belong to a rather later date. Victorinus, the colleague of this ruler, was afterwards murdered, and the Empire of the West then passed to his mother, Victoria, who in 267 conferred the title of

sovereign upon Tetricus, while still retaining in her own hands the reality of power.

While this remarkable woman was reigning with considerable splendour in the West, another woman, still more highly gifted, and much better known to history, on account of her character and exploits, was predominant in the East. Odenatus, the Prince of the Saracens, was permitted by Gallienus, after his action against Sapor, to assume the title of King of Palmyra. The Emperor likewise conferred on him the command of all the forces in the East, and, thus aided, he obtained several victories over the Persians. After a while, he was treacherously killed, and his wife then took possession of the throne, called herself Queen of the East, and claimed the right of sovereignty over Mesopotamia and Syria. Ancient history presents us with no more majestic or attractive figure than that of Zenobia. She is said to have been descended from the Ptolemies of Egypt; but her father was an Arab chief, and some have supposed that she came of Jewish race. Her beauty is described as transcendent; her intellectual powers, which were of a high order, had been cultivated by all the learning of her time; and, while her graces were feminine, her courage and enterprise were those of a man. During the life of her husband, she accompanied him to the field (on horseback or on foot), and contributed by her advice to the victories which are associated with his name. In times of peace, she hunted the bears and lions of the Syrian desert, and was foremost wherever danger was to be confronted, or honour gained. After the death of Odenatus, she governed as regent for her son, and in nominal subjection to Gallienus; but her power was that of an absolute Empress, and the prudence of her administration was equalled by its splendour. She was fortunate in having for her chief minister the philosopher Cassius Longinus, a Greek, despite his Roman name. This celebrated person, who had acted as the queen's tutor in her girlhood, was remarkable for the extraordinary range of his knowledge, and for the depth and breadth of his intellect. He is known to modern times chiefly for his treatise on the Sublime; but at Palmyra he appeared not only as a profound philosopher of the Platonic school, but as an ambitious politician, bent on securing for his royal mistress a new Greek Empire in the East.

Though despoiled of many of his provinces, Gallienus still reigned in Italy, and in some other portions of the Empire; but even there his authority was at length disputed. Macrianus, the Prætorian Prefect who is accused of having betrayed Valerian to the Persian Sapor, was in 261 proclaimed Emperor by the army of Syria. In the following year he marched towards the Italian frontiers, but, on reaching Illyricum, encountered an unexpected enemy in Aureolus, who had received Imperial power from the army of the Danube, and by whom he was slain. Aureolus, however, made but little progress, and, being defeated by Gallienus, was shut up in Milan. It is possible that Gallienus might have overcome his adversary, had not the latter corrupted the besieging army, and fomented a conspiracy among the officers, which ended in the violent death of the Emperor on the 20th of March, 268. His reign had been distinguished by little save disaster. In every direction, the Empire was torn by revolts, insurrections, and civil wars, one of which, occurring at Alexandria, continued twelve years. Famine, pestilence, and other natural afflictions, contributed to the general ruin, and the decline of population was rapid and alarming. Coincident with all these calamities, we observe a growing barbarism in the great Empire established by Augustus. Roman literature was almost extinct, and the arts exhibited the same degradation by which society itself was lowered. While Gallienus was yet occupying a position subordinate to his father, another persecution of the Christians—that in which Cyprian was put to death at Carthage—took place in 258. The record of the time is one of almost unrelieved gloom, and it is surprising that the Empire should yet have lasted more than two hundred years.

The successor to the purple was Marcus Aurelius Claudius, a native of Illyricum, which he had governed during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. He was now hailed as Emperor by the army, and his abilities as a soldier and an administrator were hopeful auguries for the future. Having attained the ripe age of fifty-four, he was in possession of every experience which could fit a man for his exalted office, yet had not reached the period of decaying powers and enfeebled will. He at once rejected the proposals of Aureolus (who was still shut up in Milan) that they should divide the Empire between them; and the rival potentate was soon compelled to surrender. The troops demanded his head; and when Aureolus had been despatched, Claudius procured an amnesty for his adherents, whom the Senate had proscribed. The equity of the new Emperor was shown in the restitution of several estates which Gallienus had confiscated, that he might bestow them on his generals: it is even related that on one occasion he made this concession to justice where he himself had been the gainer. Such was the hopeful way in which Claudius began his reign. At the same time, the

firmness with which the Emperor checked insubordination in the army, proved that military license would no longer be supreme.

Claudius was of humble origin, but he possessed the manly virtues which poverty often preserves. Moreover, he was a native of a province celebrated for the martial virtues of its people, and uncorrupted by the vicious luxury of Rome and of the East. It was from Illyricum that a series of monarchs was to proceed, who arrested the downfall of the Roman world, and gave new splendour to the fading West. The first exploit of Claudius, after he had firmly established his power, was to drive back the Alemanni from Northern Italy. The barbarians were forced to retire behind the Alps; but this danger had scarcely been removed ere another broke out with destructive violence. The Goths again issued from the Euxine in 269, with an immense fleet conveying more than 300,000 men. Some landed on the shores of Asia Minor; others passed through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, casting anchor beneath the peninsula of Mount Athos, carried fire and sword through Macedonia. A large number were engaged in the siege of Thessalonica, when information arrived that Claudius was approaching with his army. Confident in their invincibility, the barbarians set forth to meet their antagonist; and, could they have known the state of his forces, their reliance on a victorious issue would have been even stronger. The Imperial troops were exhausted by the numerous sacrifices of the recent civil war, and were ill-furnished both with shields and weapons. For several years, discipline had been seriously relaxed, and the best of the legions were stationed in those countries which in effect were disjoined from the Empire. Though fully appreciating the gravity of the situation, Claudius resolved to conquer or die in the approaching contest. The result was a great victory over the barbarians at Naïssus, in Dardania, a country lying between Mœsia Superior and Macedonia. This success was not attained without the most strenuous efforts on the part of the Emperor himself, for at one time his troops were nearly overwhelmed by the ponderous masses of the Goths. Fifty thousand of the invaders are said to have been slaughtered in the terrific rout, and the remainder would have been either captured or exterminated, had they not converted their waggons into a species of moving fortifications. The war then spread over the whole of Macedonia, Thrace, and Mœsia; but it ended in the complete predominance of the Roman arms. The Gothic fleet was destroyed, and during the winter large numbers of the barbarians perished on Mount Hæmus from famine, pestilence, and cold, acting in conjunction with the repeated assaults of the enemy.

Unhappily, the epidemic which proved so fatal to the Goths cut short the career of Claudius also. He expired at Sirmium in March, 270. His brief reign of two years had brought into prominent notice the magnificent qualities of his nature. All men praised his valour, justice, and temperance, and not the least of his services was the nomination of a worthy successor in Lucius Domitius Aurelianus. This illustrious monarch came from an equally humble stock with that of Claudius. His parents were in fact Illyrian peasants, and he derived his surname from a rich Senator and landowner, of whom his father was the client. Originally serving in the ranks of the army, he worked his way upwards by courage and ability, and during the Gothic war had held command of the cavalry. Aurelian was a merciless disciplinarian; but in an age of anarchy his sternness was perhaps not greater than necessity required. During the reign of Valerian, he had been honoured with the Consulship, and his talents were highly appreciated by the Emperor who thus raised him to one of the principal offices of State. On succeeding to the purple, he met with an opponent in Quintillus, the brother of Claudius, who was proclaimed at Aquileia, and supported by the Senate; but his chances were obviously so hopeless that, seventeen days after his nomination to Imperial rank, he put an end to his life.

The death of Claudius reanimated the spirit of the Goths, who, in combination with some Vandalic tribes, began a fresh attack upon the Empire. Their united forces, however, were defeated by Aurelian, and the Emperor then persuaded those restless barbarians to exchange their lives of wandering pillage, which of late had brought them little but misfortune, for a permanent settlement in Dacia. At the same time, the Goths engaged to supply the armies of Rome with a body of two thousand horsemen, and Aurelian withdrew the Roman forces from Dacia, which was relinquished to the Northmen. This was, in truth, a curtailment of the Empire; but the advantages of the arrangement were greater than the discredit. Many of the former inhabitants of Dacia removed south of the Danube, and added strength to Mœsia by their warlike qualities. Others remained in their old homes, and helped to civilise the barbarous warriors who had found a possession in their land. Aurelian now turned his arms against the Alemanni and Marcomanni, who had

once more entered Northern Italy. Stationing himself on the left bank of the Danube, he awaited the return of the marauders, over whom he obtained a partial success, but was shortly afterwards called away to Pannonia. The German tribes, finding they could make no impression on the armies of Rome, turned back towards Italy, recrossed the Alps, and ravaged the territory of Milan in 271. With an army of insufficient strength, Aurelian followed them to Placentia, where he sustained a terrible reverse. Nevertheless, he contrived to rally his shattered forces, and, advancing rapidly along the Flaminian Road in the track of the invaders, came up with them at Fanum, in Umbria. The barbarians had thus arrived within a short distance of Rome itself; but Aurelian now defeated them in a series of battles which completely crushed the Alemanni. The narrow escape of Rome induced the sovereign to give greater attention to the defences of the Imperial city than had been considered necessary for many generations. The walls of Servius Tullius, erected in the sixth century B.C., were still the only ramparts which protected Rome from attack. The long prosperity and military strength of the Empire had rendered any addition superfluous;

THE AURELIAN WALL.
(With part of the Campagna, and the Sabine Mountains in the background.)

but that happy state of security had passed away. A very large, if not the largest, part of the metropolis had grown up beyond the bounds of the original walls, which had a compass of only seven miles. The whole city was therefore enclosed by a new wall, which is known as the Wall of Aurelian, and which in a later age was repaired by Honorius.

The barbarous Northmen were thus repelled, and the great work of protecting the Imperial capital was sufficiently advanced to enable the Emperor to devote his mind to a task of no less importance than those he had already achieved. The division of the realm amongst rival sovereigns was a fact which a monarch like Aurelian could not be expected to endure. He determined to reunite the Empire, and the first of his expeditions with this object seems to have been that which he directed against Zenobia, though the chronology of the epoch is open to some doubt. The independent power of the Eastern Princess had been tolerated by Claudius, who considered that his armies were sufficiently employed in the western and middle portions of the Empire. Zenobia is said to have extended her authority as far as Egypt in the south, and Galatia in the north; but this is improbable. It cannot be questioned, however, that the whole of Syria acknowledged her sway, and it is not difficult to understand the jealousy with which a Roman Emperor would contemplate the rise of such a dominion in hands as powerful as hers. Nevertheless, Zenobia does not appear to have been influenced by any feeling of antagonism to Rome. She gave her sons a Roman education, and exhibited them to the troops arrayed in the Imperial purple.

AURELIAN. (*From a Coin in the British Museum.*)

Perhaps she dreamed of dividing the world with the majestic city of the Tiber; at any rate, it is impossible not to pity the hard fate of one whose prowess and mental gifts seemed to mark her for success.

Whether influenced by the advice of her minister, Longinus, or swayed by her own ambition, Zenobia proclaimed herself independent of Aurelian. When the Roman Emperor moved his forces against her, she advanced into Syria to encounter them; but the event did not equal the expectations she had formed. Her mail-clad cavalry were much superior to the Roman horse; yet the able tactics of Aurelian neutralised their efforts, and the Syrian infantry could not withstand the solid charges of

legions which had already broken the vast tide of Northern invasion. The Queen of the East was defeated at Antioch, and again at Emesa, in 272; when, retiring within the sands that encompassed Palmyra, she declared that she would die rather than relinquish her power. After a terrific march across the desert, where he was exposed to the attacks of the Arabs, as well as to the dreadful heat and aridity of those regions, the Roman sovereign arrived before Palmyra. The defence of the city was conducted with wonderful resolution. Zenobia was possessed of numerous *balistæ*, which cast forth a storm of missiles; and artificial fire was also thrown down on the assailants. The Roman Emperor was himself wounded while conducting the operations of the siege; but his was not a nature to be deterred by difficulties. It soon appeared that Zenobia would receive no assistance from Persia, which, in fact, under the rule of Varanes I., assumed a position of absolute hostility. For a long while, Zenobia proudly refused the offers of Aurelian; but, when further resistance became hopeless, she forgot her vow of dying in defence of her sovereignty, and, mounting a swift dromedary, made an effort to escape. A rapid flight of sixty miles brought her to the banks of the Euphrates; but here she was overtaken and captured in 273. Palmyra surrendered to the Roman Emperor, who carried off its treasures to Emesa, leaving behind him a garrison of six hundred archers.

Zenobia, it is humiliating to relate, endeavoured to screen herself by accusing her ministers, and Longinus was executed, together with other nobles of the city. Aurelian then set out for Italy, but, shortly after crossing the Bosphorus, was informed that the Palmyrenes had risen, and put the Roman garrison to death. He soon reappeared before the place, and devoted the whole population to massacre. In the event, a small number were spared, that they might rebuild the city, which had been ruined by the war. But Palmyra never recovered its former magnificence, though it was to some extent restored in later times. Gibbon remarks that it "gradually sank into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village." The very existence of the place was forgotten, until, towards the close of the seventeenth century, some English merchants, belonging to the factory at Aleppo, discovered the majestic ruins which still rise out of the yellow expanse of the desert. These ruins were more fully examined in 1751, when Messrs. Wood, Bouverie, and Dawkins, accompanied by Signor Borra, an Italian draughtsman, made a thorough survey of what remained. A folio volume, published at London two years later, gave the results of their combined investigations, and the city of Zenobia once more took its place amongst the memorable sites of Asia. The architecture is in the Roman style, and the ruins extend in an unbroken line for nearly a mile and a half. The principal building is the Temple of the Sun, the shattered columns and cornices of which strew a large space of ground with sculptured marble.

Before finally quitting the East, Aurelian crushed a rebellion at Alexandria, where an Egyptian merchant had assumed the purple. He then departed for the West, and, entering Gaul in 274, attacked the army of Tetricus, who was at that time wielding the power conferred on him by Victoria. It would seem that Tetricus himself was willing to betray the western province into the hands of Aurelian; but the soldiers, who were probably Gauls, and therefore animated by a feeling of nationality and patriotism, fought with desperate fury, and it was not until after a prolonged and sanguinary action, in the neighbourhood of what is now Châlons-sur-Marne, that the Emperor prevailed. Having thus reunited to the main body of the Empire one of its most valuable provinces, and induced certain hordes of Franks and Batavians to recross the Rhine, Aurelian returned to Rome some time before the close of 274, and celebrated a brilliant triumph. The highest glories of the old Republic and of the early Empire seemed to have returned. Envoys with rich presents attended from Ethiopia and Arabia, from Persia and Bactria, from India and China. In the train of the Imperial conqueror marched Goths and Vandals, Sarmatians and Alemanni, Franks and Gauls, Syrians and Egyptians. A small band of Northern heroines attired as Amazons gave a poetic element to the pageant. Strange animals from the East excited the wonder of the Roman citizens; and the procession was dignified by the two illustrious captives, Tetricus and Zenobia. The chains of the latter were of gold, and she almost sank beneath their weight, and that of the jewels with which her person was adorned. Both prisoners were permitted to reside in honourable captivity at Rome, and it is believed that Zenobia afterwards took to herself a Roman husband. Her daughters undoubtedly married into noble families, and her race was still existing in the fifth century. Tetricus and his son received not only their lives, but their former rank and fortune—a fact which renders it probable that the former had betrayed the troops who would gladly have defended his separate Imperium. Shortly after the triumph, Aurelian dedicated a splendid temple to the Sun, which he had erected on the side of the Quirinal. He had

probably acquired an inclination towards solar worship in the metropolis of the Syrian desert which he afterwards destroyed.

The domestic government of Aurelian was characterised by vigour and intelligence; but it was too despotic for general acceptance. The Senate regarded the Illyrian master of Rome with a jealousy not wholly unfounded. The people stirred uneasily beneath his yoke, and even in the army there were several malcontents. A sedition broke out in the latter part of 274, and was suppressed with great cruelty, and with the loss of many lives, including numerous Senators, and some thousands of soldiers. Perhaps to escape from a city where he felt himself unpopular, or once more to engage the army in a foreign expedition, Aurelian, in the early part of 275, set out for Persia, the power of which excited his alarm. But his reign and life were now approaching their termination. When between Byzantium and Heraclea, one of his secretaries, who considered himself aggrieved, forged a document in his master's hand, according to which it appeared that the principal officers of Aurelian were doomed to death. The imposture succeeded: the officers believed the genuineness of the document, and, to protect themselves, murdered the Emperor in March, 275. The guilt of the secretary was soon afterwards detected and punished, and the soldiers resolved that none of those who had been instrumental in the death of Aurelian should succeed him on the throne. They accordingly referred the matter to the Senate, who referred it back to the army. For six months, each body persisted in deputing to the other the settlement of the political state; and during this interregnum the widow of Aurelian was acknowledged as Empress at Alexandria. At length, the Senate appointed Marcus Claudius Tacitus to the Imperial dignity. He was a Senator of immense wealth, a man of blameless character, a statesman, and a soldier. His descent was from the great historian of the same name, and he was not unworthy of such an origin. Marcus Tacitus was saluted Emperor on the 25th of September, 275, when he had already attained an advanced period of life. His reign was extremely brief, and distinguished only by his operations against the Scythian Alani, who had overrun the eastern provinces of Asia Minor, but whom, by his just and liberal treatment, he induced to retire. This task was scarcely completed when the Emperor died, on the 12th of April, 276.

After an ineffectual attempt on the part of Florianus, the brother of Tacitus, to usurp the purple, the position was filled by Marcus Aurelius Probus, a native of Illyricum, like Claudius and Aurelian, and, also like those famous sovereigns, of humble birth. His military genius was equalled by his political sagacity, and his reign of six years is a record of unbroken success. The German invaders of Gaul were driven back, and some territory east of the Rhine, which had been lost to Rome, was reunited to the Empire. With considerable judgment, Probus enlisted in the Roman armies no fewer than 16,000 of the barbarians, at the same time distributing them in small numbers amongst the several legions, so that they might not be dangerous by combination Others of the Northmen were settled in the provinces; but their habits of insubordination gave frequent trouble, and led to bloody reprisals. A band of Franks, who had seized upon a fleet stationed in one of the harbours of the Euxine, made their way into the Mediterranean, devastated the shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa, plundered the city of Syracuse, and massacred the greater number of its inhabitants. They then passed through the Pillars of Hercules, and, pursuing their course by Spain and Gaul, and through the British Channel, arrived at length on the Batavian or Frisian shore, which was the original object of their extraordinary voyage. It was this adventure which first gave the Northern nations that appetite for marine enterprise by which they were afterwards so powerfully distinguished.

Among the public works of Probus was a stone wall of great height, strengthened at intervals by towers, which he built between the Rhine and the Danube, as a protection against the barbarians. The length of this wall was nearly two hundred miles, and it seemed not unlikely to effect its purpose; but, within a few years of the Emperor's death, his structure was overthrown by the Alemanni. Not merely in the North, but in other parts of the Empire, the military genius of Probus restored the fortunes of the State, and frustrated all attempts at rebellion. A formidable rising by Saturninus, who had been appointed Governor of the Oriental provinces, was suppressed in 280. On this occasion, as on others, the acts of Probus were unstained by cruelty; but his popularity with the army seemed to be dependent on incessant occupation. When at length he had established universal peace within the borders of his dominions, the soldiers began to murmur. He employed some of them to drain the lands round Sirmium, his native city. The labour was doubtless severe, especially in the heat of summer; the men possibly suffered from marsh-fever; and one day they suddenly rose upon the Emperor, and killed him. This

was in 282, and the soldiers, who seem to have repented of their act as soon as it was committed, conferred the purple on Marcus Aurelius Carus, the Prætorian Prefect, who simply notified his election to the Senate, without craving the sanction that was necessary to the legal enjoyment of power. The new Emperor, who was sixty years of age, conferred the title of Cæsar on his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, the elder of whom he left to govern the West, while he marched with the younger into Illyricum, which was being devastated by the Sarmatians. Thence he advanced through Thrace and Asia Minor to the borders of Persia, the pretensions of which he was determined to reduce. The Persian king, Varanes, was of feeble and effeminate character; and in the person of his envoys he sought an interview with Carus, who was discovered sitting on the grass, engaged on his evening meal, which consisted of stale bacon and hard peas. Except for a coarse woollen garment of purple which was wrapped about him, he might have been mistaken for the humblest soldier in the ranks. His spirit, however, was equal to his position. Taking off his cap, and revealing the baldness of his head, he told the ambassadors that he would render Persia as naked of trees as his scalp was destitute of hair, unless their sovereign at once acknowledged the superiority of Rome. Seleuceia and Ctesiphon were captured shortly afterwards by the Roman forces; but on the 25th of December, 283, a frightful storm broke over the camp, and the tent of Carus, being struck with lightning, broke into flames. The Emperor died under these appalling circumstances, and the troops, regarding the destruction of the Prætorium as an omen fatal to the whole army, demanded of Numerian that he should lead them back. On the retreat, Numerian himself was found dead in his tent, on the 12th of September, 284, at Perinthus, in Thrace; and it was believed that he had been assassinated by his father-in-law, Aper, who was ambitious of the succession. In the meanwhile, Carinus had made himself very unpopular at Rome by his vices and cruelty; but his career was not far from its termination. Aper was carried in chains to Chalcedon, on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, where the army conferred the purple on Caius Valerius Diocletianus, a native of Dioclea, in Dalmatia, and, as is generally supposed, the offspring of a slave, or serf, who ultimately acquired his freedom. Five days after the murder of Numerian, Aper was brought before Diocletian, who, without allowing the accused any opportunity of defence, or even hearing evidence against him, at once struck him dead with his own sword. The new Emperor, however, had still a rival in Carinus, who was supported by the armies of the West. In the spring of 285, the opposing legions met on the plains of Margus, in Mœsia, when the forces of Diocletian were nearly overpowered. But amongst the officers of Carinus was one whose wife had been dishonoured by the Western Emperor, and he now found an opportunity of slaying the wrong-doer. The troops were disheartened by this unexpected catastrophe, and gave way before the renewed efforts of Diocletian's soldiers.

Diocletian was about forty years of age when he began his reign—a reign memorable for the varied ability and statesmanlike wisdom by which it was characterised. The recovery of power which had begun under Claudius was further developed by the son of the Dalmatian freedman who now succeeded to the Imperial throne. This distinguished monarch has been described as the founder of a new Empire. He was scarcely that, but he did much towards confirming the renewed prosperity which had commenced before his reign. As one who had been trained to arms under Aurelian and Probus, his military powers were not contemptible. Like Augustus, however, he was more a politician than a soldier; but the condition of the Roman Empire was now such as to require the former rather than the latter. The clemency with which Diocletian was disposed to rule was shown immediately after the death of Carinus by the absence of all proscriptions. It was the great ambition of the new Emperor to heal the wounds of civil war; and he conferred a share in the supreme power on a possible rival, Valerius Maximianus, another Illyrian peasant, who was made Cæsar in 285, and Augustus in the following year. Maximian was a soldier, and nothing else. The rudeness of his birth he made no pretence of concealing, and his military rigour often passed into cruelty. He was extremely serviceable, however, in guarding the frontiers against barbarian attack, and his ferocity was often tempered by the milder edicts of Diocletian. The one assumed the title of Hercules, the other of Jove; and the attributes of those two deities were no inapt symbols of their functions in the State.

The subsequent partition of the Roman dominions into an Empire of the West and an Empire of the East may be said to date from the era of Diocletian. There had often been assistant Emperors before; but the partition, excepting as the result of successful rebellion, had never been so marked in earlier reigns. It was not merely on Maximian that Diocletian conferred a portion of his authority.

The Empire was still assailed in various quarters by barbarian hosts; and, to meet these enemies with greater effect, Diocletian bestowed something like sovereign power on two generals who had already shown ability in the field. One was Galerius, surnamed Armentarius from his original profession of a herdsman; the other was Constantius, denominated Chlorus from the pallor of his complexion. These two appointments were not made until the year 292; but they may be here mentioned in connection with that division of power by which Maximian had been placed almost on a level with Diocletian himself. Galerius came from the same province as Maximian; his birth was equally obscure, and his character partook of the same qualities. Constantius belonged, on the father's side, to a noble family in Dardania, and his mother was niece of the Emperor Claudius. His disposition was mild and generous, and the populace loved him as they could hardly have loved Diocletian, and certainly not Maximian. Both Galerius and Constantius enjoyed the somewhat vague title and dignity of Cæsar, and were regarded as the adopted sons of the two superior Emperors, whose daughters they were compelled to marry, after repudiating their former wives. The Roman Empire was shared among these four princes. Constantius undertook the defence of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. To Galerius were assigned the Illyrian provinces, which he watched from the banks of the Danube. Italy and Africa reposed under the sway of Maximian, while Diocletian reserved for himself the realms of Asia, of Egypt, and of Thrace. The result was the creation of a sort of Federal Empire, each monarch being sovereign within his own jurisdiction, but all exercising a united authority over the whole dominion. The two Cæsars were subordinate to the two Augusti, and Maximian always acknowledged the priority of Diocletian. Under the circumstances of the time, the arrangement was doubtless the best that could be made, since it established four distinct centres of national life where attack was chiefly to be dreaded. But it was none the less a confession of weakness, and a premonitory symptom of the approaching end.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE DIVISION OF THE ROMAN WORLD.

Change in the Character of the Empire under Diocletian—Creation of an Oriental Despotism—The two Augusti and the two Cæsars—Agrarian Rising in Gaul—Creation of a distinct Sovereignty in Britain by Carausius—His Power seized by Allectus—Suppression of the Revolt by Constantius—Events on the Rhine and Danube—Troubles in Northern Africa and in Egypt—Operations of Diocletian against the Egyptians—Destruction of Alchemic Books—Tiridates, the Armenian, and his Relations with Persia—First Appearance of China on the Stage of General History—Early Annals of that Country—War between Rome and Persia—The Two Campaigns of Galerius—Defeat of the Persians, and Conclusion of a Treaty favourable to Rome—Progress of Christianity—Indiscretion of some of the Converts—Terrible Persecution under Diocletian—Decay of Paganism—Success of Diocletian's System of Government—Economical and Military Measures—Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian—Magnificent Palace of Diocletian at Salona (Spalatro)—Galerius in the East, Constantius in the West—Early Life of Constantine (afterwards the Great)—Death of Constantius, and Succession of Constantine to the Western Throne—Revolution at Rome, under the Leadership of Maximian and Maxentius—The Roman World divided amongst Six Emperors—Mutual Distrust and Civil War—Invasion of Italy by Constantine the Great—Defeat and Death of Maxentius—Alliance between Constantine and Licinius—Defeat of the Emperor Maximin—Last Years and Death of Diocletian—Edicts of Religious Toleration issued by Galerius and Constantine—Legend of the Conversion of Constantine to Christianity.

In deputing a large part of the work of government to others, and retiring from the historic capital of the Empire to its provinces, Diocletian gave to the Imperial rule a character different from that which it had formerly possessed. It became more analogous with what we understand by monarchy, and was less qualified by the traditions of its republican origin. The chief Emperor was delivered from the control (such as it was) of the Senate, and the Fathers were obliged to be content with any influence they could bring to bear on the rough soldier, Maximian, which in fact was almost none. Diocletian fixed his official residence at Nicomedia, the ancient capital of Bithynia, which, in the course of a few years, became a city of such magnitude and grandeur as to be inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Here the Emperor gradually assumed the state and character of an Oriental sovereign. To the title of Imperator, he soon added that of Dominus (Lord), and the style of "our Lord the Emperor" was adopted in the laws themselves. Hitherto, the Princeps had

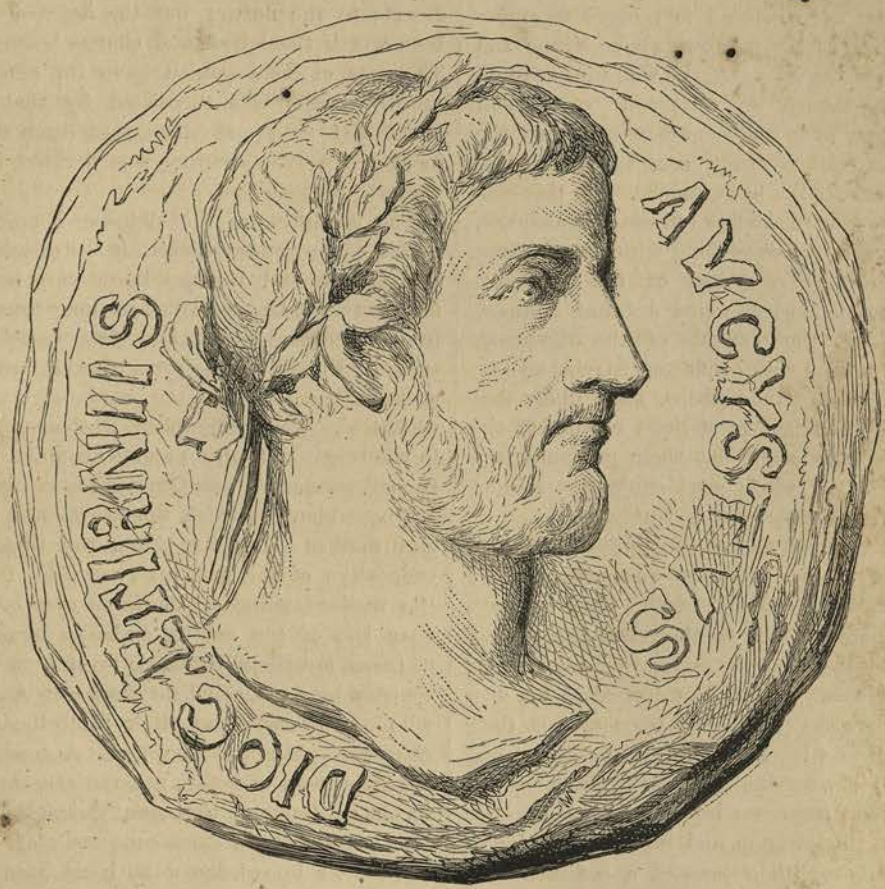
been, at least nominally, and sometimes really, the chief officer of the Senate, so that the Republic was still recognised as a paramount fact. But Diocletian took to himself a more independent position, and even ventured to wear the diadem, or broad fillet set with pearls, which was regarded as the symbol of royalty. The time had been when such an act would have cost him his life; but the Roman spirit of former days was now completely extinct. The whole attire of Diocletian partook of the regal character which his head-dress implied. He appeared in robes of silk and gold, and in shoes studded with jewellery. The usages of the court were also greatly modified. The person of the Emperor was surrounded by a hierarchy of servile attendants, and hedged about by ceremonials designed to create awe in those who stood outside. Eunuchs guarded the interior apartments of the palace, and all who approached the Emperor were compelled to fall prostrate, as in the act of adoration.

Maximian established his court at Mediolanum, the modern Milan, and was not long in introducing similar forms and observances. The choice of that northern city as a seat of government was suggested by the necessity of guarding the Alpine frontier against barbarian attacks; and it soon grew into a capital of great dignity and splendour. But the creation of a new metropolis in Italy itself was a terrible blow to Rome, which was thus deprived of its ancient dignity. The Senate continued to hold its sittings on the Capitoline Hill, and enjoyed a species of shadowy honour; but its real power was gone, and Rome itself lost the allegiance of the Western world. The external pomp of the two Cæsars was much less than that of the two Augusti; but their actual work was often much greater. Constantius, in particular, had to encounter a state of things in Gaul and Britain which tasked his abilities and resources to the utmost. But, to explain the political condition which had arisen in those countries, it will be necessary to go back to a period antecedent to the creation of the two Cæsars.

About two years after the actual assumption of power by Diocletian—namely, in 287—an alarming insurrection of peasants took place in Gaul. These unfortunate people were mere serfs to the nobles and the Roman settlers, and in many instances tilled the ground in fetters. Their rising was at first attended by considerable success, and two of their leaders received Imperial rank and title. In a little while, however, the rebellion was crushed by Maximian; but, immediately afterwards, a much more formidable revolt reared its head in Britain. The naval adventure of the Northmen, related in the last Chapter, was not slow in bearing fruit. The Franks, accompanied by the Saxons, of whom we now begin to hear, ranged the British Channel in their light and rapid vessels, and committed numerous acts of piracy. It was found imperative to take special measures to protect the coast from such ravages; and a naval station was accordingly established at Bononia (Boulogne), under the command of an officer called "the Count of the Saxon Coast." The first appointment was given to a German named Carausius, who treacherously abused his trust. To this bold schemer it appeared possible to create an independent sovereignty in Britain, on the southern and eastern shores of which it is not improbable that some German tribes had already settled. For the realisation of his design, he employed the fleet with which he had been furnished for the defence of the coast against pirates; and during the six years from 287 to 293, an obscure German maintained a separate monarchy in our island, which thus for the first time became a naval Power of no slight importance.

Though reigning in Britain, Carausius retained possession of Boulogne, as a place of vantage on the continent. His fleet was supreme on all the adjacent waters; sailed up the Rhine and Seine on expeditions of rapine; and even entered the Mediterranean. In his insular territory, Carausius was supported by the legionaries who formed the Roman garrison, and who, yielding to his persuasions and the example of his daring, conferred on him the title of Augustus. But his chief strength was in the navy he commanded, and with this force Maximian found himself unable to cope when he at length endeavoured to subdue the traitor. In 290, Diocletian and Maximian agreed to recognise the Imperatorship of Carausius, and the rule of the latter was now conducted with additional vigour and success. The civilisation of Britain was advanced by his care, and the wild Caledonians of the north were held in check by his valour. A couple of years later, the further division of the Empire between the two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, was carried out by the two Augusti. For a brief period, there were in fact five distinct sovereigns within the bounds of the Roman dominions; but the appointment of the two Cæsars was partly with a view to more active operations against the usurper in Britain. This task fell to Constantius, and, while Maximian guarded the Rhine, the new Dictator of the West commenced an attack on Carausius in 292. Boulogne was blockaded by an immense mole, which, being con-

structed across the harbour, precluded all external relief. After a gallant defence, the city surrendered, and a large part of the fleet passed into the hands of Constantius. But before the conqueror could cross the sea into Britain, he received intelligence that his enemy was dead. Carausius had been murdered by his chief minister, Allectus, who thus, in 293, secured the power for himself. In the hands of Allectus it remained for three years; during which time Constantius was making his preparations for invasion. The latter divided the adversary's attention by sending squadrons of his fleet to threaten different points of the coast; and at length his lieutenant, Asclepiodotus, put to sea in stormy weather (a piece of daring to which the mariners of the ancient world were not usually well inclined), passed the fleet of Allectus in a fog off the Isle of Wight (the Vectis of the Romans), and, having landed somewhere in the west, defeated and slew his opponent in one great battle, which was fought in 296. Constantius afterwards crossed over into Kent, and reunited Britain to Rome.



DIOCLETIAN.

The movement thus suppressed, and that of the Gauls which preceded it, are interesting as evidence that the sentiment of nationality was beginning to arise in Western Europe, and that the germs of the modern world were acquiring a separate vitality in the decaying bulk of the Empire. But the same tendencies were to be seen in other quarters also. Shortly after his success in Britain, Constantius had to repel an irruption of the Alemanni across the Rhine, while Galerius was incessantly at war on the Danube, to restrain the barbarians of the northern shore from over-running the south. Large numbers of Goths and Sarmatians were allowed to settle in Mœsia, and a new element of independence was thus created.

Africa partook of the general agitation. Five Libyan tribes formed a warlike confederation, which invaded the neighbouring possessions of Rome, and the purple was assumed at Carthage and Alexandria by two adventurers. At the same time, the Blemmyes, a wild people of Africa, of whom very little was known, and to whom there-

fore fabulous qualities were attributed, made predatory incursions into Upper Egypt. The northern confederacy was speedily quelled by Maximian; but the siege of Alexandria detained Diocletian for eight months in 297, and the city, when at length captured, was treated with great severity. Busiris and Coptos were entirely destroyed, and vast numbers of persons were slain, or driven into exile, for their share in the revolt. The Blemmyes were opposed by the help of the Nobatæ, a people of Nubia, who were induced to remove from the desert of Libya to the territory above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile. Egypt was thus reduced to obedience, though at a terrible cost; and Diocletian then took severe measures against the professors of those occult arts for which the Egyptians had always been famous. In this connection we meet with the first reference to alchemy, all the native books concerning which were given to the flames by command of the Emperor. According to the ancient writer John of Antioch, he dreaded lest the opulence of the Egyptians should inspire them with confidence to rebel against the Empire. But it is, perhaps, more likely that Diocletian opposed the mysterious sciences of the Egyptians from a feeling that their pursuit was a waste of time, by which good subjects were converted into idle dreamers.

The war in Egypt was quickly followed by one with Persia. When Armenia was conquered by Sapor I., about the middle of the third century, Tiridates, the infant heir to the Armenian throne, was saved by the Romans, and brought up under their supervision. In 286 he returned to his own country, where the people had risen against their foreign oppressors. He found in Armenia, and pressed into his service, a Chinese prince named Mamgo, whose existence brings under our notice for the first time a large and important realm of Asia, which even then boasted a civilisation of great antiquity, but of whose early development scarcely anything is known. As Mongolians, the Chinese belonged to a division of the human race with which the great nations of the classic ages had little or no intercourse; and the situation of their country, far beyond the utmost bounds of India, added to the obscurity. The primitive annals of China, like those of other countries, are clearly fabulous; but there is doubtless some degree of historic accuracy in the accounts given of a prince named Woo-wong, who reigned about eleven hundred years before the Christian era, and with whom began what is called the period of Chow. The great moral teacher, Kong-fu-tse, better known to Occidentals by the Latinised name of Confucius, lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., during the dynasty of Chow, which lasted eight hundred years, and added greatly to the extent and military strength of the Chinese Empire. The next dynasty was that of Tsin, the first Emperor of which built the Great Wall, which ran for 1,250 miles across hills, valleys, and rivers, and still exists, though in a ruinous state. His object was to protect the Empire from the incursions of the Tartars inhabiting the great deserts to the north; but the defence has never been worth the labour and charge bestowed on it. The race of Tsin (which gave its name to the country itself) was succeeded by that of Hân, about 201 B.C.; and when this came to a close, in 184 A.D., the country was divided into three separate States.

The condition of the Chinese Empire, at the period we have now reached, is extremely obscure. The Greeks and Romans knew very little of the far East; yet Chinese silk had long found its way into Western regions, and the merchants who traded with the remote parts of Asia brought back some information as to the people with whom they trafficked. The geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, calls the silk-producing country Serica—a region which has been identified with the north-west of China; and farther south he places the Sinæ, a name suggestive of the native term, Tsin, from which the modern name of China is derived. In the year 166 of our era, an embassy is said by the Chinese annalists to have been sent into their country by a prince whom they call An-thun, and who was probably no other than the philosophic Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The Romans were therefore not entirely devoid of information touching that great Oriental realm which lay beyond the utmost conquests of Alexander. Still, their knowledge must have been slight and superficial; and Mamgo, the adherent of Tiridates, was called by their writers a Scythian chief, whom an usurping dynasty had expelled from his native land, and who in the first instance sought refuge in Persia. However this may have been, he was claimed by the Chinese monarch as a subject, and the Persian king, disliking to give up the fugitive, and yet dreading a quarrel with so powerful a neighbour, sent Mamgo into Armenia, and declared that he had banished him into a region of the extreme west, where he would certainly perish in a very short time. Mamgo resented this treatment, and in revenge espoused the cause of Tiridates. The Armenian revolt was at first successful, owing to an internal conflict, in Persia itself, between

Varanes III. and Narses, the two sons of Varanes II. This civil war was terminated in 294 by the success of Narses, who then turned his arms against the Armenian prince, and compelled him once more to seek refuge under the wings of Rome. It was the policy of Diocletian that he should be restored, and a powerful army was collected at Antioch in 297, the active command of which was given to Galerius.

By a piece of great indiscretion, Galerius, following the unfortunate example of Crassus, attempted to cross the sandy desert of Mesopotamia, but was there encountered by the forces of the enemy, who, in a series of three engagements, so shattered the Roman army as to compel its retreat. Galerius reappeared at Antioch, and was received by the Emperor with great sternness. Nevertheless, he was furnished with a new army, drawn from the Danubian frontier, and strengthened by Gothic auxiliaries. All these men were veterans; but they would probably have failed as much as their predecessors, had Galerius repeated his error. This, however, he wisely avoided, and, penetrating through Armenia, as Trajan had done before him, surprised the Persian camp by night. The result was a brilliant success, ending in the capture of the royal camp, and the flight of the king himself, who was wounded in the conflict. Diocletian now advanced to Nisibis, where in 298 an envoy from the defeated monarch sued for peace on any terms. The Roman Emperor agreed to cease hostilities, on condition that Persia should cede to him Armenia, Mesopotamia, and five districts beyond the Tigris. The protectorate of the mountainous country of Iberia, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, was also transferred to Rome, which thus acquired a command over the passes of the Caucasus; and the boundary of the two Empires was fixed at the river Chaboras, now the Khabour. A few years later—though whether in 302 or 303 is uncertain—Diocletian and Maximian celebrated a triumph for their own victories, and the recent achievements of the Cæsars. This was a memorable occasion, for it was almost the last of those grand manifestations of successful power ever seen in Rome.

One of the most painful incidents of the reign of Diocletian was a renewed persecution of the Christians. Hitherto, under the sceptre of that monarch, the treatment of the sect had been singularly mild and generous; and, for twenty years preceding the celebration of the great triumph, Christianity had made considerable progress. Churches were built, and attended by many worshippers. The followers of the alien faith were even admitted to high office, and, according to some writers, the Empresses Prisca and Valeria, the wives of Diocletian and Galerius, were secret converts, though in any case it would seem that they were not baptized. The Christians, however, were still unpopular, and perhaps all the more so in consequence of their augmenting power. It must be admitted that in some instances their conduct had been such as to provoke the prejudice and intolerance of the majority. The more fanatical disturbed the public services of the temples, defied the magistrates, insulted the Pagans, and clamorously demanded martyrdom. So large a number, on one occasion, presented themselves before an Asiatic Proconsul who is supposed to have been afterwards the Emperor Antoninus Pius, that he exclaimed, "Unhappy men! if you are thus weary of your lives, is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?" The question, of course, did not touch the point at issue; but the immoderate enthusiasm of indiscreet converts was unquestionably a difficult matter for any Government to deal with. In the reign of Diocletian, another embarrassment arose, proceeding from the conscientious objection of some Christian soldiers to take the military oath (which of course was of a heathen character), or even to follow the profession of arms at all. A few such persons were punished with death, and it was possibly due to incidents of this nature that a more general persecution again broke out.

Persuaded by the arguments of Galerius, and by the representations of Pagan priests, Diocletian summoned a council of the chief civil and military officers at Nicomedia in 303, at which it was resolved that the Christian religion should be suppressed throughout the Empire. It was determined that all Christian churches should be destroyed, that all copies of the Scriptures should be publicly burned, that the professors of Christianity should be deprived of their civil rights, and that those who practised their worship in private should be executed. The evidence of spies and informers, which Trajan had prohibited, was now received; and the objects of this cruel oppression were not allowed to bring any complaints of their own before the tribunals. When the edict setting forth these provisions was posted in Nicomedia, it was torn down by a Christian, who expressed in the most vehement language his detestation of its authors. He was burned to death at a slow fire; but the utmost extremity of his tortures could not obtain from him any renunciation of his belief, or any concession to the malice of his enemies. Shortly after this lamentable incident, two fires broke out in the Imperial palace in quick succession. They

were attributed to the vengeance of the Christians, and were made the justification of more extensive barbarities. Galerius hastily quitted Nicomedia, where he believed his life to be insecure, and Diocletian paused for a while in the bloody work he had begun. Some months later, however, he began to enforce his edict in the provinces, and a general demand was made for the surrender of all Christian writings. Many of the Bishops and presbyters gave up their books; but an African Bishop, named Felix, refused, and suffered death. His example animated others, and so energetic a resistance was offered to the authorities that the churches were sometimes defended with armed force. The persecution was very severe in Spain, and it was at this period that Alban, the Protomartyr of Britain, is said to have been beheaded at Verulamium, the modern St. Albans. Ultimately it was decreed that not merely the ministers of religion, but all Christians of any sort whatever, should be imprisoned; and even non-believers were threatened with severe punishment, if they should give them aid or assistance. This was the very madness of despotism—an ordinance which it was of course beyond the power of any Government to carry out in its fulness. Galerius himself, the principal author of the persecution, afterwards saw its folly, if he did not repent of its wickedness. But the future of Christianity was now assured, whether its professors were ill-used or tolerated. Paganism was dying, even in the lands where it had once been predominant; and not even the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, which gave a spiritual interpretation to the ancient myths, could save the religion of Greece and Rome from the extinction to which it was hastening.

Setting aside the deplorable persecution of the Christians, the system of government established by Diocletian had been remarkably successful. The four potentates worked harmoniously together; the military renown of the Empire was sustained and extended; and, although the maintenance of four courts, and of four distinct sets of officials, necessitated a considerable increase of taxation, the people seem to have been generally content. By the exercise of a very doubtful political economy, but one which has nevertheless been widely adopted in many ages and countries, Diocletian fixed the maximum price of necessaries, together with the wages of labourers and artizans, of schoolmasters and orators. The early Christian writer, Lactantius, alludes to this decree, which was issued in 301; and, in 1826, Colonel Leake discovered at Stratonicea, in Caria, a copy of the edict in question, which throws an interesting light on the social condition of the Empire at the commencement of the fourth century. The prices of commodities appear to have increased immensely during the previous hundred years; but whether this was owing to a depreciation in the value of money, or to an increased demand for the requirements and luxuries of life, it is impossible to say. One of the most prudent measures of Diocletian was that by which he curbed the power of the Prætorians. The number of those restless soldiers was gradually reduced; their privileges were abolished; and ultimately the whole body ceased to exist. Its place was supplied by two trustworthy legions from Illyricum, to whom were given the titles of Jovians and Herculeans, after the fantastic appellations which the two Augusti had taken to themselves.

During the whole of his reign, Diocletian paid only two visits to Rome; the first of which was on the occasion of the triumph, and the second towards the close of 303. After the latter of these visits, he retired to Ravenna, and ultimately returned to Nicomedia in the early part of 305. Being then dangerously ill, he determined to abdicate, after first making arrangements for securing the succession. He considered that the wisest arrangement was to leave the whole power of the Empire in the hands of the two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius; and he required of Maximian that he should resign together with himself. After taking leave of the soldiers and people, who were assembled in a plain three miles from Nicomedia, he retired to a magnificent palace which he had commenced on the Adriatic coast, near his native city of Salona, in Dalmatia, one of the subdivisions of Illyricum. The remains of this grand edifice, which was completed during the final years of the Emperor's life, are still to be seen near the modern village of Spalatro, the name of which is a corruption of Salonæ Palatium, the Palace of Salona. The building covered an area of between nine and ten English acres, and was intersected by two streets running at right angles to one another. The chief gates were called the Golden and Silver Gates, and sixteen octagonal towers defended the structure. The style of this palace shows the early transformation of the Roman into the Byzantine manner, and its remains are therefore valuable to the architectural student. The temple of Jupiter, which formed part of the original structure, is now the Cathedral of Spalatro. That of Æsculapius, which was also included within the walls, is the Church of St. John the Baptist; and the Golden Gate forms the entrance to the market-place. The rest of the palace is in decay; but the ruins are both interesting and picturesque. They were closely

examined, and minutely described, about the middle of last century, by the British architect, Robert Adam, one of the brothers Adam whose genius contributed to the adornment of London.

After the resignation of the two Augusti, Galerius succeeded to the full Imperial power in the East, and Constantius in the West. Some degree of precedence seems to have attached to the latter, on account both of his greater age and his superior services. He declined, however, to take up his residence at Rome, and Italy fell under the power of Galerius, who assumed to himself the right of nominating both the Cæsars. One of these was his sister's son, an Illyrian peasant, who now took the names of Galerius Valerius Maximinus. The countries assigned to this rough and illiterate boor were Syria and Egypt, while the other Cæsar, whose name was Severus, received Italy and Africa for the sphere of his operations. The more immediate dominion of Galerius was over the countries between the borders of Italy and those of Syria. As the death of Constantius seemed not far distant, and Galerius had contrived that Italy and Africa, which were parts of the Western Empire, should be in the hands of Severus, who was one of his creatures, the Eastern potentate looked forward to the time when he should be supreme over the Roman world. But these anticipations were disappointed by the ambition and activity of Flavius Constantinus, the son of Constantius and Helena, a prince afterwards famous in history as Constantine the Great. This remarkable person was born about 274, probably at Naïssus, now Nissa, in Upper Mœsia. As a military man, he acquired distinction in the Persian campaign of Galerius; but he soon fell under the jealousy of that restless intriguer, who, after the abdication of Diocletian, endeavoured to prevent him from joining his father in the West. Constantine, however, escaped the vigilance of the Eastern Emperor, and, having pressed numerous relays of post-horses into his service, performed a rapid journey from Nicomedia to Boulogne, where Constantius was about to set forth on his last expedition into Britain, to chastise the Caledonians, who were again devastating the border-lands. Reaching York shortly afterwards, Constantius died there on the 24th of July, 306. The army of Britain immediately proclaimed Constantine Emperor of the West; indeed, it is not improbable that Constantius had designated him to this office with his latest breath. Galerius was exasperated at the appointment, and, while recognising Constantine as Cæsar over the Western provinces, conferred the higher dignity of Augustus on Severus. Constantine prudently accepted the inferior position for the present, while still cherishing his hopes of undisputed predominance. In the meantime, he made war on the northern barbarians, whose incursions he successfully repelled, but whom he treated with extravagant cruelty.

The annoyance of Maximian at his enforced resignation, and at the exclusion of his son Maxentius from any share in the Imperial power, aided the discontent of the Roman people in producing a revolution in Italy. The supremacy of the Eastern Emperor, and the oppressive taxes which he laid upon the ancient seat of government, were equally resented by the citizens and by the Herculean Guards, who were again entitled Prætorians. The troops rose against the party of Severus in October, 306, and the Senate conferred the purple upon Maxentius, who was then residing near Rome. Maximian himself now reappeared on the scene, and made preparations to resist the advance of Severus. The danger, however, proved but slight, for Severus, being deserted by some of his legions, retired to Ravenna, where he soon afterwards capitulated to Maximian, and in February, 307, put an end to his own life. Maximian then conferred the rank of Augustus on Constantine, and gave him his daughter Fausta in marriage. An invasion of Italy by Galerius totally failed of its object, and the Eastern Emperor was obliged to retreat with undignified rapidity, lest he should be overwhelmed by the army of Maxentius. The title of Augustus, with the supremacy of the Western Empire, was conferred by Galerius, in November, 307, on his old comrade Licinius, originally a Dacian peasant. Maximin, the ruler of Syria, claimed the same dignity for himself, and the title was soon conferred on Constantine also. There were thus six Emperors reigning at the same time in the Roman world: in the West, Maximian, Constantine, and Maxentius; in the East, Galerius, Licinius, and Maximin. Such an arrangement was certain to result in civil war; but, for the present, an apparent reconciliation was effected amongst all the parties.

The first rupture was not between one of the Eastern and one of the Western Emperors, but between two of the latter, and those two father and son. Maxentius resented the claim of Maximian that he should still exercise a controlling power, and, in the assertion of his own claims, about 309, was supported by the Prætorian Guards. Maximian, now old and feeble, retired into Gaul, where he was well received by his son-in-law, Constantine. The kindness of that ruler was, however, but ill-requited; for Maximian took advantage of the opportunity presented by his

relative's absence, on an expedition against the Franks, to seize the treasure deposited at Arles, which he squandered in bribing the troops. He then proceeded to open negotiations with Maxentius, who had but recently treated him with such undutiful arrogance. Apprised of his danger, Constantine swiftly returned from the Rhine, and besieged his father-in-law in Marseilles, where he had taken refuge. The people of that city speedily surrendered him to the enemy, and he is said to have strangled himself in February, 310, though it is not unlikely that his death was compulsory, and dictated by the vengeance of Constantine. The death of Maximian was followed, in May, 311, by that of Galerius, who perished of a loathsome disease, in which the Christians saw a Divine retribution on one of their oppressors. His Asiatic provinces now passed to Maximin, while Licinius took the European. The former concluded an alliance with Maxentius, the latter with Constantine; and it was not long before a war broke out, which was attended by important results.

Maxentius and Constantine came to a rupture in the course of 312, and the latter was invited by the Senate and people of Rome to hasten to their deliverance. He crossed the Alps at the head of about 40,000 men; but Maxentius had no fewer than 188,000 troops with which to oppose his adversary. The disparity in numbers was therefore immense, and the resources of Maxentius, in wealth and materials of war, were much greater than those of his antagonist. Constantine, however, advanced into Italy with his accustomed swiftness, and to some extent took Maxentius by surprise. To counteract his movements, an army was sent forward into the plains of Turin, where an important action was fought. The principal strength of Maxentius was in a species of heavy cavalry, the discipline and equipment of which were borrowed from the nations of the East. The horses and their riders were alike clothed in complete armour, jointed in such a manner as to accommodate itself to the motions of their bodies. In this respect, as in other matters, we seem to be leaving the classical age behind us, and to be approaching mediæval times. The cavalry thus ordered was undoubtedly formidable, and, being drawn up in a compact column, gradually spreading

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

VISION OF THE CROSS AT SAXA RUBRA.

out on the flanks, while drawing to a sharp point at the head, seemed likely to shatter the forces of Constantine. That skilful commander, however, contrived to baffle his opponent by the unexpected nature of his evolutions; and the troops of Maxentius ultimately gave way, and were slaughtered in heaps by the pursuers. Other successes followed, and Constantine advanced on Rome along the Flaminian Way. Maxentius, whose habits were indolent and pleasure-loving, had long neglected the danger with which his dominion was threatened; but he now roused himself, and took up a position at the Etrurian village of Saxa Rubra (the Red Rocks), situated on the little river Cremera. Here a great battle was fought on the 28th of October, 312. A brilliant charge by Constantine himself, at the head of his Gallic horse, scattered the cavalry of Maxentius, and decided the issue of the day. The discomfited troops were driven into the Tiber, and, in the general crush and confusion, Maxentius himself fell into the river while attempting to pass over the Milvian Bridge. The weight of his armour speedily carried him to the bottom, and prevented all escape. On the following day, his head was exposed to the Romans, who, long disgusted by his despotism, idleness, and profligacy, now rejoiced at their deliverance from a hated ruler. Constantine put the two sons of his rival to death, and then proclaimed an amnesty. As a matter of prudence, he professed great submission to the Senate; and the members of that ancient body saluted him as the first of the three surviving Augusti. Before leaving Rome, he ordered the erection of a triumphal arch, which still exists, and, by its inferior style, reveals the progress of barbarism in the capital of ancient civilisation. The numbers of the Senate were greatly increased, and the Prætorian Guards were once more, and now finally, abolished.

In the early part of 313, Constantine and Licinius met at the city of Milan, and concluded an alliance, which was cemented by the marriage of the latter to Constantia, the daughter of the former. War broke out, almost immediately after, with the Emperor Maximian, who, on the 30th of April, was defeated by Licinius under the walls of Heraclea, formerly the Thracian city of Perinthus, on the Propontis. The discomfited sovereign is said to have accomplished his flight to Nicomedia—a distance of a hundred and sixty miles—in twenty-four hours; but the feat seems hardly possible. In any case, however, he died at Tarsus about the end of August. Licinius now succeeded to the command of the eastern provinces, and signalised his triumph by the extermination of all whom he regarded in a light unfavourable to himself. Among the persons he thus slew were Valeria the daughter, and Prisca the wife, of Diocletian. The mention of that relic of past greatness reminds us of the fact that he was still living in retirement at Salona, in the palace he had reared, surrounded by gardens he had adorned, and within view of the noblest scenery on the Adriatic coast. In this retreat he had for nearly nine years shrouded himself from the cares of state; and when, on one occasion, Maximian begged him to reassume the purple, he replied that, if he could show his former colleague the admirable vegetables he had grown with his own hands at Salona, he would no longer be urged to abandon such tranquil satisfaction for the exercise of powers which brought nothing but disappointment. In the meditative leisure of his retirement, he often reflected on the painful responsibilities which are cast on a despotic sovereign, who, however well-intentioned he may be, is often seduced into wrongful actions by the interested misrepresentations of those whom he is of necessity compelled to trust. The convulsions of the Empire after his withdrawal from the throne must have carried affliction into the very heart of his retirement; and his last days were embittered by the cruelty of Licinius to his wife and daughter. These acts probably hastened his end, for he died towards the close of 313. It has even been said that he committed suicide; but the statement rests on no good foundation. He was getting old; and the sorrow which was now imposed on him by one who would have shown greater respect to the indirect founder of his fortunes, is in itself sufficient to account for his decease. He was not the best of the Roman Emperors; but he was certainly far from being the worst.

The persecution of the Eastern Christians, which had been commenced by Galerius, was terminated by that sovereign shortly before his death. In the year 311, he issued, in his own name, and in those of Constantine and Licinius, an edict of toleration, which is certainly a very remarkable confession of the lamentable error into which his passion or his fanaticism had betrayed him. "The edicts," says this singular document, "which we have published, to enforce the worship of the gods, having exposed many of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being left destitute of any public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to those unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency."

The proscribed sectaries were therefore allowed to profess their private opinions, and even to assemble in their conventicles, on the understanding that they should preserve a due respect for the established laws and government. "We hope," concluded Galerius, "that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the Republic." When Maximin succeeded to the Empire of the East, he continued (after a brief period of persecution) the protection thus granted to the Christians, though his own opinions were decidedly Pagan. But the greatest charter of the new believers is to be found in the Edict of Milan, issued by the Emperor Constantine in 313. Whether, when he published this decree, Constantine had been converted to Christianity, and, indeed, whether he was at any time a Christian in the sense now attached to the term, are questions much debated, but incapable of solution in the absence of fuller details. In connection with the alleged conversion of Constantine, a striking incident is told, which, although its legendary character is obvious, cannot be altogether excluded.

The story preserved by the Church historian Eusebius, who says that he had it from the Emperor himself, is to the effect that Constantine, when on his march to encounter Maxentius at the battle of Saxa Rubra, in 312, beheld in the heavens a figure of the Cross, inscribed with the sentence, "In hoc vince" ("By this conquer"). The brilliance of the vision was so intense and marvellous that it outshone the noonday sun, above which it arose; and it is added that the appearance was seen by the whole army. On the following night, Christ himself appeared to the Emperor in a dream, holding a cross in his hand; and by him he was commanded to make a standard after that celestial pattern, and to bear it against Maxentius and all future enemies, who, it was promised, would in this way be overthrown. Thenceforward, the Labarum, or Imperial banner—a streamer of purple silk, adorned with gold and precious stones—bore a device which combined the form of the Cross with the Greek initials of the name of Christ. The motto consisted of the words, "In hoc signo vinces" ("By this sign thou shalt conquer"); and the sacred standard was entrusted to a guard of fifty veterans. In some instances, the flag was embroidered with the figure of Christ, or with those of the Emperor and his children. Until the time of Constantine, the device had been the figure of an eagle, long the symbol of Roman predominance and ambition; but the banner now acquired a religious significance, which was supposed to impart absolute safety to the persons of those who guarded it.

The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman State was due to Constantine; but he was a politic ruler, desirous of standing well with all parties, and the Christians had acquired so great a power in many provinces of the Empire that the sovereign may well have thought it to his interest to form an alliance with them. Still, the mind of Constantine was very much divided on this subject, and, on entering Rome, after the victory which he alleged had been preceded by such miraculous revelations, he accepted the Pagan office of Chief Pontiff. Niebuhr (though hardly with sufficient justification) refuses to acknowledge him as a Christian at all, and says that his religion must have been a strange compound, not unlike a certain amulet discovered in modern times at Rome. "This amulet," he adds, "is an example of that curious mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism, which we so frequently meet with from about the beginning of the third century. It is of finely-wrought silver, with magic inscriptions, the seven-branched candlestick of Jerusalem, and the usual Christian monogram. The inscription is Greek, mixed with barbarous and unintelligible forms. It contains, however, express allusions to Christianity, and states that whoever wore the amulet would be sure to please gods and men." A coin of the reign of Constantine still exists, which bears on its obverse the monogram of Christ, while the reverse exhibits the figure of Phœbus, with the inscription, "Sol Invictus," denoting his predominance and power. This first of the Christian Emperors still consulted the entrails of beasts for omens; and the weekly Christian festival, which he appointed to be observed throughout the Empire, he associated with the first day of the week, not because it was to Christians the day of the Resurrection, but because it was to Pagans "the venerable day of the sun."

The Edict of Milan, which is one of the most honourable facts in the life of Constantine, and which gives peculiar lustre to the year 313, was nothing less than a guarantee of universal toleration in the matter of religion. The agreement of Licinius, the other Western Emperor, was readily obtained; and, after the death of Maximin, this liberal decree became for a time the general and fundamental law of the Roman Empire. It was here ordained that the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been deprived should be restored to them; that the places of worship and public lands recently confiscated should be given

back to the Church, without delay and without expense; and that the Christians and all other religious bodies were to have a free and absolute right of following the religion which each individual thought proper to prefer, to which his mind was addicted, or which he might consider the best adapted to his own use. The two Emperors exacted from the Governors of provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of the edict; and they assigned, as their reasons for taking such a step, their desire to consult the peace and happiness of the people, and their hope that by such conduct they should appease and propitiate "the Deity whose seat is in heaven." Finally, they acknowledged the many proofs they had received of the Divine favour, and expressed their trust that Providence would for ever continue to protect the prosperity of prince and people.

Although this noble edict (which it has taken many ages of the modern world to equal) was published only a few months after the asserted miracle of Saxa Rubra, there is nothing in its terms to prove that Constantine was then a Christian; indeed, it would appear that his mind was still in a purely receptive and experimental stage as regards religion. The decree, however, effected none the less good because its basis was not dogmatic. From that time forth, Christianity underwent, in the Roman Empire, no more of those persecutions of which theologians, by a doubtful computation, reckon exactly ten. The oppressions had certainly been numerous, and in several instances cruel; and it is a relief to quit so painful a chapter in the history of folly and injustice, though others equally painful lie beyond. But it is as well, for the credit of human nature, to bear in mind that, as touching the earlier persecutions, we have little evidence beyond the traditions of a later age, and that in such cases exaggeration is almost inevitable. With respect to the last persecution, it is generally admitted that Eusebius is not always a trustworthy witness, because his prejudices were strong. The exact number of Christians who suffered death for their faith cannot, of course, be stated; but, in the opinion of some modern critics, it fell far short of what seems to be implied by the ancient authorities. Dr. Conyers Middleton, a clerical writer of the last century, maintains that many of the accounts in the early Martyrologies are fabulous, and relates some instances in which imaginary persons, heathen divinities, and inanimate objects, have been put forward as saints and martyrs.* But, after all drawbacks have been made, it is certain that the Christians were subjected, at various intervals of time, to barbarous treatment; that, while some renounced their faith in the presence of death and torture, others endured the utmost extremity of anguish; and that these tyrannies, so far from checking the new religion, helped it forward to its ultimate success.

* "Letter from Rome," 1729.—The learned author pursued a similar vein in his "Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church, from the Earliest Ages through several successive Centuries," 1749. Dodwell, and afterwards Gibbon, were in favour of greatly reducing the number of martyrs; but other writers have maintained the substantial truth of the early accounts.

CHAPTER XLVII.

DECAY AND DISSOLUTION.

Relative Position of Christianity and Paganism in the year 313—War between Constantine and Licinius—Defeat and Death of the Latter—The Roman Empire reunited—Designs of Constantine with respect to Byzantium—Imperial Recognition of the Christian Faith—Reforms instituted by Constantine—The Council of Nicæa, or Nice—Condemnation of Arianism—Subsequent Recantation of Arius—Unpopularity of the Emperor at Rome—Execution of his Son Crispus on a Doubtful Charge—Dedication of Constantinople—Approaching Change of the Roman into the Greek Empire—Introduction of a New System of Government—The Monarchical Idea Strengthened—Fresh Division of the Empire—War with the Goths and Sarmatians—Death of Constantine—Massacre of his Relatives by Constantius—War with Persia—Deaths of Constantine II. and Constans—Troubles in Gaul and Pannonia—Renewal of the Arian Controversy—Struggle of Athanasius with the Civil Power of Constantius—Early Life of Julian the Apostate—His Successes in Gaul and on the Rhine—Proclaimed Augustus by the Troops, he Marches against Constantius—Death of the Emperor, and Succession of Julian—Justice of his Measures—His Renunciation of Christianity, and Attempt to re-establish Paganism—Unjust Treatment of the Christians—Theological Dissensions in Alexandria—George of Cappadocia (St. George)—Further Persecution of Athanasius—Julian's Design for Rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem—Disastrous War with Persia—Retreat of Julian, and Death on the Battle-field—Abandonment of Provinces to Persia—Inroads of the Northern Barbarians—Military Successes under Valentinian I.—Final Years of Athanasius—Troubles with the Goths, Sarmatians, Alans, and Huns—Death of the Emperor Valens in Battle—Theodosius the Great—Ulphilas and the Goths of Mœsia—Revolution in the Western Empire—War between the West and the East—The Massacre of Thessalonica—Penance of Theodosius—Dissensions in the Religious World—Forcible Suppression of Paganism—Death of Theodosius the Great—Final Years of Roman Power.

WHATEVER the motives of Constantine in publishing his edict of toleration, the issue of that memorable document marks an era in the history of the Roman Empire. The effect is like that which is seen in the heavens when they are divided between the setting and the rising luminary—between the moonlight which is decaying in the west, and the sunlight which is growing in the east. There is an intermediate space where the two lights mingle, so that it is impossible to determine where the one begins and the other ends; but the diminishing radiance in the direction of loss is no less obvious than the increasing radiance in the direction of gain. The balance, however, is being perpetually altered. By what fine degrees no man can trace, the weaker light passes into the stronger, is overcome by it, merged in it, and finally extinguished. We only know that now it is here, and that now it is gone; but the precise moment of its cessation, and even the degrees of its decline, escape the eye. Neither the Edict of Milan, nor the subsequent letter of Constantine recommending the tenets of Christianity, fixes the period of the absolute death of Paganism. The old faith lingered in many hearts, and expired by imperceptible gradations. In 313 it was still powerful, and the future of Christianity was not yet assured.

Meanwhile, there were secular affairs to be considered, and worldly ambitions to be fulfilled. The alliance between Constantine and his son-in-law Licinius, who, while retaining his possessions in Europe, had succeeded Maximin in the East, did not last much more than a year. The sovereigns quarrelled in 314, and Licinius, being defeated in two engagements, resigned to Constantine all his European dominions, with the exception of Thrace. Nine years of peace ensued, during which Constantine employed his arms against the Northern barbarians, whom he repulsed and humbled. Sarmatia is said to have been conquered, and the Goths were compelled, as the price of amity, to furnish 40,000 recruits to the Roman armies. These operations were concluded in 322, and in the following year war again broke out with Licinius—an indolent and licentious ruler, whose disposition was entirely opposed to that of the energetic Constantine. The former had at his command a very numerous and well-appointed army, which he assembled on the plains of Hadrianople, in Thrace, and an immense navy, which he drew up in the Hellespont and the adjacent waters. The forces of Constantine, both by land and sea, were far less; but the skilful conduct of their sovereign sufficed to give the victory to the weaker side.

Before the actual collision, Licinius, now old and feeble, had entrenched his troops in a strong position on the sloping banks of the Hebrus, between that river and the neighbouring city; but the manœuvres of Constantine lured him out on to the plain, and he was vanquished, with immense loss, on the 3rd July, 323. The fortified camp was stormed the same evening, and Licinius shut himself up within the walls of Byzantium. The Eastern fleet, which blocked the passage into the Propontis, had still to be encountered; and Constantine directed his son Crispus, who had command of the Western vessels, stationed in the Ægean, to force his way through. The naval action which

followed lasted two days, and ended in a complete victory for Crispus. The admiral of Licinius, after losing many of his ships and men, drew off with the remainder to Chalcedon, situated on the opposite side of the Bosphorus to Byzantium. Thither, also, Licinius fled with his treasures when Constantine appeared before the Thracian city. Raising a fresh army, he again took the field at Chrysopolis, in Bithynia, where his opponent, having crossed the straits, struck a final blow. Fortune once more declared against Licinius, and, on making his submission, he was spared the penalty of death on condition of his abdicating. Thessalonica was the place appointed for his residence; and he was executed there, in 324, on a charge of having engaged in a conspiracy—a charge which was never proved, and which may perhaps have been baseless. The chief result of Constantine's last victory was the reunion of the Roman world under one sceptre; but the arrangement was not destined to endure.

During the siege of Byzantium (which of course surrendered immediately after the fall of Licinius), it occurred to the mind of Constantine that its situation was better adapted than any other for the capital of a great empire. Standing on the very borders of Europe and Asia, it confronted in one direction the barbarians beyond the Danube, and in another the military strength of Persia.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

Through the Propontis and the Ægean, it could command the Mediterranean, while the Euxine, giving access to the northern shores of Asia Minor and the southern limits of Sarmatia, was close at hand. Constantine therefore resolved to create a new city on the site of the ancient Doric town, and to make it the metropolis of his dominions. But, before this could be accomplished, some other events of importance occurred, and the Christian religion acquired a new position, which did not in all respects tend to its advantage. Delivered from the fear of Licinius, and considering himself free to give attention to moral and spiritual matters, the Emperor now declared himself in favour of

Christianity—not simply tolerant of that as well as other religions. By circular letters, he recommended its adoption to his subjects; and he himself practised the forms of Christian worship, was extremely punctilious in his Easter devotions, and preached with fervour on the scheme of redemption. The proscription of Paganism had not yet arrived; the beneficent Edict of Milan, issued while the Emperor was Chief Pontiff of the ancient faith, and only a sympathetic observer of

VIEW IN MILAN.

Christianity, still remained in force. The new religion was simply suggested to the general conscience as the most worthy; it was not legally established, nor endowed with special privileges. To about this period, but probably to a date antecedent to the Emperor's open and undisguised adoption of Christianity, must be assigned various reforms of a moral and beneficent character. The punishment of flagellation, formerly inflicted on defaulters in the payment of taxes, was abolished; prisons were subjected to a better discipline; the old laws against celibacy were repealed, and concubinage was forbidden. Crucifixion was no longer permitted; the emancipation of slaves was encouraged, and infanticide was checked. An edict, issued in March, 321, enjoined the observance of Sunday (the *Dies Solis* of the Romans) as a day of abstinence from work, though, as we have shown, rather on Pagan than on Christian grounds. At a later period, private divinations, licentious rites, and gladiatorial games were suppressed. Constantine ordered the rebuilding of churches that had been destroyed in the persecutions, honoured the graves of the martyrs, and ultimately exempted the clergy from taxes and civil duties, while granting donations and privileges to religious associations.

There can be no doubt that Constantine approached Christianity by a circuitous route. He first tolerated it, then thought well of it, then tried to mingle it with Paganism, and finally adopted it in full, though probably with some admixture of the older sentiment. From 324, he was a Christian both in name and in practice, and one so earnest for the new doctrine that he presided over the meetings of the Bishops with a view to the settlement of disputed questions. In order to determine some nice points of faith, he convened a great Council of the Church at Nicæa, in Bithynia. This memorable assembly is generally regarded as

the First Œcumenical (or Universal) Council, and is commonly known by the corrupted title of the Council of Nice. The object of such gatherings is to pronounce an authoritative judgment on matters that may have been in dispute; and in the present instance the point to be decided arose out of certain views respecting the Trinity, advanced by a presbyter of Alexandria, named Arius. Himself a native of Cyrenaica, the influence of Arius had extended not only throughout that Greek colony, but over the whole north of Africa, and especially in Alexandria, where the tendency to dispute on metaphysical distinctions of the subtlest kind had always been an absorbing passion. A synod of one hundred African Bishops, in 321, condemned the views of Arius with respect to the subordination of the Son to the Father; but the populace, for the most part, were in favour of this conception, which was recommended to them alike by the piety and the enthusiasm of the Alexandrian presbyter. Constantine professed himself greatly shocked at any contention in the Christian world, and therefore convened the Council of Nicæa—an event of the utmost importance to the subsequent history of Christendom, since it established that union of the Church with the State which many consider necessary to both, but which others regard as fatal to their purity.

In answer to the Imperial summons, three hundred and eighteen Bishops, each attended by two presbyters or deacons, and by three slaves, assembled at Nicæa in the Whitsuntide of 325. Amongst the most eminent members of this Council were Arius himself, Athanasius (the reputed author of the well-known creed, which, however, is now generally assigned to a later date), Eusebius, the celebrated Church historian, and Alexander, the Patriarch of Alexandria, where he enjoyed the title, subsequently to be identified with Rome itself, of Pope—a word expressive of the parental idea. The assembly also included the ascetic hermits from the Egyptian desert—men of Coptic race, with scarcely any knowledge of the Greek language, whose wild fanaticism had already done much to discredit the religion they professed, and who now appeared as the bitterest opponents of Arius. Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome—not the Pope of Rome, for that title was never assumed in the Western capital until the seventh century—was too old and infirm to make the journey himself, and was therefore represented by two presbyters, who have sometimes been regarded as the earliest examples of Papal Legates. The discussion was characterised by the vehemence which is usually displayed when men dispute about matters which neither side can make clear to the other; and the final division was on a point so extremely minute in appearance, though involving considerations which were held to be of the most tremendous importance, that it was actually contained in a single letter—the Greek *iota*, or letter I. The opponents of Arius required it to be declared that the Son was of *one* substance with the Father; the Arians insisted that he should be described as of a *like* substance; and the distinction between the two words, in Greek, depends on the presence or absence of the single letter. The supporters of absolute identity had the strength of numbers, and they carried their point. As, however, merely to settle the truth of this matter was an insufficient triumph, Arius was not only pronounced to be in the wrong, but anathematized for his heresy.

Such was the work performed by the first Council of the Church. The idea of Constantine was to promote unity: as a matter of fact, he fostered a dispute which, in one form or another, has divided Christians to the present day. Arius was banished to Illyricum, together with two African Bishops who alone persisted in supporting him after the opinion of the majority had been put on record. Capital punishment was denounced against all who would not deliver up the writings of Arius; and thus, within fifteen years of the last general persecution of the Christians, the same means were adopted in their own body for silencing opinions which some entertained and some rejected. Three years later, Constantine was reconciled to Arius, who seems by that time to have adopted the Nicene Creed; but Athanasius, who, from a simple presbyter, had become Bishop of Alexandria, though still a very young man, would not readmit him to the Church. After an interval of some years, the difficulty was overcome; but Arius died in 336, the very evening before the day on which he was once more to be received into Church communion.

The usual residence of Constantine was at Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia; but in 326—the year following the Council of Nicæa—he paid a visit to Rome, where he gave great offence by refusing to share in the festival by which the battle of Lake Regillus was celebrated. He even went so far as to deride the usual pageant of the Equestrian order, and a riot ensued, which, while it resulted in no serious mischief, showed the strength of the old Roman feeling on such matters. The same year was distinguished by a dreadful event in the household of the Emperor. Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine by a former wife, or rather mistress, was accused by his step-mother, Fausta, of

having made advances derogatory from her honour. He was also suspected of aspiring to the sovereign power, and there appears to be no question that for several years an ill feeling had existed between father and son, owing to the jealousy which the former entertained towards the latter. Crispus was loved by the people for his amiable disposition, his mental accomplishments, and his skill and success as a warrior. He had been trained by the Christian orator Lactantius, and, had he succeeded to the throne, might possibly have made a better monarch than his father. But the charges now brought against him proved fatal; and he was put to death, together with his cousin Licinius, and several nobles. The integrity of the young prince appears to have been afterwards established, and it was alleged, though perhaps on insufficient grounds, that the Empress Fausta had been guilty of an intrigue with a groom of the Imperial stables. It is said that Constantine was tormented with remorse for what he had done, and that he erected a statue to Crispus, with the inscription, "To my son, whom I unjustly condemned." But the whole tragedy is surrounded with so much darkness that it would be rash to assume either the innocence or the guilt of the unfortunate prince.

Constantine quitted Rome shortly after this occurrence, and four years later—viz., in 330—Constantinople, which had been commenced in 324, was solemnly dedicated by the Emperor after whose name it was called. It stood to some extent on the site of Byzantium, but ultimately covered a much larger space. The ground of the older city is now mainly occupied by the Sultan's Seraglio and its adjoining gardens; but Constantine's projected metropolis was to spread over the whole of the peninsula which there juts out towards the Asiatic shores. That peninsula is distinguished by seven hills, which the Emperor affected to consider the counterparts of those at Rome. He professed to be under the guidance of Divine inspiration in every detail of his new capital. With his own hands he indicated the limits of the city, and the position of the public buildings. The streets were adorned with numerous edifices of great dignity and splendour, and the bronze colossus of Apollo (said to have been the work of Phidias), which was one of the principal features of Byzantium, was invested by Constantine with Christian emblems. Constantinople was dedicated on the 11th of May, 330, and at first received the name of New Rome. This appellation, however, soon gave place to that by which it is now known, and Constantinople at once preserved the memory of its founder, and marked the commencement of a new epoch in the history of what must still be called the Augustan sovereignty. In time, and by an almost insensible process of change, the Roman was converted into a Greek Empire, and the division between East and West became more marked and antagonistic. The situation of the new metropolis was hardly so much European as Asiatic, and something of an Asiatic character was gradually infused into the old dominion as Rome sank, and Constantinople rose, in importance. Even in the days of Constantine, we seem to be divided by a considerable gulf from the Empire of Hadrian and the Antonines—a gulf which naturally increased with succeeding ages. At length we find ourselves amongst different races, different scenes, and different ideas, and the proud dominion of the Cæsars exists rather as a tradition than as an actual fact.

Rome was thus discrowned; but she retained for some time longer a nominal superiority over her youthful rival. Constantinople received the title of a colony, and was regarded as the first daughter of ancient Rome. Its municipal council took the name of a Senate; but the privileges of this assembly were much inferior to those of the august body which assembled on the Capitoline hill. A new system of government was now instituted, partaking of the monarchical character to a much greater extent than even that of Diocletian. The Emperor created a hierarchy of titled officials, who were addressed in terms of extravagant flattery; and in this way arose a privileged nobility, which ultimately developed into the aristocratic systems of the Middle Ages. The functions of the Consuls dwindled down to the mere presidency of the Games, and the Empire was divided amongst four Prætorian Prefects, whose duties were purely civil. Each of these Prefectures was numerously subdivided, and the military commanders of the provinces were styled counts (*comites*) and dukes (*duces*). Besides the four Prætorian Prefects, there were two Prefects of Rome and Constantinople, each of whom had jurisdiction over the capital with which he was associated, and the country for a hundred miles round. The Ministers of the Palace were seven in number, and enjoyed great power and dignity. The army underwent a considerable diminution in its numbers, while, by the constant introduction of barbarians, its discipline became seriously relaxed. The Palatines, or household troops, who had succeeded to the Prætorians of former times, were debased and enfeebled by luxury; and the Borderers, who defended the frontiers, were frequently insubordinate and mutinous in the highest degree.

After the dedication of Constantinople, which was placed under the special protection of the Virgin Mary, the Emperor made a division of his vast realm, to take effect after his death. He bestowed the title of Cæsar on each of his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. To the first he gave Spain, Gaul, and Britain; to the second, his Asiatic possessions; and to the third, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Dalmatius, one of his nephews, was to receive Macedonia and Achaia, while another, named Hannibalianus, had the reversion of Pontus and Cappadocia. But, before these arrangements could be fully settled, Constantine was again summoned to the head of his armies by the outbreak of a sanguinary war between the Sarmatians and the Goths, which affected the safety of the northern frontiers. Assisted by his son of the same name, he gained a signal victory over the Goths in 332. Hostilities again broke out between the opposing tribes, and the Sarmatians, being defeated by their Gothic enemies, sought refuge within the Roman Empire, and, to the number of 300,000, obtained settlements in Illyricum and Italy in 334. Internal peace was thus restored; but it was not long before the Persians began to menace the East with fresh dangers. Sapor II. commenced hostilities, and the Roman Emperor prepared to march against him. Soon afterwards, however, he fell ill at Nicomedia, and died there on the 22nd of May, 337. He is said to have received baptism on his death-bed from an Arian Bishop; for, although he had always enforced the decision of the Nicæan Council against the Arians, he was personally well affected towards their heresy. His body was removed to Constantinople, where, after lying in state, it was buried with great magnificence. The Senate of Rome placed Constantine among the gods, and by the Christians of the East he is still reckoned as a saint, whose festival is celebrated by the Greek, Coptic, and Russian Churches, on the anniversary of his death.

The decease of the Emperor was followed by a horrible massacre, committed by his second son, Constantius, who was on the spot at the time, and who adopted this atrocious method of securing the Empire for himself and his brothers. The persons killed were Dalmatius, Hannibalianus, five more of Constantius's cousins, his two uncles, the Patrician Optatus, and the Prefect Ablavius. Gallus and Julian, the two sons of Julius Constantius, half-brother of the great Constantine, were the only two nephews of that monarch who escaped —a fact perhaps attributable to their tender age. The Empire was then divided amongst the three brothers, Constantinus II., Constantius II., and Constans. The eldest of these princes was only twenty-one, the youngest not more than seventeen; so that the burden of Empire fell on the shoulders of those whose ages disqualified them for its weight. Constantius, who was but twenty, found himself confronted, as Emperor of the East, by the aggressive power of Persia, which, under the martial sovereignty of Sapor II., made repeated efforts to reconquer the territories east of the Euphrates which had formerly been acquired by Rome. The Persian monarch was thrice repulsed from Nisibis, which he besieged with great pertinacity in 338, 346, and 350. For the present, his designs were baffled; but the Roman Empire was again convulsed by civil dissensions, and it seemed as if ruin was to come from within, rather than from without. Constantine II. was dissatisfied with his share of the Empire, and was killed in 340 while conducting a military expedition against his youngest brother. Constans succeeded to the Prefecture of Gaul, and for ten years was engaged in war with the Franks upon the Rhine, and with the Caledonians in Britain. He at length perished, in the year 350, during a revolt of the Gauls, and was succeeded in that part of the world by a barbarian named Magnentius, who seized the purple for himself. Shortly afterwards, Vitranio, the Prefect of Illyricum, set up an independent sovereignty of his own in Pannonia, and made common cause with Magnentius. Vitranio was speedily worsted by Gallus, the cousin of Constantius; but Magnentius was not overthrown until the close of September, 351, when he was defeated in a great battle at Mursa, near the confluence of the Drave with the Danube. After escaping into Gaul, he underwent another defeat at the hands of Constantius, and put an end to his life in 353. Gallus had by this time received the title of Cæsar, and been appointed to the government of the East, where he reigned with extravagant cruelty. His period of dominion, however, was not long; for, having caused the murder of the Oriental Prefect, Domitian, who had been sent by Constantius to inquire into abuses, he was obliged to appear before the offended Emperor, by whose orders he was executed, in December, 354.

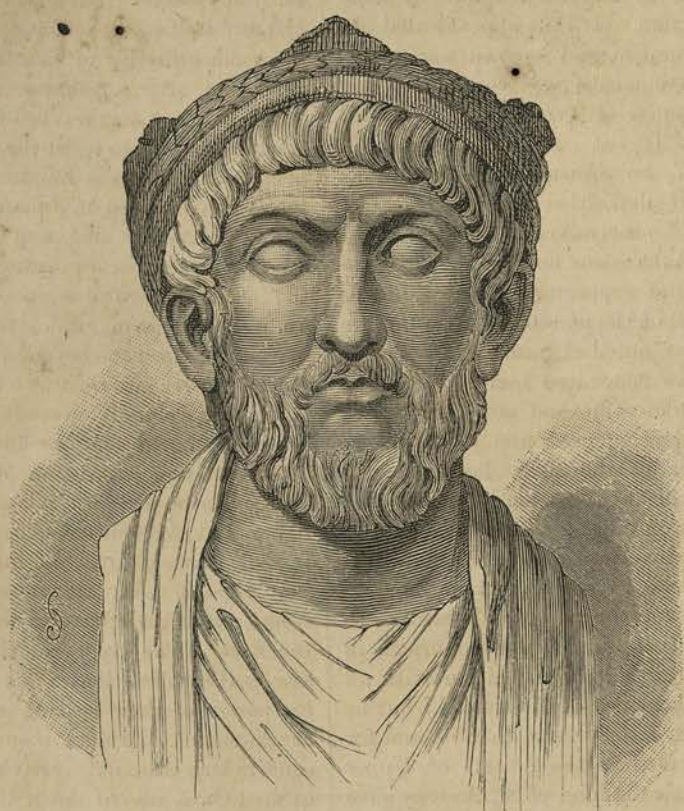
These military and political disturbances were accompanied by a renewal of the theological disputes which had given rise to the Council of Nicæa. Constantine himself had presided over that Council, the decision of which was entirely opposed to Arianism; but personally, as we have said, he was inclined to favour the unpopular tenets. In this he was supported by the Church historian, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Metropolitan of Palestine—

an ecclesiastic holding the important position of clerk to the Imperial closet, besides being the chaplain and confessor of Constantine. Another Eusebius, Bishop of the Imperial capital of Nicomedia, was also well disposed to the same view: it was he who baptised the late Emperor while on his death-bed, and who afterwards (if we are to believe a somewhat doubtful story) produced a fraudulent paper pretending to be the directions of Constantine the Great as to that massacre of his relatives which was in fact carried out by Constantius, another Arian. It thus appears that for some time past Arianism had been in the ascendant, and in 334 Athanasius was condemned and deposed by the Council of Tyre. He was exiled by Constantine to Treves. After the death of Constantine, in 337, he returned to Alexandria; but the sentence of deposition was confirmed in 341 by a Council of ninety Arian Bishops assembled at Antioch. Athanasius now sought refuge in Italy, where he found supporters in the Emperor Constans and several of the prelates. His sentence was revoked by the Council of Sardica in 347, and Constans would have reinstated him in his see of Alexandria by force of arms had not Constantius yielded the point, and suffered him to return in 349. The Emperor of the East, however, was never satisfied with his own decision in this matter, and, after the death of Constans, took measures to arrive at what he considered a more fitting settlement. He summoned a Council of three hundred Bishops at Milan, and by these ecclesiastics the sentence of the Tyrian Council was confirmed in 355. Athanasius resisted their decision with all the impassioned vehemence of his nature; but he was driven from his see by force in 356, and for six years lay concealed in the deserts of Upper Egypt. The monastic disciples of St. Antony gave him hospitable welcome, and he eluded the Imperial officers sent out to arrest him. The leisure thus enforced was employed in the composition of polemical writings, in which he branded the Emperor as Antichrist. Later on, his power was restored; but his life was one of contention and vicissitude to the close.

When Gallus was executed for rebelling against the authority of Constantius, his younger brother, Flavius Claudius Julianus, afterwards known as Julian the Apostate, was brought a prisoner from Ionia to Milan, but ultimately sent into honourable exile at Athens. He was then only twenty-three, having been born at Constantinople the year following the foundation of that city; but he had already given proof of great abilities. In their youth, he and his brother, while in captivity at Macellum, a castle in Cappadocia, were taught the Scriptures, and even ordained lecturers, in which capacity they publicly read the Bible in church. Julian, indeed, was designed for the priesthood; but he seems to have abandoned his belief in Christianity at an early age. He was afterwards much influenced by the Platonists, and at Athens devoted himself to philosophic studies. In that city he had for his fellow-students the Christian Fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Cæsarea; but they do not appear to have had any influence over his opinions. By this time, the jealous distrust of Constantius had exhausted itself, and, after a residence of only six months at Athens, Julian was recalled by his cousin, who had need of his help to resist the numerous attacks now being made upon the Empire from all sides. He therefore conferred on Julian the position of Cæsar, and in November, 355, sent him into Gaul, while he himself proceeded against the Sarmatians on the Danube. Julian acted with remarkable ability, and having, in a series of four campaigns, driven the Germans beyond the Rhine, carried the Roman power into their own territory in 359. Constantius was equally successful on the Danube; but, before he could complete his work, he was called away by a new invasion of Mesopotamia. Amida, on the Tigris, had been taken by the Persian king Sapor, and Constantius, alarmed for his possessions in that quarter, directed Julian to despatch to him four legions, with three hundred picked youths from each of the others, to serve under himself in the East. The troops of the young commander saw in these directions a covert design to reduce the power of their general, and they saluted him as Augustus. Julian requested Constantius to confirm this title, but, receiving a scornful refusal, quitted Gaul, moved down the Danube, and took Sirmium. Constantius at once set out from Antioch to meet him, but died in Cilicia on the 3rd of November, 361. On the 11th of December, Julian entered Constantinople, and was enthusiastically received as the sole monarch of the Roman Empire.

The accession of this prince was immediately followed by an attempt to restore the Pagan religion, his conversion to which had been studiously concealed for ten years—viz., from 351, when he was secretly initiated at Ephesus, to the outbreak of the war with Constantius; but the efforts of Julian were not confined to this purpose only. He found the Empire in a state of anarchy and corruption, and laboured hard to make its practice more conformable with justice and purity. Not only were his intellectual powers, both as a civilian

and a soldier, of the highest order, but his moral character was without reproach. His industry was unwearied, and he was thus enabled, during a very short reign, to reform many abuses, to punish many crimes, and to issue several edicts of a beneficial nature. In entering into a contest with Christianity, however, he had challenged an enemy that was daily growing in strength, and had ranged himself on a side which, as events have since shown, was doomed to fail. Yet, in estimating his conduct on the mere grounds of prudence, we must recollect that it may well have appeared, even to an astute observer, that the issue would be very different. The Pagans were still in an immense majority, and the recent divisions in the Christian Church—divisions to which Paganism was but seldom liable—may have seemed to augur the total ruin of a system which had only very recently been raised from the mire and abasement of persecution to the splendours and high privileges of a court. Moreover, Julian was undoubtedly sincere in his convictions. He may have refined upon the popular belief, as the philosophers had always done; but his mental habit could not brook intemperate discussions upon subtle distinctions that narrowed themselves to a letter. He therefore threw himself with ardour into the anti-Christian cause; but his conduct, in the first instance, was not characterised by unfairness. He issued an edict of universal toleration, and it might have seemed that the Christians would suffer nothing worse than the loss of Imperial favour. In a little while, however, Julian despoiled the churches of their revenues, and ordered that those who had pulled down the heathen temples should rebuild them at their own expense. At the same time, he celebrated the worship of the gods with great splendour; took means to effect the conversion of Christian soldiers, partly by bribes, and partly by persuasion; and conferred office and emolument on all new proselytes. Large numbers abjured the faith they had recently professed, and the heathen writer Libanius expresses the utmost satisfaction at the results effected. "Every part of the world," he says, "displayed the triumph of religion, and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest moun-



JULIAN THE APOSTATE. (*From a Statue in the Louvre.*)

DEATH OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

tains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries."

That the heathens should have been permitted to enjoy their own forms of worship was distinctly fair and reasonable, and they had doubtless suffered from unjust repression in the previous reign; but, whether misled by enthusiasm, or by a growing consciousness of the difficult task he had undertaken, Julian soon began to persecute where prudence alone, to say nothing of equity, would have allowed a perfect freedom. He forbade the Christians to read or teach others the works of the classics, observing that, as they rejected the gods, they ought not to avail themselves of the learning and genius of those who believed in them. He would not permit any office, either civil or military, to be filled by a Christian, and the whole body was subjected to various disabilities and humiliations. The Christians, it is true, were still allowed to conduct their own forms of worship in their churches; but the provincial Governors and other officials, who were all Pagans, found several opportunities of oppressing and injuring the proscribed believers. When the Christians failed to restore the temples they had previously destroyed—a task which was perhaps rendered impossible by the sum required, but which we can hardly believe would have been performed under any circumstances—the ministers of the Emperor brought to bear upon the defaulters all the severity of the Roman law, which permitted the creditor to seize the person of the debtor, and to treat him with unmitigated cruelty. In many instances, the unhappy people were subjected to such severe tortures that they died under the infliction; but this treatment, however base and barbarous in itself, can hardly be reckoned amongst the ordinary persecutions, since it was a punishment, by form of law, for having disobeyed an edict which was not essentially unjust.

At the very time that Julian succeeded to the Roman Empire, Alexandria was convulsed by one of those disturbances which were frequent among its contentious and turbulent population, but which in this instance was not devoid of reason. A person of mean origin, named George the Cappadocian, had obtained a lucrative contract to supply the army with bacon. Like some other contractors, he defrauded the State to enrich himself; but his dishonesty was at length discovered, and he was compelled to fly. He then embraced the Arian heresy, and exhibited so much zeal that, in 356, when this opinion had obtained the upper hand, he was appointed to the see of Alexandria, as the successor of Athanasius. His conduct as an Archbishop was no better than his conduct as an army-contractor, and under the reign of Constantius he was expelled by the people, but restored by the power of the State. One of the first acts of Julian was to depose and imprison this unworthy prelate, and the people whom he had oppressed broke open the jail on the 24th December, 361, dragged out the offender, and tore him to pieces. Nevertheless, his memory was always honoured by the Arians, and, strange to say, he is now (according to general belief) identified with the patron saint of England, the chivalric St. George.* Athanasius reappointed himself to the see; but Julian took so great a dislike to that vehement ecclesiastic that he deposed him in 362. The Archbishop again retired to the monasteries of the desert; and once more the secret of his concealment was so well preserved that the agents of the Emperor were unable to lay hands on the fugitive.

Though little inclined to their religious ideas, Julian gave some encouragement to the Israelites, as a counterpoise to the Christians. He conceived the strange design of rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and determined to plant in that venerable city a colony of Jews on whom he thought he might rely. A large number of the Hebrews enthusiastically supported the project. Immense sums of money were furnished by the rich. Spades and pickaxes of silver were devoted to the sacred toil, and the rubbish was removed in mantles of purple silk. The work, however, never prospered, perhaps owing to the early death of the Emperor, or perhaps to causes which cannot now be traced. It is stated by contemporary writers that the new foundations were successively destroyed by an earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption; and stories are related to the effect that miracles were wrought to prevent the accomplishment of Julian's scheme. These stories are now generally rejected; but the main fact is certain—that the building was never reared. The succession of a Christian Emperor, after the death of Julian, put an end to the plan, and the Pagan sovereign himself was too much diverted by events of great moment in a different direction to bring the whole force of his will to bear upon a design which, after all, was of no importance either to his power as a sovereign, or to his credit as a philosopher. Even had he succeeded, he would simply have had the petty satisfaction of wounding the feelings of his

* The English Crusaders, on entering the East in 1097, found a certain George honoured as a warrior-saint. He was thought to have given them succour at the siege of Antioch in 1098, and was accordingly adopted as the patron of soldiers. Edward III. associated him with the Order of the Garter, about 1350.

Christian subjects, without in the slightest degree affecting their belief. The Roman world would certainly not have been the more inclined to Paganism because the earliest enemies of idolatry had been assisted in restoring the Temple of their ancient faith.

Desirous of restoring the grandeur of Roman power, no less than the integrity of the old religion, Julian determined on a war with the Persians, in which he hoped to recover the territories that had recently been won by that nation, and to make Babylonia a Roman province. He considered that in these operations he should have the support of Armenia; but the reigning house had become Christian, and the Paganism of the Emperor was regarded with dislike. Having assembled his troops and collected his materials of war at Antioch (the citizens of which gave him great offence by their ribald disrespect and biting satire), Julian started from the Syrian capital on the 5th of March, 363, and crossed the Euphrates. From Carrhæ he despatched 30,000 men to secure the frontier towards Nisibis, and ultimately to rejoin him when he had penetrated into the heart of Persia. At the head of 65,000 men, he then moved down the Euphrates, devastating the countries he passed through, and capturing the cities of Perisabor on the Euphrates, and Maogamalcha on the Tigris. He was now only eleven miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon; but that city was powerfully fortified, and surrounded by waters and morasses. The camp of Julian was pitched near the adjacent ruins of Seleuceia, and a great channel was dug, by which the Roman fleet was steered into the Tigris, without encountering the perils provided by the Persians for its reception. Crossing the river in the dead of night, Julian defeated his adversaries, and pursued them to the gates of Ctesiphon; but here the good fortune of the Emperor came to an end. His lieutenants, Procopius and Sebastian, whom he had sent forward to Nisibis, wasted their strength in dissensions, and failed to rejoin their commander. No auxiliaries arrived from Armenia, and the desperate nature of the situation became shortly manifest. Supported by the opinion of a council of war, Julian determined to raise the siege of Ctesiphon; but, refusing all offers of peace, he resolved to advance into the inland provinces, and to bring his enemy to battle on the open plains. His fleet of eleven hundred vessels, having become useless, was burned on the Tigris, together with his magazines and stores; and, under the guidance of a noble Persian, who had made a pretence of deserting from his countrymen, in order that he might deceive the invader, he turned weastard in the direction of the Assyrian mountains, with provisions for no more than twenty days.

As Julian advanced, the country was devastated before his face by the patriotism of its inhabitants. Nothing but smoke and ruin met his view, and the legions were soon reduced to the small store of food they carried with them. The Persian deserter led them astray, and at the earliest opportunity effected his escape. No choice remained but to retire towards the banks of the Tigris, in the hope of reaching a more friendly place. Under the intolerable heat of a June sun, the unhappy troops entered a desert plain, where they were attacked by the whole force of the Persian army. The assaults of the enemy were repulsed again and again; but the soldiers, who were for the most part from the temperate latitudes of Gaul and Germany, fainted beneath the sultry glare. To these afflictions was now added the prospect of famine, and it appeared doubtful whether any would escape. The retreat was conducted by Julian with the utmost skill and courage, and with unflinching self-devotion; but his greatest efforts could do no more than save his army from complete annihilation. On the 25th of June, he succeeded in repulsing the Persians, who, following the Parthian tactics, discharged behind them, as they fled, a storm of darts and arrows. Julian was at the time without his cuirass, and a javelin pierced through his ribs, and buried itself in the liver. He fell senseless to the ground, and was conveyed into an adjacent tent. On recovering consciousness, he called for his horse, and endeavoured to renew the battle; but the surgeons perceived the gravity of the wound, and his remaining time was passed in conversation with his philosophic friends. The subject of his latest discourse was the nature of the soul, and it is impossible not to see in these failing moments of the Apostate a somewhat mechanical imitation of the final hours of Socrates. At length his wound burst out afresh, and, after drinking a goblet of cold water, he expired with great tranquillity about midnight of the 26th of June, 363. It has been stated by some Christian writers that at the moment of dissolution he gathered up a handful of blood, threw it towards the heavens, and exclaimed, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" But, as Julian was probably surrounded by Pagans only, who were extremely unlikely to report such a circumstance, had it occurred, we may fairly set down this very striking anecdote as the invention of antagonistic zeal. Like the first of the Cæsars, Julian was a voluminous author, and,

amongst other works, composed a treatise in opposition to Christianity, some fragments of which are still preserved in the refutation by St. Cyril.

At the time of his death, this remarkable man was in the thirty-second year of his age, and his reign had lasted only one year and eight months. The house of Constantine was thus brought to an end, and the Imperatorship was conferred by the troops on Flavius Claudius Jovianus, the chief of the Imperial household. The new monarch was a Christian, and at once issued an edict granting unconditional liberty of conscience. His reign commenced under very painful circumstances. He had succeeded to the terrible failure of Julian, and it was necessary that he should make the best arrangement possible for rescuing the troops from a position which every day became less tenable. He therefore concluded a treaty with Persia, by which he surrendered the five provinces beyond the Tigris, and abandoned all control over Nisibis and Armenia. On these terms the Romans were permitted to withdraw without further molestation; but Jovian died suddenly and mysteriously at Ancyra, in Phrygia, on the 17th of February, 364. The army was then conducted to Nicæa, and the purple was bestowed on Flavius Valentinianus, a native of Illyricum. The title of Augustus was conferred by this monarch upon his brother Flavius Valens, and the Empire was once more partitioned between the West and East, Valentinian reigning over the former, and Valens over the latter. The final division was not until several years later; but from this period we observe an increasing tendency towards that dissolution of Imperial power which had commenced some generations before, and which resulted in the formation of many new dominions. Julian appears as the last of the truly antique Emperors. From the date of his death, the coming of the Middle Ages seems to be more distinctly felt.

Our attention has for some time been mainly directed towards the East; but events of great importance were now happening in the West. The Northern barbarians were again threatening the repose of the Latin races, and Valentinian addressed himself with spirit to the dangers of the time. The Alemanni crossed the Rhine in 365 and 368, but were repelled with great slaughter, and even chastised on their own territory. The Burgundians —a people originally inhabiting the banks of the Vistula, but afterwards settled on the Rhine— began to assume a greater part in affairs than they had previously performed, and were constantly at feud with the Alemanni. The Saxons committed numerous depredations on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, but were routed by Severus, the Count of the Saxon shore, in 370. The country in the northern parts of Britain, between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, had recently been overrun by the neighbouring tribes; but the territory was now recovered by Theodosius, father to the future Emperor of that name, and in 367 became the province of Valentia. Seven years later, the same vigorous general recovered Africa from an usurper named Firmus. The reign of Valentinian was distinguished by wise and tolerant legislation, and by numerous military successes; but the Emperor was irascible and often cruel, and he died very suddenly, after a vehement and angry speech in reply to a deputation from the Quadi, in Pannonia, November 17th, 375.

The reign of Valens in the East was less reputable than that of Valentinian in the West. He was soon confronted by the rising of Procopius, a relative of Julian; but the danger was overcome by the Prefect Sallust, who defeated the rebel in two great battles, and put him to death in May, 366. Valens was cruel by nature, and the peril he had escaped excited his evil passions. He executed a number of persons on political charges, and then entered on a career of religious persecution. Like his brother, he was an Arian, and all who professed the contrary opinion were made to suffer for their conscience. Athanasius had been again compelled to fly immediately after the accession of Valens, and it is said that he sought refuge in his father's tomb. His supporters at Alexandria, however, raised a tumult on his behalf, and the Emperor permitted him to re-occupy his see. This indomitable ecclesiastic obtained a further confirmation of what is termed the orthodox doctrine from a council held at Alexandria in 369, and the Archbishop ended his stormy life in peace, in 372 or 373. The opposition of Valens to his religious views soon broke out with redoubled violence, and the monks of the desert of Nitria, on the western edge of the Delta, were treated with especial severity. The Emperor also behaved with much ingratitude to Theodosius, whom, after the death of Valentinian, he beheaded at Carthage in 376, notwithstanding his services of two years before.

For several years, the Goths had settled down in peace in the immense region they had obtained between the Baltic and the Euxine, and the Visigoths, in accepting Christianity, had to a great extent conformed to the manners of Roman civilisation. In the middle parts of the fourth century, the Gothic race was governed by a powerful and famous king called Hermanric, whose name appears in one of the oldest works of Teutonic literature—"The

Book of Heroes"—and also in the Icelandic Sagas. But in the reign of Valens hostilities broke out between the Romans and the Visigoths; and the latter seem to have obtained the greater degree of success, for, when peace was concluded in 370, it was upon their own terms. Soon afterwards, however, they were attacked by more formidable enemies, namely, by the Huns, who, issuing from the wild regions about the banks of the Don, compelled the Visigoths to seek protection in the Roman dominions. Two hundred thousand men were permitted to settle in Mœsia, but were treated with so much insolence and cruelty that they took up arms in self-defence. Their warriors overran the whole of Mœsia and Thrace, and large numbers of their countrymen from the other side of the Danube speedily arrived to their assistance. Sarmatians, Alans, and Huns united their forces with those of the Goths, and the Roman supremacy in that part of Europe was threatened, and almost overthrown, in three sanguinary campaigns. At length the whole force of the Eastern Empire, led by Valens himself, was brought to bear against the allies, and a tremendous battle was fought near Hadrianople, on the 9th of August, 378. The Romans were defeated, and the Emperor himself, while lying wounded in a hut, perished in the flames raised by the successful adversary. Gratian, the son of Valentinian, who since the death of his father had shared the Western provinces with his younger brother, Valentinian II., had been summoned by Valens to his aid before the battle which proved so disastrous to the Eastern Empire; and, finding himself unable to cope single-handed with so many combined enemies, he requested assistance from the son of Theodosius, whom he called from Spain, and invested at Sirmium with the Empire of the East.

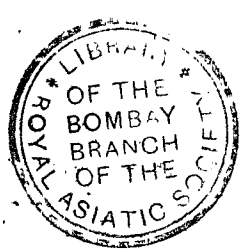
Theodosius I. has been styled the Great, and he certainly deserved that title. He belonged to a family which had for several ages been connected with the Roman colony of Italica, in Spain, the native place of Trajan; and he is said to have resembled that monarch in his features. Having been born in 345, he was now in his thirty-fourth year; but from an early age he had been accustomed to the actual work of a soldier's life, and, under the eye of his father, had acquired a knowledge of warfare such as few veterans could surpass. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, and operated so skilfully against the Goths that he checked their progress, and imposed on them treaties favourable to the Roman State. Peace was concluded on the 3rd of October, 382, in which year the celebrated Alaric succeeded to the chieftainship of the Goths. Theodosius allowed those valorous people to effect permanent settlements south of the Danube, and received several of their number into the Roman armies. The Gruthungi, a tribe of the Ostrogoths, were defeated by Theodosius in 386, and the survivors received lands in Asia Minor and Phrygia, on condition that they should contribute a body of 40,000 men to the forces of the Eastern Empire. The Goths of Mœsia were soon afterwards converted to Christianity, yielding to the eloquent persuasions of Ulphilas, an Arian Bishop who is generally supposed to have belonged to their own race. This famous churchman supplied his countrymen with an alphabet of twenty-four letters, which was afterwards adopted by all the German tribes, and is known to modern Englishmen as the "black letter." His translation of the Bible (if, indeed, it was really his) is highly valued at the present day as a perfect specimen of the old Gothic language, to which all the Teutonic dialects are akin.

During the progress of these events, a revolution had taken place in the Western Empire. Maximus, who was in command of the legions of Britain, headed a military revolt against Gratian, who was put to death at Lyons in 383. Theodosius recognised the authority of Maximus in the Gallic Prefecture, provided that Italy and Africa were secured to Valentinian II. This undertaking was respected during four years; but in 387 Maximus crossed the Alps, and seized the whole of Italy, where the youthful Valentinian had made himself unpopular by supporting Arianism. Theodosius now marched against Maximus, defeated and slew him in 388, and replaced Valentinian II. on the throne. The young sovereign was little better, however, than the vassal of the Eastern Emperor, who entered Rome in the spring of 389. The following year was spent at Milan, whence the Emperor issued an edict of a terrible nature, forming a blot on his reign. The distinctive colours of the rival performers in the Circus were often espoused with a degree of partizanship which resulted in desperate faction-fights, and the frequent effusion of blood. A riot, consequent on the arrest of one of the charioteers, had taken place at Thessalonica, and Botheric, the commander of the troops, was murdered, together with several of his officers. Theodosius was naturally incensed at this atrocious act; but he punished it by another which was even worse. He authorised his barbarian troops in the offending city to wreak their vengeance on the people; and, a large number having been assembled in the Circus by public invitation, as many as 7,000, or according to some reports 15,000, were barbarously massacred. For this great crime,

Theodosius was undoubtedly responsible; and he fell under the severe reproof of Ambrosius, the Bishop of Milan, who forbade him to enter the basilica or church of that city until he had undergone a public penance. This was done, and, after an interval of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to communion with his fellow-Christians, although, according to the law of the Church as it then existed, his penance should have been prolonged for twenty years. The power of the Bishop was here exercised with a good intention, and for the correction of a very serious crime; but the interference of Ambrosius formed a precedent for those arrogant ecclesiastical claims which were frequent in the Middle Ages, and which led to violent collisions between the State and the Church.

A good deal of the history of this period has reference to the religious disputes between the Arian and the Orthodox bodies, and to the determined efforts of the Christians generally to put a forcible end to Paganism. It is now that we begin to hear of those miracle-working relics which give so fantastical a character to later times. In the West, the Church was at issue with the Court on the ground of Arianism, which the ecclesiastics and the people refused to accept at the hands of their rulers, and even resisted by physical force. In the East, where Arianism was the popular faith, and Orthodoxy the faith of the Emperor, the conditions were exactly reversed; but in both divisions of the Roman world the result was favourable to the opinions which Athanasius upheld. Having suppressed the Arians, Theodosius next turned his attention to the extirpation of idolatry. He promulgated an edict against Pagan sacrifices in 385, and in 389 closed all the heathen temples and shrines. The privileges of the priestly colleges and of the Vestals had already been abolished by Gratian, who confiscated their revenues; but all acts of Pagan worship and divination were now suppressed, not only in public, but in private, under penalties of great severity. Idols were destroyed, and every manifestation of religious feeling distinct from Christianity was strictly forbidden. It was to the honour of Theodosius, however, that he imposed no disabilities on those who still clung to the ancient belief as a mere abstract conviction; and he even retained a feeling of personal regard for Symmachus and Libanius, two eloquent apologists of the older faith.

Valentinian II. was murdered in 392 by a Frank named Arbogastes, whom Theodosius had made commander of the Gallic armies, and who now conferred Imperial power on the rhetorician Eugenius. Theodosius marched against this usurper in 394, and defeated him in a great battle near Aquileia; but the effort exhausted the remaining strength of the Eastern Emperor, who, though only fifty years of age, was prematurely old. He divided the Empire between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, and died at Milan on the 17th of January, 395. The separation of the Roman dominions into the East and West was now complete; and it has been justly observed that the genius of Rome expired with Theodosius the Great. Several years of convulsion and suffering, however, still remained; and it was not until 476 that the abdication of Romulus Augustulus, who transferred his sceptre to Odoacer, the first barbarian King of Italy, brought the Western Empire and Ancient History to a simultaneous close.



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